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EDITED BY

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The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIII.

No. 1.—PENDRABANDH PLATES OF PRATAPAMALLA : THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 965.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were first brought to my notice in February 1934 by Pandit Lochana Prasada Pandeya, Honorary Secretary, Mahākosala Historical Society, who desired me to edit them. I requested the Curator of the Nagpur Museum to procure the plates for my examination, which he kindly did through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur. The plates are in the possession of Ṭhākur Gokul Singh, Mālguzār of **Pēṇḍrābandh**, a village (N. Lat. 21·39, E. Long. 83) in the Balōdā Bazār *tahsil* of the Raipur District, C. P., and it is said that they have been in his family for some generations.

They are **two massive copper-plates** measuring from 11½" to 12" in length and from 7½" to 8" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 155 *tolas* and the second 133 *tolas*. At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole, ½" in diameter for a ring to connect it with the other plate. This ring, which is also of copper, is circular in shape and about 4" in diameter, with a round seal 2·6" in diameter. About one-third portion of the ring was broken off when the plates reached me. The plates were not, therefore, connected by the ring, but there is no reason to doubt that the latter actually belongs to the plates. The weight of the broken ring with the seal is 16 *tolas*. The edges of the plates have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Still the inscription is very well preserved and there is no uncertainty about its reading. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. There are 35 lines in all, 17 being inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 18 on the second. The average size of letters is ·3" except in the last two lines where it is reduced to ·2". On the **seal** is inscribed in the centre a crudely executed figure of Lakshmī, seated cross-legged on a lotus seat, flanked on either side by an elephant with a jar in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the lower part of the seal there is the **legend** *Rāja-śrīmat-Pratāpamalladēvaḥ* in a horizontal line and below it appears a sheathed sword lying parallel to it. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The letters are deeply cut but not well formed. Besides the usual form of *k*, there appears another in the conjunct *ksh* and occasionally in *kr* ; see *di(vi)kramēṇa*, l. 9 and *saṁkrānta-*, l. 10. In writing conjunct letters the engraver has not distinguished between *pa* and *ya* and *la* and *ṇa* ; in some cases he has also incised *pa* for *ma* ; see *tasya*, l. 6, *G[/]karṇṇau*, l. 12 and *Suvarṇṇa-*, l. 21, and *nirmpita* for *nirmmita*, l. 9. A final consonant is shown by a slanting stroke at the foot of the vertical only in one case, *viz.*, *vasēt*, l. 32 ; but contrast *vandhūna* for *bandhūn*, l. 6, *satrūna* for *śatrūn*, l. 9, etc. The signs for the superscript *r* and *anusvāra* are, in some cases, added before the sign for medial *ī* ; cf. *-r=dīnē*, l. 19 and *mahatīṁ*, l. 19. The sign for *avagraha* in l. 2 differs from that in l. 26. A superfluous syllable is scored off by two short vertical strokes at the top, see *nṛi* in l. 32. The *visarga* which was wrongly omitted after *khaṁḍana* in l. 14 is written immediately below the line. In two other cases the omission is indicated by a *kākapada*, whose position and

form indicate whether the addenda are given at the top or at the bottom of the plate. A figure following the addendum indicates the line where the omitted syllable or word is to be supplied. Thus *suvṛittaḥ* and *ga* which were omitted in ll. 11 and 14 are supplied with the figures 11 and 14 respectively at the bottom on the first plate. Similarly *nē*, which was omitted in the second line on the second plate, is incised with the figure 2 at the top of the plate.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the customary salutation to Brahman in the first line and mention of the date and the place of issue in the last, the whole record is in verse. The verses, of which there are twenty-nine, are all numbered except the last one. As regards **orthography** we may note that *v* is generally written for *b* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (cf. *Vrahmaṇē* and *Sivaṁ* in l. 1) and *vice versâ*, *e.g.*, in *āśīd=āśīma-* for *āsīd=āsīma-*, l. 16 ; *y* is used for *j* in *Vāyapēya*, l. 31. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated only in a few cases ; cf. *Kārttavīryaḥ*, ll. 2-3, *mārggaṇē*, l. 4, etc.

The **object** of the plates is to record a grant made by **Pratāpamalla**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur. After the usual salutation to Brahman in the first verse, comes the description of the genealogy of the donor. In the family of Manu, the primeval king, who was descended from the Sun, was born Kārttavīrya. From him were descended the Haihayas. Their descendants became well known as Kalachuris in the Chēdi country. In their family was born **Kōkalla** who had eighteen very brave sons. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of their younger brother was born **Kaliṅgarāja.** The engraver has, inadvertently, omitted here one complete verse which occurs in cognate records[1] and mentions **Kamalarāja**, the son of Kaliṅgarāja. The present record, as it stands, makes **Ratnarāja(I.)** the son and successor of Kaliṅgarāja. From Ratnarāja (I.) was born **Pṛithvīdēva(I.)**, the father of **Jājalladēva(I.)**. The latter's son was **Ratnadēva(II.)**, of matchless valour who routed **Chōḍagaṅga** and **Gōkarṇṇa** in battle. From Ratnadēva (II.) was born **Pṛithvīdēva(II.)** ; his son was **Jagaddēva, the father of Ratnarāja(III.)**. From the latter was born **Pratāpamalla** the donor of the present plates. From the description in the plates that, though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that Pratāpamalla came to the throne while quite young. The only important point in the otherwise conventional description of these princes is the mention of Gōkarṇṇa as an associate of Chōḍagaṅga in the fight with Ratnadēva II. I have, elsewhere,[2] discussed in detail the bearing of this on the date of the fight. Again, it is noteworthy that the present inscription has corroborated what Dr. N. P. Chakravarti had already shown from the damaged Kharōḍ inscription[3], *viz.*, that Jājalladēva II had a brother named Jagaddēva,[4] the father of Ratnadēva III. Our inscription has omitted Jājalladēva II's name probably because he was a collateral.

The next four verses (15-18) give the genealogy and description of the donee and state the occasion of the grant. There was a Brāhmaṇa named Suvarṇṇakara of the Pārāśara-*gōtra* and three *pravaras*, *viz.*, Vasishṭha, Śakti, and Pārāśara. He had a son named Divākara, who was proficient in the Vēdas. From him was born **Sādhāra**[5] who was honoured by the Kalachuris. To him Pratāpamalla gave a village named **Kāyaṭhā** situated in the Anargha-*maṇḍala* on the day of the Makara-saṅkrānti. Then follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last verse states that Pratirāja, who was born in a Gauḍa family and was the light (*i.e.*, the chief) of the *Karaṇa* or Record Office, wrote on the plates with clear letters. The last line states

[1] See *e.g.* the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I, above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, the Amodā plates of Jājalladēva II, *ibid.*, pp. 211-212, etc.

[2] Cf. the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 161f.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 160 and 162.

[4] This king may be identical with king Jagaddēva glorified in v. 1261 of the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888, p. 207).

[5] See below, p. 8, footnote 1.

that the plates were issued from the victorious camp at **Palasadā** on **Tuesday the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in Saṁvat 965.** The *tithi* and the year are expressed in decimal figures only.

As in the case of most other records of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Till now Ratnadēva III, whose Kharōḍ inscription is dated Chēdi Saṁvat 933, was the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris. The present plates give us one more name, *viz.*, that of Pratāpamalla, in this line. As a matter of fact the name of this prince was already known from some copper coins, round or hexagonal in shape, found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the Mahānadī. Mr. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king[1] has been corroborated by the discovery of the present plates. It may be noted in this connection that like the seal of the present plates, these coins also bear the figure of a sword on the reverse[2] and can, therefore, be undoubtedly assigned to the donor of the present plates.

The **date** of our record appears to be irregular ; for according to R. B. S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, **the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the Chēdi year 965** (taking it to be an expired year as in the case of most other dates in the Chēdi era) fell on Thursday, 23rd January, A.D. 1214 and not on Tuesday as stated in our plates.[3] If we take the year to be current, the *tithi* falls on Saturday, 2nd February, A.D. 1213. The discrepancy can, however, be explained as follows :—Though the grant was made on the day of the Makara-saṅkrānti, the plates were actually issued a few days later as in the case of the Kāvi grant[4] of Jayabhaṭa III. Now the Makara-saṅkrānti in the expired Chēdi year 965 fell on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha (25th December, A.D. 1213). The plates were, however, actually incised after about a fortnight on the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, which (taking the month to be pūrṇimānta as in the case of other Chēdi dates) fell on a Tuesday. The engraver may have, by mistake, incised *sudi* for *vadi*. The corresponding English date is, therefore, Tuesday, 7th January, A.D. 1214.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the present plates, **Anarghavallī**, as stated elsewhere[5], roughly corresponds to the modern Jāṅjgīr *tahsil* of the Bilāspur District. The village named **Kāyaṭhā** is still extant in the form Kaitā about 14 miles almost due west of Pēṇḍrābandh and about 4 miles beyond the southern limit of the Jāṅjgīr *tahsil*. About **Palasadā** I may mention that there are several villages named Parsadā or Parsadi in the Balodā Bazār *tahsil*, but the village, where Pratāpamalla's camp was pitched, may be Parsodi about a mile to the north of Kaitā.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16 and 19-28 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2, 5 and 14, *Upajāti* ; vv. 3 and 12 *Sragdharā* ; v. 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 8 and 18 *Mālinī* ; v. 10 *Śikhariṇī* ; vv. 4, 6 and 17 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 29 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[6] व(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः । निर्गु(र्गु)णं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) । भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्र(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

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[1] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, p. 175.

[2] I owe this information to Mr. L. P. Pandeya who has kindly sent me some coins of this type.

[3] [The date may be Wednesday, 22nd January, as on this day the tenth *tithi* commenced 1 hour 45 minutes after mean sunrise.—Ed.]

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 220-21.

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 163.

[6] Expressed by the letter ब with a dot on it.

2 यदेतदग्रेसरमंव(ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्त-

3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्मात्क्रमातिकीर्त्तिः सकलगुणधरा हैहया नैकसः[1] कौ जाताः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिकरिहृ-

4 रयो मार्ग्गणे कल्पवृक्षाः । तद्वंसा(शा)च्चेदिदेसे(शे) कलचुरिरिति च ख्यातिमीयुर्ण्ण[2]रेन्द्रा जातः कोकल्लदेवो नृ-

5 पतिररिकुलक्ष्माभुजां धूमकेतुः ॥३॥ अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुंभविभङ्ग[3]सिंहाः पुत्रा व(ब)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यप-

6 राश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श)आसी(सी)त्पार्स्वे(र्श्वे) च मंडलपतीन्स चकार वं(बं)धून(न्) ॥४॥ तेषामनू[4]जस्तु

7 कलिंगराजः प्रतापवन्हि(ह्नि)च्चपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये [दु][5]ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाम्भोरुहपाव्वणे-

8 न्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोजनि रत्नराजो विस्वो(श्वो)पकारकरणार्ज्जितपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(बा)हुयु-

9 गनिर्म्मि(र्म्मि)तदि(वि)क्रमेण नीतं यस(श)स्रि(स्त्रि)भुवने विनिहत्य स(श)त्रून(न्) ॥६॥ पृथ्वीदेवोभवत्तस्मान्नृपः सा(शा)र्द्दूल-

10 विक्रमः । नखदर्प्पणसंक्रान्तनमद्भूपालमंडलः ॥७॥ अथ रुचिररुचिस्री(श्री)राश्रयः सत्कलाना-

11 मनुपहितकलंकोनर्व्वमूर्त्तिः सुवृत्तः[6] [।*] सकल[गु]णसमूहः स्री(श्री)मतस्तस्य सूनुर्व्विधुरिव सुकृतानान्धा(न्धा)म जाजल्लदेव-

12 : ॥८॥ रत्नदेवोभवत्तस्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः । यस्योडगंगगोकर्ण्णौ युधि चक्रे पराङ्मुखौ[7] ॥९॥ ततोभूदासीम-

13 क्षितिवलयविक्रान्त[8]महिमा हिमानीवत्कान्तैर्ज्जगदपि यसोभिर्ध्व(र्ध)वलयन(न्) । रणे क्रुद्धा(द्ध)द्वेषिद्विपदलनदीक्षाहरिसमः

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[1] Read नैकशः.

[2] The intended change of न् to ण् here is ungrammatical. See Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 1. Read -र्न्नरेन्द्रा-.

[3] Read -विभङ्ग-.

[4] The vowel of नु is lengthened for the sake of metre. Many other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur read अनुजस्य which seems to be proper, since such a word is required to be connected with अन्वये. See Sarkhō plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 165, footnote 1).

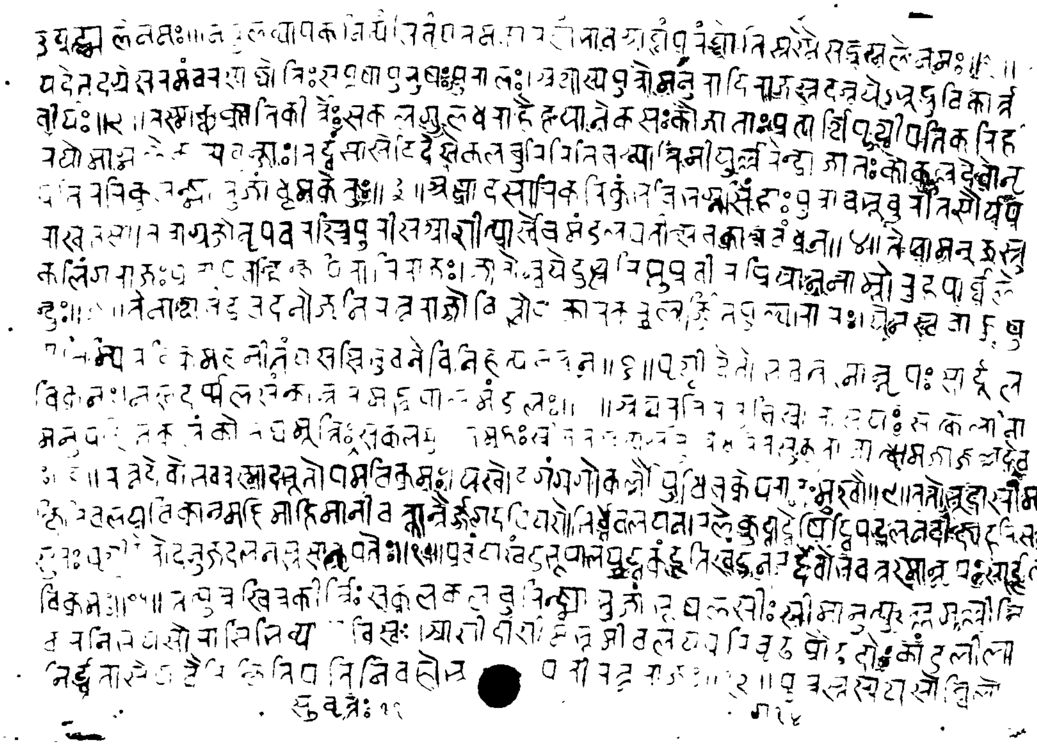
[5] Other cognate plates read द्विष्ट.

[6] This word which was omitted here is supplied with the figure 11 at the bottom of the plate.

[7] The engraver had first incised the conjunct ङ्ग but afterwards cancelled it and incised only the letter ङ at the top of मु.

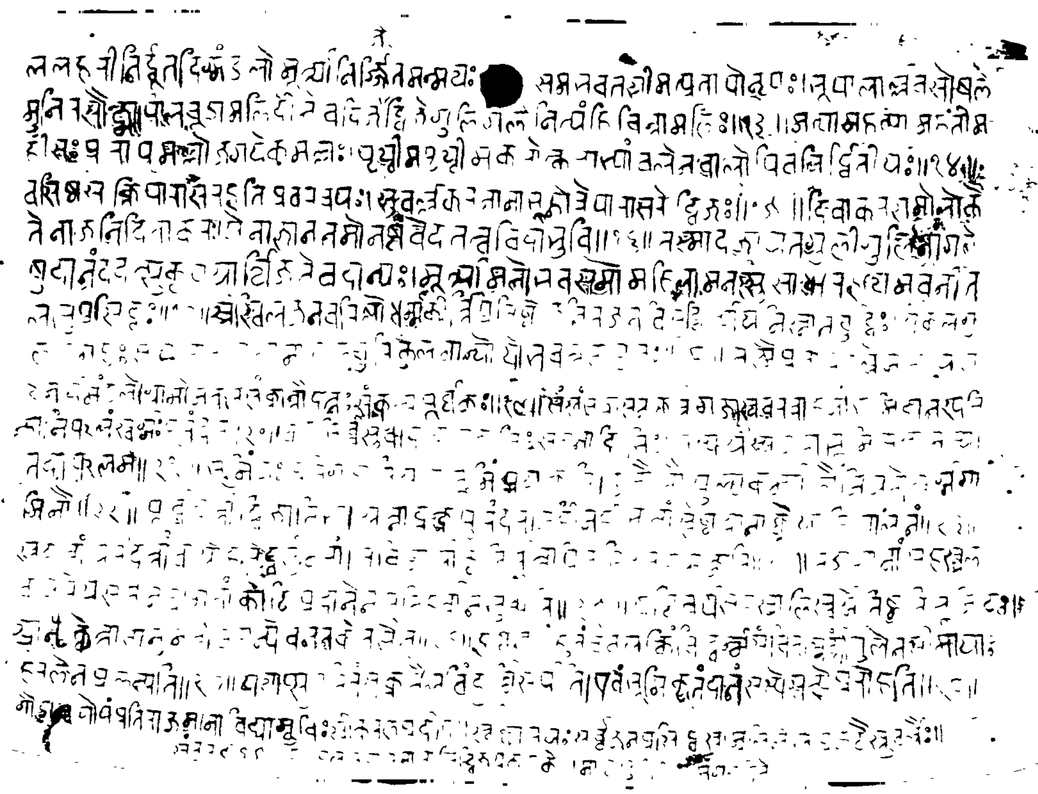
[8] The vertical stroke of न्त is not engraved.

i.



2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16

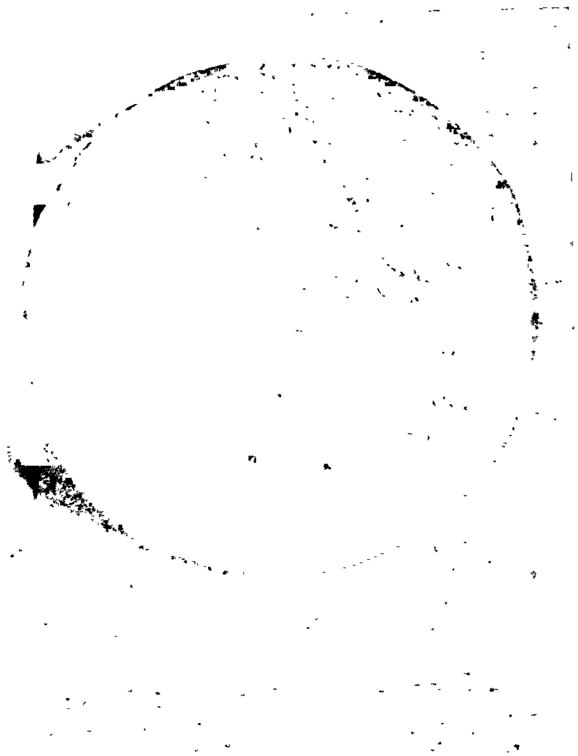
ii.



18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE : ONE-HALF. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SEAL.



ACTUAL SIZE. From a photograph.

14 सुत: पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपति:[1] ॥१०॥ प्रचंडाखंडभूपालयु[2]द्धकंडूतिखंडन:[3] [।*] जग[4]द्देवोभवत्तस्मान्नृप: स(शा)र्दूल-

15 विक्रम: ॥११॥ तत्पुत्रश्चित्रकीर्त्ति: सकलकलचुरिक्ष्माभुजां भूषणश्री: श्रीमानुत्फुल्ल-मल्लीनि-

16 करनिभयसो(शो)रासि(शि)भिर्व्याप्तविस्व:(श्व:) । आसी(सी)दासी(सी)मभूमीवलयपरिवृ-ढप्रौढदो:कांडलीला-

17 निर्द्धूतासे(शे)षवैरिक्षितिपतिनिवहो भूपती[5] रत्नराज: ॥१२ पुत्रस्तस्य यसो(शो)-व्धि(ब्धि)लो-

Second Plate.

18 ललहरीनिर्द्धूतदिग्मंडलो मूर्त्या निर्ज्जितमन्मथ: समभवतश्री(च्छ्री)मत्प्रतापो नृप: । भूपालार्ण्णवसो(शो)षणे

19 मुनिरसौ क्ष्मापालचूडामणिर्द्दीने वंदिजने[6] द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्तामणि: ॥१३॥ मत्या महत्या महतीं म-

20 हीस:(श:) प्रतापमल्लो जगदेकमल्ल: । पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(ब)लेन वा(बा)लोपि व(ब)लिर्द्वितीय: ॥१४॥

21 वसिष्ठस(श)क्तिपारास(श)र इति प्रवरत्रय: । सुवर्ण्णकरनामाभूद्गोत्रे पारास(श)रे द्विज: ॥१५॥ दिवाकरस(स)मो लोके

22 तेनाजनि दिवाकर: । येनाज्ञानतमो नष्टं[7] वेदतत्व(त्त्व)विदा भुवि ॥१६ ॥ तस्माद्-जायत गुणी गुणिनां गणे-

23 षु दानं ददत्सु कृपयार्थिजते(ने) वदान्य: । मूर्त्या मनोभवसमो महिलामनस्सु साधार इत्यमवनीत-

24 लसुप्रसिद्ध: ॥१७॥ अखिलजनवरिष्टो(ष्ठो) धर्म्मकीर्त्तिप्रतिष्टो(ष्ठो) जनितजनविस्त(श्र)-द्धिर्त्या(र्न्या)यनिस्रा(ष्णा)तवु(बु)द्धि: । सकलगु-

25 णसमूह: सत्यसाधारनामा कलचुरिकुलमान्यो योभवत्तस्य पुत्र: ॥१८॥ तस्मै प्रतापमल्लेन कायठा-

[1] The engraver first incised नु and then corrected it into नृ.

[2] The vowel of यु was first incised as long and then shortened.

[3] The *visarga* after न which was omitted at first is incised below the line.

[4] The syllable ग which was omitted here is incised with the figure 14 at the bottom of the plate. There are superfluous marks of *rēpha* on both द्दे and वो.

[5] The curve of the medial ई here is not clearly formed.

[6] The syllable ने which was omitted here is incised with the figure 2 at the top.

[7] The sense requires the form नाशितं here.

26 ऽनर्घमंडले । ग्रामो मकरसंक्रान्तौ दत्त:[1] संकल्पपूर्वक: ॥१९॥ सं(शं)खं [2]भद्रासनं
च्छ(छ)त्रं गजास्वं(श्वं) वरवाहनं(नम्) । भूमिदानश्य(स्य) चि-

27 न्हा(ह्ना)नि फलं स्वर्ग्ग: पुरंदर ॥२०॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि: सगरा-
दिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य ।[3]

28 तदा फलम(म्) ॥२१॥ भूमिं य: प्रतिग्रन्हा(ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगा-

29 मिनौ ॥२२॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । महीं महीभृतां
स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥२३॥

30 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्व(त व)सुंधरां(राम्) । स वि[ष्ठा]यां कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभि: सह मज्जति ॥२४॥ तडागानां सहस्त्रे(स्रे)ण

31 वाय(ज)पेयस(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥२५॥
षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: ।

32 आ[4]च्छेत्ता चानुमत्ता(न्ता) च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥२६॥ इष्टम्दतं(त्तं) हुतं चैव
यत्किंचिद्धर्म्मसंचितं(तम्) । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमाया:[5]

33 हरणेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति ॥२७॥ यथाप्सु पतितं स(श)क्र तैलविं(बिं)दुर्व्विसर्पति ।
एवं भूमिकृतं दानं सस्ये सस्ये प्ररोहति ॥२८॥

34 गौडान्वयोयं प्रतिराजधा(मा)मा विद्याम्बु(म्बु)धि: स्री(श्री)करणप्रदीप: । स्वच्छा-
स(श)य: सर्व्वजनप्रसिद्धस्तांम्र(स्ताम्रे) लिलेख प्रकटैस्तु वर्ण्णैः ॥[२९॥*]

35 संवत(त्)९६५ द[6] पलसदासमावासिद्वि(तवि)जयकटके ॥ माघसुदि १० मंगलदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Obeisance to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Obeisance to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*) and supreme light, conceivable by the mind.

(V. 2) This foremost luminary of the firmament that is the Sun, the primeval Being. Then was (*born*) his son, Manu, the first of kings. In his dynasty was (*born*) Kārtavīrya on the earth.

(V. 3) From him who surpassed the fame of Indra, were born on the earth many Haihayas, endowed with all merits, who were lions to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and wish-

[1] The engraver first incised व and then corrected it into त्त.

[2] च which was first incised is corrected into भ.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] There is a syllable *nṛi* after *ā* but the engraver has indicated by two vertical strokes on it that the syllable was incised by mistake and is to be omitted.

[5] Read सीमाया.

[6] This syllable is superfluous. In the present case, it can hardly be taken as the Kanerese genitive affix. [The portion in this line beginning with *Palasadā* and ending with the *daṇḍas* after *kaṭakē* should perhaps have come at the beginning. It may be that the engraver finding out his mistake used this sign to indicate that this portion is not connected with the date.—Ed.]

fulfilling trees to the supplicant. The kings, who were (*born*) in their family, became famous as Kalachuris in the Chēdi country. (*In their family*) was born king **Kōkalladēva,** who was a comet to the kings of the families of his enemies.[1]

(V. 4) To him were born eighteen, very valorous sons, (*who were*) lions in breaking open the temples of elephants in the form of his enemies. The eldest of them was the lord of Tripurī, and he made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* by his side.

(V. 5) In (*that*) family was born their younger brother, **Kaliṅgarāja,** who exterminated the hostile kings by the fire of his valour, and who was the full-moon to the day-lotuses in the form of the faces of the beloveds of the mighty warriors of (*his*) wicked enemies.

(V. 6) He begat the moon-faced **Ratnarāja,** who had acquired a mass of religious merit by showing compassion to and conferring obligation on the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, destroying his enemies by the valour of both his arms, spread his fame in the three worlds.

(V. 7) From him was born king **Pṛithvīdēva** whose prowess was like that of a tiger (*and*) in the mirrors of whose nails was reflected a host of princes who bowed to him.

(V. 8) Then that glorious king's son was **Jājalladēva** who was, like the moon, without any spots, who was of radiant complexion and majesty, was the repository of good arts (as the moon contains the *kalās*), was endowed with an inestimable form, was virtuous (as the moon has a well-rounded form), who possessed all the qualities and who was an abode of all merits.

(V. 9) From him was born **Ratnadēva** of incomparable valour, who, in battle, vanquished **Chōḍagaṅga** and **Gōkarṇṇa** (lit. made them turn their faces away).

(V. 10) Then was born to that king a son named **Pṛithvīdēva,** whose power extended to the bounds of the circle of the earth, who whitened the world with his lovely glory, like a mass of snow, who devoted himself to the extermination of his wrathful foes in battle, as a lion does (*in the case of*) infuriated elephants and who was a destroyer of demons (*i.e.*, wicked people).

(V. 11) From him was born king **Jagaddēva,** who possessed the prowess of a tiger and who destroyed the itch of fighting of all powerful kings.

(V. 12) His son was the glorious king **Ratnarāja,** of wonderful fame, who was the excellent ornament of all Kalachuri kings, who filled the universe with the mass of his fame resembling a heap of blooming jasmine flowers, who destroyed all the hosts of hostile kings by the play of his massive arms, which were the masters of the circle of the earth to the (*extreme*) boundaries.

(V. 13) Then was born his son, the glorious king **Pratāpa,** who has cleaned the circle of quarters with the rolling waves of the ocean of his fame, who has surpassed Cupid by his form, who is the sage (*Agastya*) in drying up the ocean in the form of (*hostile*) kings, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of kings and who is always the philosopher's stone to the poor, the panegyrists, the Brāhmaṇas and the meritorious.

(V. 14) **Pratāpamalla,** of great intellect, who is the lord of the earth, (*and*) the pre-eminent warrior of the world, and who, though a boy, is a second Bali in strength and has made, by his arms, this wide earth (*look*) small.

(V. 15) There was a Brahmaṇa named Suvarṇakara in the Pārāśara-*gōtra*, with three *pravaras—viz.*, Vasishṭha, Śakti and Pārāśara.

(V. 16) He begat Divākara, who was like the sun in this world, who knowing the essence of the Vēdas, dispelled the darkness of ignorance on the earth.

(V. 17) From him was born a meritorious (*son*), who has become well-known by the name of Sādhāra, who, is (*reckoned as*) the (*most*) meritorious among multitudes of meritorious persons (*and as*) beneficent among those who make gifts out of compassion (*and*) who in form appears like the mind-born (Cupid) to the minds of ladies.

[1] *I.e.*, he caused their destruction.

(V. 18) Who was his (*i.e.*, Divākara's)[1] son, the foremost among all people, who is famed for religious merit, who has caused the purification of the people, whose intellect is proficient in Nyāya (logic), who, being possessed of the whole multitude of merits, is truly called Sādhāra and who is honoured by the Kalachuri family.

(V. 19) To him Pratāpamalla gave, with a solemn declaration, on the Makara-saṅkrānti, a village named **Kāyaṭhā** (*situated*) in Anargha-*maṇḍala.*

(Here follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

This ocean of learning named Pratirāja of the Gauḍa family, the light (*i.e.*, chief) of *śrī-karaṇa* (Record Office), who entertains pure thoughts and is famous among all people has written (*on this*) copper (*charter*) with clear letters.

At the victorious camp pitched at **Palasadā**, on **Tuesday the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year 965.**

No. 2.—ANJANAVATI PLATES OF GOVINDA III; SAKA YEAR 722.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, were found in May 1935, in the possession of Mr. Narayan Tukaram Pande of **Añjanavatī** or **Añjatī**, a village (Lat. 20° 55′ N., Long. 78° 6′ W.) in the Chandur Taluq, about 22 miles almost due east of Amraoti, in Berār. We obtained them for editing from Mr. N. R. Puranik of Nāchaṇgāon through the good offices of Dr. K. B. Hedgewar of Nāgpur. The plates when first found, were covered with verdigris in some places but they have since been cleaned by the Government Epigraphist who has also kindly supplied us with ink-impressions.

They are **three copper-plates** each measuring 10·3″ in length, from 6·5″ to 6·9″ in breadth and about ⅛″ in thickness. The middle plate is slightly thicker than the others. Their ends are raised to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right side, about ½″ from the end, each plate has a circular hole about ·6″ in diameter for the **ring** which has connected it with other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about ·4″ in thickness and 3·1″ in diameter, were soldered into the socket of a **seal.** The latter is circular, 1·6″ in diameter, and contains on a countersunk surface a representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The seal does not contain any legend. The ring was not cut when the plates came to our hands. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 228½ *tolas.*

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there are damaged by verdigris, but in almost all cases they can either be read from the traces left on the plates or easily supplied from other records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, with which the present plates have a considerable portion in common. The names of the donees and localities are difficult of deciphering due to the careless manner in which the record is incised. The repetition of the names of most of the donees in ll. 55-58 where their *gōtras* as well as the shares assigned to each are recorded, has, however, helped us in the correct decipherment of some doubtful letters. There are 58 lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, thirteen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate, and the remaining sixteen on the third plate. The last line

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[1] This verse *primâ facie* seems to describe a person named Satyasādhāra, who was a son of Sādhāra mentioned in the preceding verse. But, in that case, Satyasādhāra would be a queer name, though the title ' Dakshiṇāpatha-Sādhāra ' of Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin may be cited in support of it. I think the poet shows in this verse how the name Sādhāra was truly significant. He was so called because he was the support (*ādhāra*) of all virtues. There are thus two verses in praise of Sādhāra. An analogous instance is furnished by the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskaravarman. See verses 17-18 (above, Vol. XII, p. 74) and footnote 11 (*ibid.*, p. 77). [But cf. names like Vijaya-sādhāra and Sumati-sādhāra in the Arthūṇā inscription of the Paramāra Maṇḍanadēva (above, Vol. XIV, p. 303). On this analogy Sādhāra and Satya-sādhāra of the present inscription may be the names of the father and the son respectively.—Ed.]

which is incised in the right hand corner of the third plate for want of space, is only 3" in length. The letters are deeply, though somewhat carelessly, cut. They do not, however, show through on the reverse. Their average size is about ·3" except in the last four lines where it is reduced to ·2". Several letters have identical or closely similar forms, so that in many cases it is difficult to say which of them is meant; see, for example, *ē*, *v* and *dh* in *-vādhaḥ*, l. 11, and *ēvam*, l. 35 and compare *s* in *nāsīra-*, ll. 19-20, and *pātakais=*, l. 47 with *m* in *=agamad=*, l. 19. Similarly, *p* and *y* are exactly alike in *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, l. 28 and *yathā*, l. 31; so also, *kv* and *ksh* in *kv=āpi*, l. 18, and *kshitau*, l. 5. Again, the looped form of *n* stands for *bh* in *a-bhrū-vibhaṁgam=*, l. 9, *bhaya-*, l. 18, *=bhyantara-*, l. 41, etc.; for *k* in *-kshayakaram=*, ll. 18-19; and also for the subscript *ḍ* and the superscript *t* in *daṇḍa-*, l. 10 and *-ātapattra*, l. 19 respectively. The vertical stroke of *k* is not incised in some cases, *e.g.*, in *kshmāpaḥ*, l. 5, *kshata-*, l. 11, *Kutimāsha*, l. 56, *Nārauka* and *Chhaṭhikumarashya*, l. 57 and probably also in *Kukkaikēn=ēti*, l. 55. The engraver has again inadvertently omitted some words and syllables in a few places, *e.g.*, °*r=vidhu-* in l. 2, *chāru* in l. 25, *-kraḥ* in l. 22, etc., and has wrongly repeated *bhūpaḥ* in l. 2, *dhāma* in l. 4, *s-ōdraṁgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ* in l. 39, etc. The words [*nadī*] *Marī*[*cha*], (l. 37) and the letter *sa* in *Vājasanē* (l. 57) which were at first omitted are engraved immediately below. In one case the engraver has corrected his mistake by scoring out a wrong stroke; see *Aṁjaṇavaṁty-* in l. 37 where the curve for medial *u* of *ju* is cancelled.

The **characters** are Nāgarī as in the Paiṭhaṇ plates of Gōvinda III. As regards individual letters we may note the following peculiarities:—Besides the regular form of initial *ā* in *āsīd=*, l. 1, another in which the letter is laid on its side occurs in *ā-chandr*°, l. 40. The medial *ā* is generally marked by downward vertical stroke, but in conjunction with *j*, *ṭ*, and *h* it rises upwards, occasionally ending in a curve, cf. *-prajā-vādhaḥ*, l. 11, *-bhaṭṭāraka-* and *Mahārāja-*, l. 28. The medial *u* is generally shown either with a serif as in *Dantidurgga-*, l. 7, or with a curve open on the left as in *chatur-*, l. 6, but also occasionally with a loop as in *krōdhād=utkhāta-*, l. 16, *niyukta-*, l. 31, *vindu*, l. 52 and with a curve turned downwards in cases where the vertical stroke already ends in a serif as in *ruchi-*, l. 17 and *Dhruva-*, l. 22. Besides the usual form of the medial *ū* as in *bhūpaḥ*, l. 2, *tanūjaḥ*, l. 6, etc., there are two others seen in *-rūpaṁ*, l. 19, and *-grāmakūṭ-*, l. 31. Several letters have more than one form; see for example, *j* in *Rājādhirāja-*, l. 16 and *rājasu*, l. 3; *p* in *praṇayishu*, ll. 13-14 and *nirvvapaṇaṁ*, l. 14; *bh* in *bhōktā*, l. 7 and *a-bhrū-vibhaṁgam=*, l. 9; *l* in *Vallabha-* and *dhūlī* both in l. 20 and *ruchir-ōllikhit-*, l. 5; *v* in *vō* l. 1, *Vajraṭa*, l. 8 and *-varggō*, l. 18; *ṭh* in *Chhaṭhikumara-*, ll. 34-35 and *Vasishṭha*, l. 32; and finally the subscript *ḍ* in *Pāṇḍya-*, l. 8, *Mayūrakhaṇḍī*, l. 42 and *daṇḍa*, l. 10. *N* is generally shown with a loop and *t* without it, but the opposite forms also occur sporadically; see *n* in *-abhidhāno*, l. 37, *-bhyantara*, l. 41, *Vājasanē*, l. 57, etc., and the superscript *t* in *-ātapattra*, l. 19. *H* occasionally shows a tail as in *mahā-*, l. 22 and *r* a loop on the left as in *-ruchir*°, l. 5, *-prahāraiḥ*, l. 15; when the latter forms a member of the ligatures *rya* and *rva* it is placed horizontally as in *sūrya*, l. 42 and *parvaṁta*, l. 40. The conjunct *rth* is marked by a curled curve turned to the left as in *samarthaḥ* and *Pārth-ōpamaḥ* in l. 23. The final form of *t*, which occurs in ll. 7, 12, 49, and 50, is shown with an encircling curve.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Some of the names of the donees and *gōtras*, however, are in Prākrit, *e.g.*, *Chhaṭhikumara* for *Shashṭhīkumāra*, *Kramaïtta*, for *Kramāditya*, etc. The first twenty-seven lines which form the eulogistic part are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last four lines are again in prose, and record the name of the writer and the *dūtaka* of the record as well as the *gōtras* and shares of some of the donees. As regards **orthography** attention may be drawn to the following:—(1) The consonant following *r* and that before *y* are occasionally doubled;

e.g., *Dantidurgga*, l. 7 and *pād-ānuddhyāta*, l. 29. (2) A class nasal is only rarely used for *anusvāra*, *e.g.*, *aśānta*, l. 10 ; *pañcha*, l. 36, etc. (3) *V* is used for *b* throughout, cf. *vala* for *bala*, l. 8 ; *-vādhaḥ* for *-bādhaḥ*, l. 11, etc. (4) *Ṛi* is wrongly incised for *ri* in *Kanak-āddṛi*, l. 6, *kṛiy-ōtsarppaṇ-*, l. 36, etc. (5) *Anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *-ānsa-pīṭhaḥ*, l. 5 and *vice versâ* in *mahattar-ādīṁ*, l. 31, etc. (6) The palatal *ś* and the lingual *sh* are wrongly incised for the dental *s* in *vijaya-śkandhāga(vā)r-*, l. 42 and *Chhaṭhikumarashya*, l. 57 respectively.

Besides these, there are several mistakes due to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, *e.g.*, the use of the unaspirate *t* for the aspirate *tha* in *stityā*, l. 43, the omission of *visarga* before *s* in *saṁyukta syād*, l. 47, the use of *anusvāra* to denote length in *mahaṁ-dēvyā*, l. 54 and *Haṁridra*, l. 55. In the formal part of the grant there are some wrong *sandhis*, e.g., *prakshēpaṇīyō ā-chandr-ārk-*, l. 40 ; *parvaṇyiudaka*, l. 42, etc.

The plates were issued by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III** from his victorious capital at **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** on the occasion of a *tulā-purusha*[1] gift at the time of a solar eclipse in the expired **Śaka year seven hundred and twenty-two.** The date cannot be verified for want of the necessary details. There was only one solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 722, *viz.*, that which occurred on the New-Moon day of the month of Āshāḍha, the corresponding Christian date being Thursday, 25th June, A.D. 800. This date falls in the reign of Gōvinda III, who ruled from *circa* A.D. 794 to A.D. 814.

Like the earlier Paiṭhaṇ plates[2] the present inscription incorporates many old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the older records of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I and Dhruva. The eulogistic part of the present plates is, however, shorter than that of the Paiṭhaṇ plates, as eleven verses, *viz.*, 3, 4, 10, 12, 17, 20-22, 25-27, which occur in the latter are not included here.

The genealogy of Gōvinda III is given here as in his other plates, commencing from Gōvinda I, *viz.*, Gōvinda (I) ; his son Kakka (I) ; his son Indra (II) ; his son Dantidurga, who defeated the innumerable forces of the Karṇāṭas which were clever in defeating the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kērala, the Chōla, the Pāṇḍya, the illustrious Harsha and Vajraṭa and who attained the position of *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara* by easily defeating Vallabha ; (his uncle) Krishṇa-Śubhatuṅga-Akālavarsha, the son of Kakka I, who defeated Rāhappa and assumed the titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* ; his son, Gōvinda (II) ; his younger brother Dhruva ; his son Gōvinda (III), who was crowned king by his father in supersession of his other sons. Gōvinda III is here said to have assumed the *birudas* of *Pṛithivī-vallabha*, *Prabhūtavarsha* and *Śrīvallabha*. There is nothing new in the eulogistic verses, which, as stated above, are copied from earlier records. As in the Paiṭhaṇ plates there is here no reference to any of Gōvinda's campaigns in the north or the south.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Aṁjanavaṁtī** on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the following thirteen Brāhmaṇas :—(1) **Ruddappa Dīkshita**, son of Gōvvaika-bhaṭṭa of Vasishṭha-*gōtra*, who was a religious student of the Ṛigvēda, and a resident of Vēyaghana ; (2) **Durgappa** of **Kramaïtta**-*gōtra* who was a resident of **Talēvāṭaka** ; (3) Dēvadatta of Hāridra-*gōtra*[3] ; (4) Nārāyaṇa[4] of Kutimāsha (Kulmāsha ?) -*gōtra* ; (5) **Maṅgappa** ;

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[1] Gōvinda III seems to have weighed himself against gold before making the gift ; cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, *ll.* 46-47 and 50-53, above, Vol. VII, p. 40. A similar expression *tulā-purusha-sthitē* occurs in the Sāmāngaḍ plates of Dantidurga which Fleet was inclined to take as an astronomical expression (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 114), but the expression probably qualifies the word *mayi* which seems to have been omitted inadvertently.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 103.

[3] The *gōtras* of nos. 3, 4, 6-8, and 10-12, which were at first omitted, are supplied in ll. 55-57.

[4] This name appears wrongly as Nāraṇa in l. 56.

(6) Vōppaṇa of Hāridra-*gōtra*; (7) Aiyani[1] of Mōggala-*gōtra*; (8) Gantiyamma of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*; (9) Lavvaiya; (10) Kasamaṇa[2] of Kāśyapa-*gōtra*; (11) Chhaṭhikumara of Vājasanē(ya)-*gōtra*[3] (?); (12) Nārauka of Sīguli (Saṅgali ?)-*gōtra* and (13) Vādi. The revenue of the village was divided into eighteen (equal) shares of which the Dīkshita Ruddappa was given five, Dēvadatta two and the remaining eleven one each. The donated village was situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Achalapura and was bounded on the east by the village Raṅgalachhyi and the river Mari, on the south by the village Gōhasōdvā, on the west by the village Sallaimāla and the hill Timisa, and on the north by the village Kurē and Vaṭapura. The charter was written by Kukkaika, the minister in charge of peace and war, and the son of the military officer *Sāmanta* śrī-Gauta, by the order of the Emperor (Gōvinda III), and with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*). The *dūtaka* was the illustrious Chākkirāja.

The present plates do not add anything to our knowledge of Gōvinda III's reign, but the mention of Chākkirāja as the *dūtaka* of the present grant is interesting. He evidently occupied a high position at Gōvinda's court and is probably identical with the illustrious Chākirāja, the lord (*adhirāja*) of the entire Gaṅga-maṇḍala, who made a request to Gōvinda III to grant a village to the Jaina ascetic Arkakīrti to avert the adverse influence of Saturn from his sister's son Vimalāditya as recorded in the Kaḍaba plates of the reign of Gōvinda III[4]. The circumstances which led to the elevation of Chākirāja, who was at first an officer at the court of Gōvinda III, to the position of the ruler of the entire Gaṅga province can now be clearly stated. The Gaṅga king was one of those princes who had come to the help of Gōvinda II, when his brother Dhruva rebelled against him. He was imprisoned by the latter who placed his son Stambha in charge of the conquered Gaṅga province. The Gaṅga prince was released by Gōvinda III after his accession, probably to create a rival to his brother who had become hostile to him[5]. He ungratefully joined Stambha but was speedily defeated along with the latter. Though Gōvinda III magnanimously pardoned Stambha as implied in the Sanjān plates[6], he is not likely to have reinstated him as a ruler of the *whole* of the Gaṅga province. He must have placed some trusted officer of his, like Chākirāja, in charge of some portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala to serve as a check on his brother. Later on, when the whole Gaṅga country was annexed consequent on a second revolt or, perhaps, the death of Stambha, Chākirāja must have been put in charge of the *entire* Gaṅga province as stated in the Kaḍaba plates. If the above reasoning is correct, Stambha's revolt and defeat must be placed between A.D. 800, the date of the present grant and A.D. 805, the date of the Nēsari plates, in which the defeat of the Gaṅga king is mentioned for the first time[7].

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[1] This name is written as Aīya[ni] in l. 56.

[2] The name appears as Kasamana in l. 56.

[3] The name of the *śākhā* is here wrongly mentioned as *gōtra*.

[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 332.

[5] Altekar—*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 61 f.

[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244, verse 18.

[7] [In this connection attention may be drawn to the following note of Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao :—

Though it is known from inscriptions that Gōvinda III put down the rebellion headed by his elder brother Stambha, it is nowhere stated that Gōvinda pardoned him. But from the Maṇṇe plates (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61) of A.D. 802 and the Badanaguppe plates (*Mys. Archl. Report* 1927, p. 112) of A.D. 808, both issued by Khambhadēva (*i.e.*, Stambha), we learn that he was a subordinate of Gōvinda. The former of these records states that Khambha made the grant specified in it with the permission of his younger brother while in the latter he acknowledges the suzerainty of Gōvinda. There is no reason to suppose that he was placed in charge of only a portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala, since the two grants referred to above were issued respectively from Mānyapura (Maṇṇe in Mysore State) and Talavananagara (Talakāḍ in Mysore), the two important capitals of the

While editing the Kaḍaba plates Dr. Lüders has enumerated in detail the several circumstances which, in his opinion, create a suspicion about the genuineness of those plates[1]. The occurrence of Chākirāja's name in the present plates[2], though it cannot decide the question, may still be adduced as a point in favour of the genuineness of the Kaḍaba grant.

As for the **places** mentioned in the present plates, **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** where the King's victorious capital was situated is mentioned as the place of issue in four other published records, *viz.*:—Vaṇī-Diṇḍorī[3], Rādhanpur[4], Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa[5] and Kaḍaba[6] plates. In the first three of these the word '*vijayaskandhāvāra*' does not occur. Our plates[7], however, have it in common with the Kaḍaba plates. Dr. Bühler first identified Mayūrakhaṇḍī with Morkhaṇḍ[8], a hill fort in the Sātmālā or Ajaṇṭā range, close to Saptaśṛiṅgī and north of Vaṇī in the Nāsik District and this identification has, since then, been accepted without question. As Mayūrakhaṇḍī has been mentioned as a place of royal residence in as many as five records[9], it could not have been only a temporary site of the royal camp. Besides in the present plates the charter is said to have been written with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*), who was, thus, probably present at Mayūrakhaṇḍī at the time of the solar eclipse. The place may, therefore, have been the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital in the time of Gōvinda III. No other place has been mentioned as the capital in any of his plates. We may, again, note in this connection that *skandhāvāra* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of a royal capital[10] also and the word *vijaya* (victorious) is not unknown as a prefix of its name[11]. As for Bühler's observation that Mayūrakhaṇḍī does not seem to have been Gōvinda III's capital, 'though it may have been an occasional place of residence' because 'Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts', we may point out that the difficulty pointed out

Gaṅga-maṇḍala. Further, neither in the record under publication, which contains the earliest mention of Chākirāja, nor in another set of Maṇṇe plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732 (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 88), is he called *Gaṅga-maṇḍal-ādhirāja*, which epithet is applied to him for the first time in the Kaḍaba plates of A.D. 812. It is therefore likely that he was appointed to govern the Gaṅga-maṇḍala only after the death of Khambha, which must have taken place subsequent to the date of his Badanaguppe plates, *viz.*, A.D. 808, and probably after A.D. 810, the date of the second set of Maṇṇe plates which does not style him 'the ruler of Gaṅga-maṇḍala'. So, the mention of Chākirāja—without even an official designation or title—in the Añjanavatī plates cannot help us in fixing the date of Stambha's revolt or defeat. All that can be said is that Stambha must have submitted to Gōvinda before A. D. 802, the date of the first set of Maṇṇe plates where also we find the earliest mention of the defeat and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king—and not in the Nēsari plates of A.D. 805 as stated by Prof. Mirashi.—Ed.]

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 333 f.

[2] [Chākirāja's name is found also in the Maṇṇe plates of A.D. 810; see n. 4 above.—Ed.]

[3] मयूरखण्डीसमावासितेन मया, etc. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159.

[4] मयूरखण्डीसमावासितेन मया, etc. Above, Vol. VI, p. 245.

[5] श्रीमयूरखण्डीसमावासितेन मया, etc. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27f. (pub. by B. I. S. Maṇḍala, Poona).

[6] मयूरखण्डिमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे चाकिराजेन विज्ञप्तो वल्लभनरेन्द्रः, etc.

[7] मया . . . . मयूरखण्डीसमावासितविजयश्कं(स्क)न्धाग(वा)रावस्थितेन below p. 17.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 64. The expression '*vijayaskandhāvārāvasthita*' occurs also in two more sets of Gōvinda III's plates recently found in Berār, which record donations of villages in Berār.

[9] See the above foot-notes.

[10] The word is used in the sense of capital in the *Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan*, Adhyāya 185, verse 6, (Bombay Recension) and Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*, p. 153 (Nirṇaya Sāgar ed.). Cf. Hēmachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* (ed. by N. C. Bhattacharya) p. 25. Note also in this connection the expression श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकनौहस्त्यश्वपत्तिसम्पन्नस्कन्धावारात् which occurs in many plates of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Mahōdaya was the capital of the Pratihāras. Cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, v. 19 (above, Vol. VII, p. 38).

[11] Cf. विजयानिबद्धपुरात in the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna.

by Bühler is of his own creation. For we need not identify Mayūrakhaṇḍī with Morkhaṇḍ, the hillfort in the Nāsik District, where no early remains of any kind are found. There is a village called Markaṇḍi on the bank of the Waingaṅgā, 56 miles south-east of Chāndā in the Central Provinces. It contains some twenty elaborately carved temples which have been described and enthusiastically praised by Cunningham[1] whose opinion Bloch[2] has endorsed. As Cunningham says, it was once a large place, but frequent inundations have driven most of the people away. The principal temple is called after Mārkaṇḍēya Ṛishi; there is another, named after his brother Murkaṇḍ Ṛishi. Both of these are dedicated to Śiva and assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D. by Cunningham. There is another temple called Daśāvatāra dedicated to Vishṇu to which Cunningham assigned a period two or three centuries earlier. There are, besides, inscriptions on square monolith pillars which, on palæographic grounds, can be referred to the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is clear, therefore, that Markaṇḍi was a flourishing place in the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and may have been the ancient Mayūrakhaṇḍī mentioned as a place of royal residence in several grants of Gōvinda III. In later times, when its ancient name was forgotten, it seems to have been conjecturally connected with Mārkaṇḍēya Ṛishi. **Aṁjaṇavaṁtī** the donated village still retains its name practically unchanged. **Achalapura,** which gave its name to the district in which the above village was situated is identical with modern Ellichpur in Berār[3]. Most of the boundary villages can also be definitely identified in the vicinity of Añjanavatī. Thus, **Gōhasōdvā** is Gahvā, 1½ miles to the south; the village **Sallaimāla** is now represented by two villages—Salōra, 2½ miles to the west and Amlā which lies about 5 miles to the south-west; **Kurē** is undoubtedly modern Kurhā, 3 miles to the north-west and **Vaṭapura** is Vaḍur about a mile east of Kurhā. **Raṁgalachhyi** cannot be identified. **Timisa** may have been the ancient name of the hills west of Añjanavatī and Mari that of a *nālā* flowing near by, which have no particular names now. **Vēyaghana** and **Talēvāṭaka** where the donees resided are now represented by Waigaon 3 miles south and Taḷegaon about 10 miles south by west of Añjanavatī.

TEXT.[4]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 18 and 20 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 16 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 5 *Gīti*; vv. 8-10 and 17 *Āryā*; vv. 12 and 13 *Sragdharā*; v. 14 *Upajāti*; v. 19 *Indravajrā*; v. 21 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[5] [।*] स वोव्याद्वेधसा [ध]ाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य का[न्तें]दुकलया कमलंकृ[तं] ॥[१*] आसीद्वि(द्वि)ष-

2 त्तिमिरमुद्यतमंडलाग्रो [ध्व]स्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः भूपः[6] शुचि[7][रि]वा-स्त[8]दिगन्तकी-

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[1] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 142 ff.

[2] *PRAS, E C.*, for 1907-1908.

[3] This name is a corrupt form of Alachapura which is derived from Achalapura by metathesis. Hēmachandra has actually cited the present name to illustrate metathesis (*Achalapurē chalōḥ*) in his Prakrit Grammar (*Siddha-Hēmachandra*, VIII, 2, 118). Achalapura is mentioned as the place of issue in the Tivarkhēḍ plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja, Śaka 553 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.).

[4] From the original plates and ink-impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] This word is superfluous.

[7] Read °र्विधु after शुचि.

[8] Read °रिवास्त. The Alās plates of Yuvarāja Gōvinda II read भूपश्शशांकवदवास.

3 त्तिर्गोविंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः ॥[२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घ-[1] कीर्त्तिरा[र्त्ता]र्त्तिहारिहरिवि-

4 क्रमधाम[धा]म[2]धा[रो] [।*] [भू]पस्त्रि[3]विष्टपनृपा[नु]कृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीक[4]कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व(र्ब)[भूव] ॥[३*] त-

5 स्य प्र[भिन्न]करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांस[5] पीठः [।*] क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]त्रुरभू-

6 त्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रि[6] रिवेंद्रराजः ॥[४*] तस्योपार्जितमहसः[7] तनयश्चतुरुदधि-

7 वल[यम]ालिन्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृश[8] श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[५*] काञ्चीशक(के)रल-

8 नराधिपचोल[9]पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [।*] कार्ण्णाटकं व(ब)लम[न]न्त-

9 मजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[६*] अभ्रूविभंगमगृहीत-

10 निशातशस्त्रमश्रा[10]न्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डव(ब)लेन जित्वा

11 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[७*] तस्मिं[11] द्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजा-वा(बा)धः [।*]

12 श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[८*] उभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणू-

13 र्द्ध(र्द्ध्व)रुद्धरविकिरणं [।*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[९*] दीनानाथप्रण-

14 यिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [।*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षो वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनि-र्व्वापणं[12] ॥[१०*]

Second Plate ; First Side.

15 राहप्पमात्मभुजजातव(ब)लावलि[प्मा]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [।*] [पा]लि-

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[1] The Alās plates read दीप्तकीर्तिं.

[2] This word is superfluous.

[3] Read स्त्रिविष्टप.

[4] This name generally appears as here. The Paiṭhaṇ plates, however, give श्रीकर्कराज इति.

[5] Read °ल्लिखितांसपीठ.

[6] Read कनकाद्रि-.

[7] The Alās plates read °यशसः and the Taḷegaon plates of Krishṇarāja (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 279 ff.) °तपसः.

[8] Read सदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग°.

[9] Read चोल as in the Paiṭhaṇ and many other plates.

[10] The Alās and Taḷegaon plates read °मश्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञ°.

[11] Read तस्मिन्दिवं.

[12] The Alās and Taḷegaon plates read सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वपने.

16 ध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान ॥[११*] क्रो-[धादु]त्खातख-

17 ड्गप्रसृतरुचिचयैर्भासमानं समंतादाजावुद्वृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभ-

18 दक्षं [।*] शौर्यं त्यक्ता(क्त्वा)रिवर्गो भयचकितवपुः क्वापि दृष्टैव[1] सद्यो दर्प्पा-ध्मातारिचक्रक्षयक-

19 रमगमद्यस्य दोर्द्दण्डरूपं ॥[१२*] येन श्वे(श्वे)तातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जग्मे [ना]-

20 सीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्या(ख्य:) सदाजौ [।*] स श्रीगोविंदराजो जित-जगदहि[तस्त्रै]-

21 णवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासी[त्*] सूनुरेकक्षणरणदलिताराातिमत्तेभकुंभः ॥[१३*] तस्यानु-

22 [2]जश्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावो विततप्रताप[3][:।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच[क्र:*] क्रमेण

23 व[4] वा(बा)लार्कवपुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥[१४*] तस्याप्यभूद्भुवनभारभृतौ समर्थः पार्थोपमः पृथु[स]मा-

24 नगुणो गुणज्ञः [।*] दुर्व्वारवैरिवनितातुलतापहेतुर्ग्गोविंदराज इति सूनुरिनप्रता-

25 पः ॥[१५*] यश्च प्रभुश्चतुर[5]रुदारकीर्त्तिरासेदिवान्निरुपमस्य पितुः सकाशात्स-(त् । स)त्स्वप्यने-

26 कतनयेषु गुणातिरेकान्मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तनृपसम्मतमाशु राज्यं ॥[१६*] तेनेदमनि-

27 लविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं [।*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो

Second Plate ; Second Side.

28 व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं ॥[१७*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]रमेश्वरश्रीमहारावर्ष-

29 देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभप्रभूतव-

30 र्षश्रीवल्लभनरेंद्रदेवः कुशली ॥ सर्व्वानेव यथासंव(ब)ध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषय[प]-तिग्राम-

31 कूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं[6] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापि-

[1] Read दृष्टैव.

[2] Read °जः.

[3] The Paithaṇ plates read महानुभावोप्रहतप्रतापः.

[4] This syllable is redundant.

[5] Read -श्चतुरश्चारुरुदार- as in the Paithaṇ plates.

[6] Read महत्तरादीन्.

32 चोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [वे]यघन[1]वास्तव्य वसिष्ठसगोत्रव(ब)ह्वृच-सब्र(ब्र)-

33 ह्मचारिमंचकगोव्वैकभट्टपुत्रवद्दप्पदीक्षित । तथा तलेवाटकवास्तव्यदुर्ग्गप्पक्रमइत्त । गीं-

34 त[2] । देवदत्त । नारायण । मंगप्प । वोप्पण[3] । ऐयनि[4] । गंतियम्म । लव्वै[य्य][5] । कसमण । छठि-

35 कुमर । नारीक । वादि । एवमाद्यष्टादशसंख्याभागविभक्तस्य[6] म[हा]जनस्य [व(ब)लि]-

36 चरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्र(क्रि)योत्सर्प्पणार्थं श्रीमदचलपुरवि[षया]न्तर्ग्गत-

37 [7]अंजु(ज)णवंत्यभिधानो ग्रामः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो रंगलछि ग्रामः [नदी] सरि[च] द[क्षिणतः] [गो]हसो

38 [हा][8]ग्रामः पश्चि[म]तः सन्नैमालग्रामस्तिमिसगिरिश्च उत्तरतः कुरेग्रा[मः] वट-[पु]रं च एवम-

39 यं [चतु]राघाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः [9]सपरिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यादेय[:*] सोद्रंगः[10] सपरिकरः

40 समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो[11] आचन्द्रार्काण्णर्वक्षितिसरित्पर्वं(र्व)तसमकालीन[:*] पुत्रपौत्रान्व-

41 यक्रमोपभोग्योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशे(श)तेषु म(स)प्तसु द्वाविंश-त्यधिकेषु मयूर-

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[1] The first letter of this place-name can also be read as चे or च्चे and the third letter is damaged by rust; but the reading given above appears probable, as it corresponds to Vaigaon in the vicinity of Añjanavatī.

[2] Read क्रमइत्तगोत्र । It may be noted in this connection that the enumeration of the *gōtras* in ll. 55-57 starts with देवदत्त. The *gōtra* of दुर्ग्गप्प must, therefore, have been mentioned before. Besides, the number of the Brahmin donees was only thirteen. So *gōṁta* cannot be taken as a name. [*Kramaitta* probably stands for Skt. *Kramavit* and not *Kramāditya* as suggested by Prof. Mirashi. *Kramāditya* as a *gōtra* name does not find place in the *Gōtra-Pravara-nibandha-kadamba*. It may be that the *gōtra* of Durggappa who was a *kramavit*, was omitted through inadvertence.—Ed.]

[3] With the first letter of this, compare वो in महानुभावो in l. 22. The name occurs again in l. 56 where the first letter is clearly वो.

[4] That the first letter of this name is ऐ is clear from the form [श्री]इयने: which occurs in l. 55.

[5] [Or probably Lachchaiya.—Ed.]

[6] This expression should properly qualify ग्रामः in *l.* 37. Read, therefore, विभक्तः.

[7] The *anusvāra* on अ is clear on the original plate. The engraver first incised the medial उ of जु and then cancelled it. Read °मंतांजनवत्यभिधानो. [The fourth letter here looks more like *paṁ* than *vaṁ*.—Ed.]

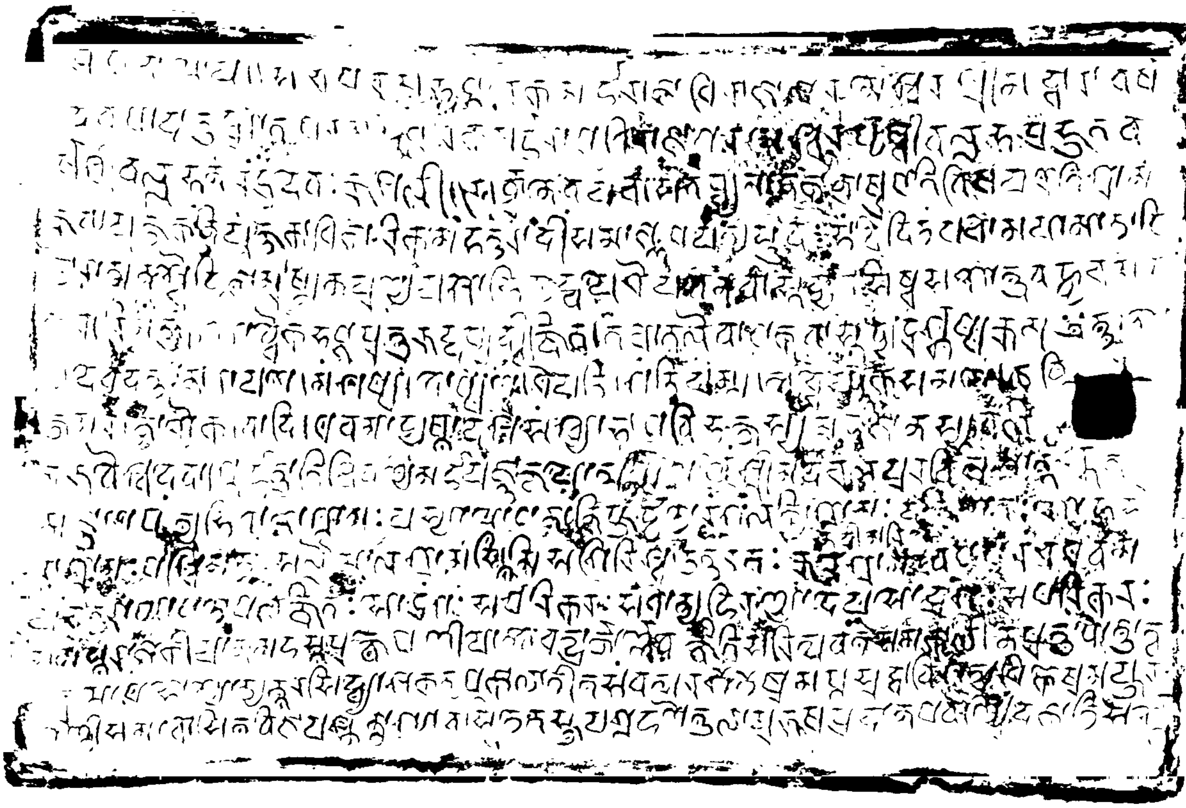
[8] This syllable can also be read as ह्वा, but the reading given above is probable, since the name corresponds to Gahvā near Añjanavatī.

[9] This word appears as here in the Paiṭhaṇ plates also. Read सोपरिकरः as in many other plates.

[10] This and the next word are unnecessarily repeated here.

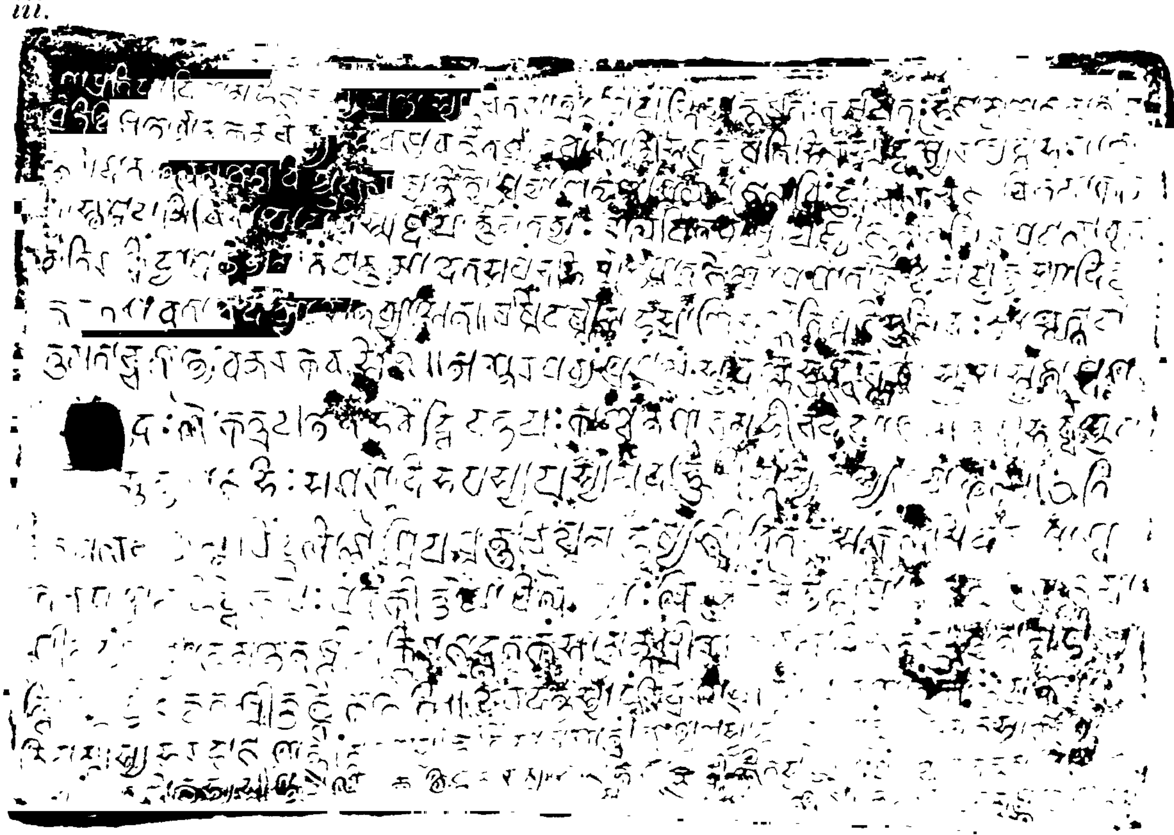
[11] Read प्रक्षेपणीय आचन्द्रा°.

iib.



28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42

iii.



44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. NO. 3942 E'36-435.

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

42 [स्क]न्धीसमावासितविजयश्कन्धागरावस्थितेन[1] सूर्यग्रहणे तुलापुरुषप्रदानप[र्व]णि[2]दका-तिसर्गे-

Third Plate.

43 ण प्रतिपादितो महाजनस्य [।*] यतोस्योचितया व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्ति(स्थि)[त्या] कृषतः क[र्ष]यतः भुंजतो भोजयतः

44 प्रतिदिशतोर्[3]व्वा न केनचिद्द्यासेधे प्रवर्त्तितव्यं [।*] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वं-श्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं

45 भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृ[णा]ग्रलग्नजलविं(बिं)दुरं(च)चलं च जीवितमाकल-

46 य्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव्यः रा(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपट-लावृत-

47 मतिराछिं(च्छिं)द्यादाछि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुमा(मो)देत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोप-पातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्यु-[4]

48 क्तं च त(भ)गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षं(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चा-

49 नुमंताच[5] तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[१८*] अग्नेरपत्यं(त्यं) प्रप्र(थ)मं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च ग(गा)-

50 वः [।*] लोकत्रयं ते[न] भवेद्धि दत्त(त्तं) यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[१९*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा

51 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभ(भिः) [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ[लं] ॥[२०*] इति

52 कमलदलाम्वुविंदुलोलो[6] श्रियप्र(म)नुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] सकलमिदमशाश्व-

53 तं च वु(बु)द्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [॥२१॥*] लिखितं चैतन्मया पर[मे]श्वराज्ञया

54 श्रीमद्दं(द्दा)देव्यानुमतेन श्रीचाकिराजदूतकं सामन्तश्रीगौतव(ब)लाधिकृतसूनुना महासा-

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1 Read विजयस्कन्धावारावस्थितेन.

2 The writer first wrote पर्वणि and then thought of joining the last syllable with the initial उ of उदक. Read पर्वण्युदक°.

3 Read प्रतिदिशतो वा.

4 Read ादिति ।

5 Read °नुमन्ता च.

6 Read दलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां.

55 न्धिविग्रहाधिकृतश्रोकु[कै[1]]केनेति । देवदत्तस्य हं(हा)रिद्रगोत्तं । मोग्गलगो[त्तं] [अ]इयने: [।] [गं]-

56 तियम्मस्य भ(भा)रद्दाजगा(गो)त्तं । नारणस्य[2] कुतिमाषगोत्तं । वोप्पणस्य हारिद्रं गोत्तं । कसमनस्य का[श्य]प-

57 गोत्तं । नारौकस्य[3] सीगुलि [।*] छठिकुमरष्य[4] वाजसने[5]गोत्त(त्तं) [।*] दीच्चितस्य भागा: पंर(च) देवदत्तस्य [द्वौ भागौ[6]]

58 शेषा एकादश [।*] एवमष्टादश भा[गा: ।*][7]

No. 3.—ARANG PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA.

BY PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

The charter which is edited below consists of **three copper-plates** and was first brought to light by me in March, 1929. I published a short notice of it in the English paper " The Hitavada " of Nāgpur in its issue of April 11, 1929[8]. The plates[9] were in the possession of a cultivator named Bhagirathi Sonkar of **Arang** in the Raipur District of the C. P. Nothing definite is known about the provenance of the grant except that it had been lying in the house of the owner for over fifty years—since the time of his father.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a large and important city. Here and there are many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, both Jain and Brahmanical. The only temple that is now standing is of Jain origin. It is popularly known as Bhanddewal from the fact that it contains three colossal naked Jain figures. The temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues on the outside, many of which are highly indecent. To the west of the town on the bank of a tank there is a small temple dedicated to Mahāmāyā. A description of this temple and also that of the other antiquarian remains at Arang has been given by Cunningham.[10] Besides the present set, two other sets of copper-plates were discovered at the place in addition to a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription.[11]

The plates are held together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a circular **seal** about $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. The seal is identical with that described by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 196. Its upper part shows the representation of a standing **Lakshmī** facing full front ; on each side of her

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[1] The vertical stroke of the superscript *k* of कै is not incised.

[2] Read नारायणस्य.

[3] This name is evidently identical with नारौक in l. 35 above, though here the medial stroke of क is not incised.

[4] Read छठिकुमरस्य. The vertical stroke of क in कु is not incised.

[5] Read वाजसनेय.

[6] These letters are damaged by rust, but traces of the first and the last can be marked on the plate.

[7] Traces of ग are visible on the plate.

[8] Hiralal also has noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 106-A.

[9] Since writing this the plates have been acquired by the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

[10] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff. ; see also *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp. 257 ff.

[11] See above, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. ; *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp. 94, 105 and 110.

an elephant is standing on a water-lily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is a figure of an expanded water-lily and in the proper left that of a conch (*śaṅkha*). Below is the **legend** in two lines. The rims of the plates are not raised. The plates measure 6·4″ in length and 3·2″ in breadth. The weight of the plates is 48½ *tolas* and that of the seal 45 *tolas*. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially in the case of the last plate which was too thin and was, therefore, cut while incising the second and third letters of l. 21. The engraver has, therefore, left 1″ of the breadth on the back of the last plate unincised. The first plate contains five lines of writing on its second side and the second plate has the same number of lines on its first side. The second side of the second plate and the first side of the third contain each six lines of writing, while the second side of the third plate has only four lines.

The **characters** belong to the box-headed type in which the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas and the Rājim and Balodā plates of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja, are written.[1] The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll. 3, 8 and 17, and that of the *jihvāmūlīya* in l. 21. The numerical symbols for 8,[2] 9 and 20 occur in l. 26. The **language** is Sanskrit and, excepting the five benedictory and imprecatory verses at the close, the whole record is in prose.

As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *tṛidaśapati*, l. 6; of *ṅ* for *anusvāra* in *adhyarddhāṅśēna*, l. 10 and of *qna* for *jña* in *svamukh-āqnayā*, ll. 25-26. In *bhavaṁnti*, l. 21, the *anusvāra* is wrongly retained after its change to the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs.

The engraver was Drōṇasiṁgha, who also engraved the Khariyār Plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and the Raipur Plates of the same king, both of which records were issued from Śarabhapura.

The record is dated in the **8th regnal year**[2] of the donor **Mahā-Sudēvarāja** on the **29th day of Vaiśākha.** The place of issue was **Śarabhapura,** which town or city has not yet been definitely identified. Sambalpur town in Orissa, Sirpur (old Śrīpura) the ancient capital of Mahākōsala on the bank of the Mahānadī, in the Raipur District, Sarabhavaram in the Godāvarī District, Sarapgarh or Sarabpur in the Gangpur Feudatory State in the E. S. A. and Sarawā, a village near Sheorinarayan town in the Bilāspur District have been suggested by different scholars as the probable site of the ancient Śarabhapura. These suggestions have been made on the similarity of names only. No authentic evidence has yet been found to confirm the identification. But this seems certain that the dynasty held sway, at least over a part of Mahākōsala—present Chhattīsgarh Division in C. P.—where about seven charters of this family have been discovered. They belong to three different kings :—*viz.*, Mahā-Sudēvarāja, Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja.

Mahā-Pravararāja's charter was issued from Śrīpura, which is no other than the capital town of Mahākōsala referred to in the Rājim and the Balodā Plates of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja who is styled as the supreme lord of Kōsala (*Kōsalādhipati*). The other charters were issued from Śarabhapura. Whether Śarabhapura was also the capital of Prasannamātra and of his son Mānamātra is not known. No copper charters of either have yet been brought to light.

A silver coin of Śrī-Prasannamātra, the grandfather of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja and the father of Mahā-Jayarāja, with the legend inscribed in beautiful box-headed characters was recovered from the bed of the Māna or Māndh[3] river near Salhepali, a village lying in the

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. and above, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.

[2] [See below p. 22 n. 4.—Ed.]

[3] This river is a tributary of the Mahānadī—the great river of Mahākōsala—otherwise known as Chitrōtpalā.

Raigarh Feudatory State, E. S. A. and is in the possession of the Mahākōsala Historical Society at Balpur in the Bilāspur District.

No materials are available to ascertain whether the town or city of Śarabhapura was situated on the Mahānadī and whether it was ever the royal capital of the lords of Kōsala. Not a single charter out of the seven sets of plates of this family known to us, mentions its donor as 'the lord of Kōsala'. Nor does any set describe the village granted to be situated in the Kōsala kingdom. The only reference to the name 'Śarabha' is found in the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Gōparāja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (A. D. 510-511), in which he is stated to be the daughter's son of one Śarabharāja.

The present charter records the royal confirmation of the grant of a village named **Śivilingaka** situated in the **Tōsaḍḍa**-*bhukti*, by the *Pratihāra* Bhōgilla. The particulars of the donees and their shares in the village are as follows :—

(1) Yajñasvāmin of Kātyāyana-*gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā* of the white Yajurvēda;	one share and a half.
(2) Kumāravatsa of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*	one share each.
(3) Yajñasvāmin of Ātrēya-*gōtra*, a student of the Kāṇva-*śākhā* of the white Yajurvēda.	
(4) Viśākhasvāmin of Kātyayāna-*gōtra*	½ share each.
(5) Gōlasvāmin of Kauśika-*gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*	
(6) Dāmōdarasvāmin, same as above	
(7) Dāmasvāmin, same as above	
(8) Pañchālisvāmin of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*	
(9) Dīkshita Āyanīka of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*	

Of the **geographical names Tōsaḍḍa** may be the Tōsarā village in the Patnā State, E. S. A. Prof. V. V. Mirashi identifies Tōsaḍḍa with Tusdā near Dumarpalli about 30 miles to the south-east of Arang. **Śivilingaka** is not traceable near about Arang and Sirpur (old Śrīpura).

I edit the inscription from the original plates.[1]

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति [।*] शरभपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामन्तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्र-

2 सेकाम्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनीसीमन्तोद्धरणहेतु-

3 र्व्वसुवसुधागोप्रद≍प[3]रमभागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यात-

4 श्श्री[4]महासुदेवराजः तोसट्ट(ड्ड)भुक्तीयशिविलिङ्गके प्रतिवासि-

5 कुटुम्बिनस्समाज्ञापयति ।[5] विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्राम-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 स्तृ(स्त्रि)दशपतिसदनसुखप्रतिष्ठा[क*]रो यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्रति-

[1] Ink-impressions of this inscription were also kindly supplied to me by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum, through Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nāgpur University. I am indebted to Prof. Mirashi for very valuable suggestions towards the correct reading and interpretation of certain portions in the text.

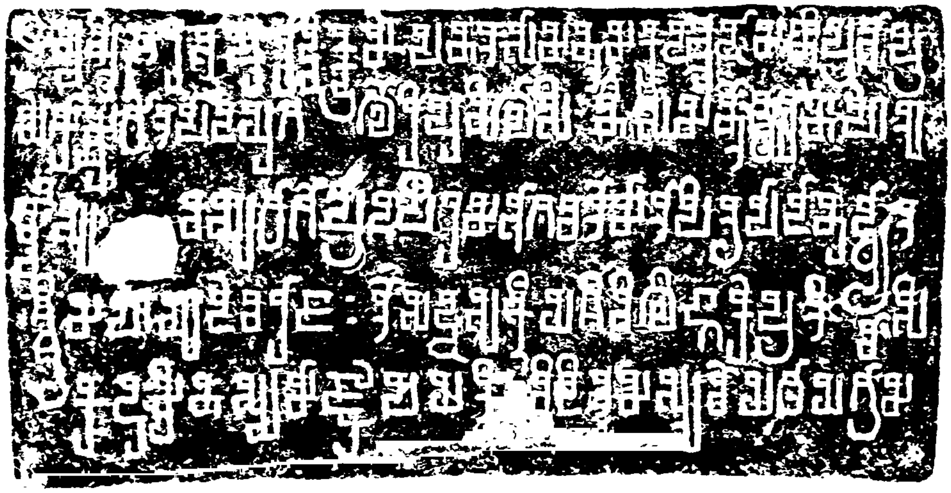
[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The engraver had begun to incise *ma* after *pa*, but later on corrected it into *ra*.

[4] The subscript *r* appears like the sign of medial *ṛi*.

[5] This mark of punctuation is shown by two dots.

i.



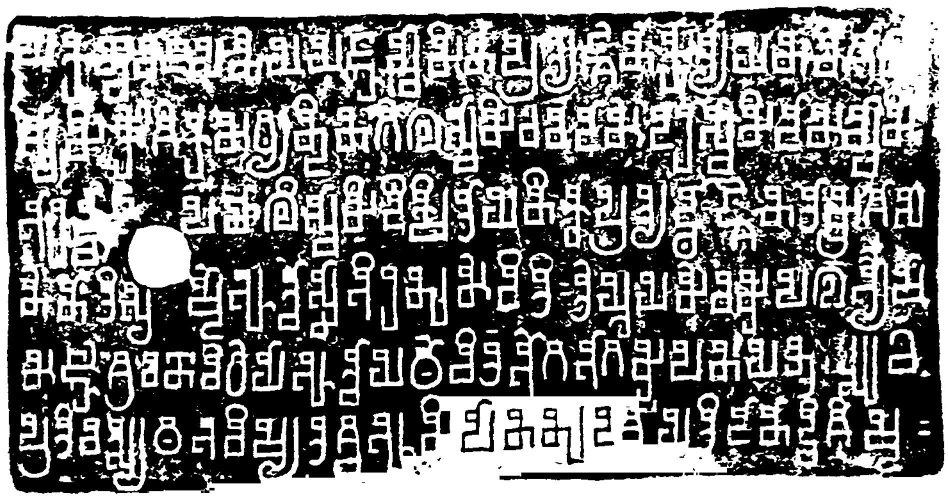
2 2 4 4

ii,a.



6 6 8 8 10 10

ii,b.



12 12 14 14 16 16

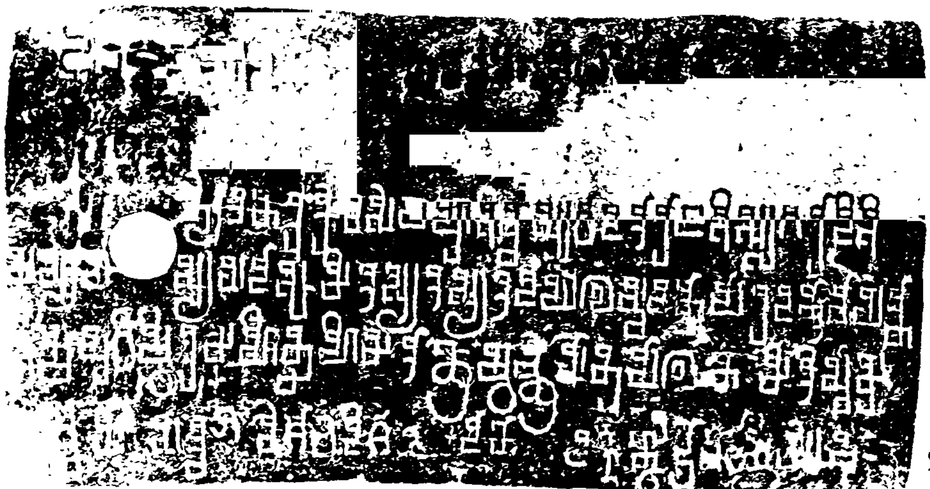
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii,a.



18 18 20 20 22 22

iii,b.



24 24 26 26

Seal — From a photograph. — Actual size.



7 हतघोरान्धका[रं][1] ज[2]गदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यस्सनिधिस्सोपनिधि-

8 रचाटभट[3]प्रावेश्यस्सर्व्वकरविसर्ज्जितः[4]≍प्रतिहारभोगिल्लेन माता-

9 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कात्यायनसगोत्रमाध्यन्दिनवाज-

10 सनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(ने) अध्यर्द्धाङ्गेन[5] भारद्वाजकुमारवत्सश्वा(वत्सा)त्रे-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

11 यकाण्ववाजसनेययज्ञस्वामिन(नौ) प्रत्यङ्गेन[6] कात्यायनविश्वा[ख]-

12 स्वामिकौशिकम(मा)ध्यन्दिनगोलस्वामि एवं दामोदरस्वामि दामस्वामि

13 भारद्वाजपञ्चालिस्वामि दौच्छितायनौका[न्*] प्रत्यर्द्धाङ्गेन[7] ताम्ब्र(म्र)शास-

14 नेनातिसृष्टो भूत्वास्माभिरनुमोदितः[8] [।*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्यैषा-

15 माज्ञाश्रवणविधेया भूत्वा यथोचितं भोगभागमुपनयन्तस्सुखं

16 प्रतिवत्स्यथ [।*] भविष्यतश्च भूमिपाननुदर्शयति [।*] दानाद्विशिष्ट-[9]

Third Plate ; First Side.

17 मनुपालनज(जं) पुराणा धर्म्मेषु निश्चितधियः≍प्रवदन्ति धर्म्मं(र्म्मम्) ॥(।) तस्माद्वि(द्वि)-

18 जाय सुविशुद्धकुलश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तु[म्] ॥[10]

19 सद्भवद्भिरप्येषा दति(त्ति)रनुपालयितव्या [।*] व्यासगोता(तां)श्चात्र श्लोकानु-

20 दाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं ॥[11] भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसु-

21 ताश्च गाव[ः ।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवं(व)न्ति लोका यः काञ्चनं गां च मही-(हीं) च दद्यात् [॥*][12]

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1 The letter *ra* which was first omitted is written below *ja* of *jagad* with a *kākapada* sign and the *anusvāra* meant for *ra* is placed on *kā*.

2 The cross on ज shows that a syllable was omitted.

3 *Ṭa* is written below the line.

4 The *visarga* is superfluous.

5 Read अध्यर्द्धांशेन.

6 Read प्रत्यंशेन.

7 Read प्रत्यर्धांशेन.

8 The medial *i* sign which was first engraved above *taḥ* by mistake has been cancelled.

9 There are two small horizontal strokes here.

10 Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

11 The sign of punctuation here is superfluous.

12 Metre : *Indravajrā.*

22 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं(म)न्ता च ता-

Third Plate; Second Side.

23 न्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*][1] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दता(त्ता) राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:।*]

24 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥*][1] स्वदन्ता(त्तां) परदन्ता(त्तां) वा यत्ना-

25 द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीम्महिमताञ्छ्रेष्ठ दाना[2]च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति[3] [॥*][1] स्वमु-

26 खाम्न(ज्ञ)या संव्व(वत्) ८[4] वैशाख दि २० ९ उक्तौ(क्तो)ण्णं द्रोण[सिंघे]न ॥

The Seal.

1 प्रस[न्नाण्णं]वसम्भू[त]मा[न]मात्रेन्दुजन्मन[: ।*]

2 श्रीमत्स . . . . [शा]सनं[5] [॥*]

No. 4.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHAVARA COMMITTEE.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

One of the principal duties of the village assemblies, of whatever description they may be, *sabhā*, *ūr* or *nagara*, was to secure to the king the taxes or incomes due by the village as a whole. These incomes seem to have been once for all determined and entered in the accounts of the State, the *nāḍu* and the village. The various assemblies mentioned above are given a latitude of free action in the general management of the lands in the village, but are made primarily responsible for the realisation and payment to the State of the incomes due to it. Subject to this responsibility, they seem to have been empowered to dispose of lands according to circumstances, *viz.*, to compound taxes on lands given away as *dēvadānas*, *brahmadēyas*, *paḷḷichchandas*, *śālābhōgas*, etc.; to afford facilities for making the waste lands arable; to authorise the opening of channels, tanks and the like for improving farms; and to regulate the supply of water both for drinking and for cultivation purposes. Besides this responsibility, their chief function appears to have been the management of endowments made to temples and charitable institutions in the villages under their jurisdiction; the well-being of the subjects; local administration of justice, etc., for which they seem to have been vested with necessary powers. For carrying out these varying duties, the members of village assemblies appear to have formed themselves into different committees.

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[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] The syllables दाना which were omitted here have been incised below the line with a *kākapada* sign.

[3] Read °*pālanam* || *iti.*

[4] [I am inclined to read this symbol as 7.—Ed.]

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.* Read the latter half of the verse as *Śrīmat-Sudēvarājasya sthiraṁ jagati śāsanaṁ(m)* following the other plates of this ruler.

Of such committees, the **Pañchavāra-vāriyam**[1] is one. Beyond the mere mention of the name *Pañchavāra-vāriyam* we have not as yet been able to understand the object for which it was formed. And this is the case with the other *vāriyams* as well. Neither does the designation of this committee give us a clue as to the probable sphere of its work. In the compound *Pañchavāra-vāriyam*, the latter part, *viz.*, *vāriyam*, has been understood to mean 'a committee' as in the case of the other groups[2]; the first part, *viz.*, *Pañchavāra*, like *tōṭṭam*, *ēri*, *kuḍumbu*, *kaḷani*, with which the other committees were connected, may denote the object of prime concern of this body. *Pañchavāra*, however, is not a simple word like *tōṭṭam*, *ēri*, etc., but is a compound in itself with a qualifying particle. Literally, it may be rendered into 'five shares' (*pañcha*=five, *vāra*=share).

There are a few inscriptions which throw some light on the interpretation of the term *Pañchavāra-vāriyam*. We give below extracts from these, with translations and short notes, from which it will be seen that it was a committee concerned in the realisation of the revenue in kind due to the king on certain class of lands amounting to five shares (*pañcha-vāra*) out of the six of the entire assessment.

EXTRACT I.[3]

Ll. 54-61 ...aḷa[n]du araiyēy=oru-mā=chcheyyum oḻu[kkavi]ppuṟamum=oḻukkuppuṟamum a[r*]chchanābhōgamum-āga i-nni[la*]ttāl pañchavāramum echchōṟum nēr[v]āyamum veṭṭi-vediṉaiyuñ=cheṉṉīr-podivi........

TRANSLATION.

For *oḻukkavi*, *oḻukku*[4] and *archanābhōga*, (*the incomes from*) this land, *viz.*, *pañchavāram*, *echchōṟu*, *nērvāyam*, *veṭṭi*, *vediṉai*, and *cheṉṉīrpodivi*....

NOTE.—The earliest use of the word *pañchavāra* occurs in this extract from an inscription dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Nṛipatuṅga (*circa* A.D. 865), found at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr in the Tanjore District. Here, it will be noted that the word *pañchavāra* is used as the name of one of the dues on land, being grouped with *echchōṟu*, *nērvāyam*, *veṭṭi*, *vediṉai* and others, all of which we know from numerous epigraphs to be the names of taxes or fees.

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[1] Line 10 of the first Uttaramallūr inscription published in the *A. S. R.* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff., describes the method of selection of the members of the committees of *Pañchavāra-vāriyam* and *Poṉ-vāriyam* in the following words :—

Pañchavāra-vāriyattukkum poṉ-vāriyattukkum muppadu kuḍu[m]b[i]lum mup[padu] kuḍa[v-ō]lai iṭṭu śēriyāl o[ru]ttarai=kkuḍav-ōlai pari[t]tu paṉṉiruvārilum [a]ṟuvār pañcha[vāra*]-vāriyam-avid(āvad)-āgavum [|*] aṟuvār p[oṉ]-vāriyam=avid (āvad)-āgavum [||*].

This means : "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, thirty pot-tickets shall be put in for the thirty *kuḍumbu* and one man for each *chēri* shall be taken : and of the twelve persons (*so taken*), six shall constitute the *Pañchavāra* committee and (*the other*) six shall constitute the gold committee". The second Uttaramallūr inscription describes more clearly how the members for these two committees were selected. Lines 13 and 14 of its text run as under :—

Pañchavāra-v[ariya]t[tukkum] poṉ-vā[ri]yattukku-muppadu (k)kuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tiṭṭi muppadu vā[y-ō]lai-kaṭṭum puga [iṭ]ṭu mup[pa]du kuḍav-ōl[ai] paṟittu muppadilum [paṉ]iraṇḍu pēr [pa]ṟittu=kkoḷ-vad-āgavum [|*] paṟitta paṉṉiraṇḍilum aṟuvar poṉ-vāriyam aṟuvār pañchavāra-vāriyamum āvaṉavāgavum [||*].

The passage means : "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, names shall be written in the thirty *kuḍumbu* for pot-tickets and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in and thirty pot-tickets shall be taken : from (*these*) thirty, twelve persons shall be drawn. Of the twelve (*so*) taken, there shall be constituted six for gold committee and six for *Pañchavāra* committee".

[2] It will be unnatural to take *vāriyam* in *pañchavāra-vāriyam* in a sense different from what it connotes (*viz.*, committee) in other places in the same inscription.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 572.

[4] *oḻukku* and *oḻukkavi* seem to be some kinds of oblations.

EXTRACT II.[1]

I-nnilattāl vanda pū-pponnum pañchavāramum vēlikkāśum nīrvilaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa antarāyaṅgaḷum veṭṭi muṭṭaiyāḷ echchōṟṟu-kkūṟṟunel uḷḷiṭṭa kuḍimaigaḷ eppēṟpaṭṭadum eṅgaḷ ūrgaḷ mēlē ēṟṟi......i-nnilattāl vanda iṟaiy-iḻichchi.

TRANSLATION.

All the internal taxes (*antarāya*) inclusive of *pū-ppon* (gold due at harvest) *pañchavāram, vēlikkāśu* (the *kāśu* due on *vēli*), and *nīrvilai* (water-rate), as well as all *kuḍimai* inclusive of *veṭṭi, muṭṭaiyāḷ, echchōṟu* and *kūṟṟunel*, accruing from this land, shall (*hereafter*) be imposed on our village and this land shall be enjoyed free of taxes.

NOTE.—From this extract it is made plain that *pañchavāra* is one of the internal taxes or fees (*antarāya*) accruing from lands such as *pū-ppon, vēlikkāśu* and *nīrvilai*, which incomes, we know from other inscriptions, were due to the king from lands. The fees forming the *antarāya* are, in this inscription, differentiated from another kind of fees named *kuḍimai.*

EXTRACT III.[2]

L. 8 ......kōv-Irājakēsaripanmar-āna uḍaiyār śrī-Rājādh[i*]rājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 28-āvadu Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu

9 Ōymā-nāṭṭu=kKīṭkkay-nāṭṭu=kKiḍaṅgil-āna Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr [ūrōm] nila-vilaiy-āvaṇam [।*] eṅgaḷūr=tTiruttiṇ[ḍīśvaramu]ḍaiya-mādēva[r]

10 kōyilil śrī-Irājādhirājaviṭaṅkar-Śaṇḍēśvaradēvar-pakkal koṇḍa kāśu 100 i-kkāśu nūṟuṅ=koṇḍu nāṅgaḷēy=eṉṟum śaṁtrādittavar siddhāya=ppañchavāram uṭ-

11 paḍa=chchilvariyum peruvariyum ellām iṟukka ittēvar=iṟaiyili aṉubavikka=kkaḍa-varāga viṟṟukkuḍutta nilam-āvadu [।*]

18 ....śrī-Rājādh[i*]rājaviṭaṅkaṟku nāṅgaḷ=iṟaiyili dēvadānamāga viṟṟukuḍutta

19 pariśāvadu [।*] ūrāṟkum ēri-vēṇḍum siddhāya-pañchavāram śilvarigaḷu[m*] maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa iṟai kaḷippittu=tTiruttiṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyāṟkēy=iṟaiyili dēvadāna-

20 māga aṉubavikka=kkaḍavārgaḷāga viṟṟukkuḍutta nilattil uḻudu kuḍigaḷai eppēr-paṭṭa..iṟaimaṟṟa..kāṭṭappeṟādōmāgavum=ippariśu viṟṟu vilai-kāśum Śa-

21 ṇḍēśvaradēvar-pakkal vilai-pporuḷum=iṟai-pporuḷumāga=kkoṇḍu ivv-ūrum ēriyum=iṟaiyili dēvadāṉam=ākki [vi]ṟṟu vilaiyāvaṇam śeydu kuḍuttōm

22 Tiruttiṇḍīśvaratt=eḻundaruḷuvitta Irājādh[i*]rājaviṭaṅkadēvar Śaṇḍēśvaradēvar[k*]ku Kiḍaṅgil-āṉa Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr=ūrōm.

TRANSLATION.

In the 28th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Rājādhirājadēva, we, the village (*assembly*) of Kiḍaṅgil *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr in Kīṭkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Ōymā-nāḍu, (*which was a district*) of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, made the following sale deed of land. (*We*) received from Rājādhirājaviṭaṅkar-Śaṇḍēśvaradēvar of the temple of Tiruttiṇḍīśvaramu-ḍaiya-Mahādēva of our village 100 *kāśu*. Having received (*this amount of*) one hundred *kāśu*, we sold the (*following*) land, ourselves paying for it, as long as the moon and the sun last, all (*the dues of*) *śilvari* and *peruvari* including *siddhāyam, pañchavāram*, etc., and the god enjoying it free of taxes.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 64, unpublished portion.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 842.

In this wise, we sold (*the land*) as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the god Rājādhirājaviṭaṅkar. Causing the deduction of all kinds of dues such as *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāram* and *śilvari* required (*to be paid*) to the *ūr* and the tank, we sold and gave the land to (*the god*) Tiruttiṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyār to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*. We shall not (*let*) this land for cultivation or receive any kind of dues thereon. We, the village (*assembly*), of Kiḍaṅgil *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻanallūr, having sold the land in this wise, and having received from Śaṇḍēśvaradēvar the sale amount and tax amount, made this village and the tank a tax-free *dēvadāna*, drew up the sale deed and gave it to Rājādhirājaviṭaṅkar-Śaṇḍēśvaradēvar set up in (*the temple of*) Tiruttiṇḍīśvaram.

NOTE.—The above extract is from an inscription of the time of the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I., dated in the 28th year of his reign (=A.D. 1040), found at Kiḍaṅgil in the South Arcot District. The inscription registers a sale of land—together with the right to three-fourths of the tanks irrigating it (this is found in the unextracted portion of the inscription)—to the temple of Tiruttiṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyār at the place, by the *ūr* assembly. In this, the assembly, after acknowledging receipt of the price of the land sold and the amount for making it tax-free, states that it had caused the taxes due on the land to be deducted (from the accounts) and conveyed it to the temple to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*, the *ūr* assembly meeting the taxes due on the land and the tank. Here also, as in the second extract *pañchavāram* is mentioned among the taxes due from lands, *e.g.*, *siddhāyam*, *śilvari* and *peruvari*.

EXTRACT IV.[1]

L. 4 ....iraṇḍu tirunandāviḷakk=erippadaṟkku pañchavāra-kkālōḍ-okku[m*] nāḻiyāl tiṅgaḷ

5 padin-aṟu-nāḻi uri āḻākku neyyum kōyilukkē koṇḍu-śeṉṟu....

TRANSLATION.

For burning the two perpetual lamps, sixteen *nāḻi*, (*one*) *uri*, and one *āḻākku* of ghee, as measured by the measure equal in capacity to the *pañchavārakkāl*, shall be taken monthly to the temple.

NOTE.—The above extract is dated in the 14th year (=A.D. 983-4) of the reign of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa and states that the quantity of ghee given to the temple must be measured by the *nāḻi* equal in capacity to the measure called *pañchavārakkāl*. Incidentally this inscription helps us to understand that *pañchavāra* is a payment in kind and that for measuring it a special measure was employed which derived its name *pañchavārakkāl* from the use which it was put to. From one of the Takkōlam inscriptions of Parāntaka I,[2] we get the information that the capacity of a *pañchavāra* measure (*marakkāl*) was 7 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* as measured by the *Rājakēsari-nāḻi*. Thus the *pañchavāra-marakkāl* was less than the ordinary *marakkāl* only by 1 *uri*.

EXTRACT V.[3]

L. 27 Paḷan-dēvadāṉamāṉa Pūṅguḍi nilam paṉṉiru-vēliyiṉāl muṉ dēvarkku nikki iṟukkakkaḍava pañchavāram nel-

28 lu aṟunūṟṟu-kkalamum Muśiṭṭaikkuḍi nilam nāl-vēliyiṉāl dēvarkku nikki iṟukkakkaḍava pañchavāra-nell=i-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 114.
[2] No. 261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 151.

29 runūṟṟu-kkalamum i-dēvarkkēy=iṟuppadāga=kkuḍi nīkki iṟaiyiḻiyāga yāṇḍ=āṟāva-du-mudal variyil=iṭṭu=kkuḍutt-aruḷi-

30 ṟṟu [.*]

TRANSLATION.

In order that the six hundred *kalam* of paddy of *pañchavāram* which previously had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the twelve *vēli* of land of the old *dēvadāna* village of Pūṅguḍi and the two hundred *kalam* of paddy of *pañchavāram* which had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the four *vēli* of land of Muśiṭṭaikkuḍi, shall (*hereafter*) be paid to this god (temple), the ryots removed and the lands made tax-free and entered as such in the accounts and given over with effect from the sixth year (*of the king's reign*).

NOTE.—This extract is from an inscription from Kōṉērirājapuram in the Tanjore District, dated in the 7th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman and relates to grants of lands in the two villages Pūṅguḍi and Muśiṭṭaikkuḍi to the temple at the village. From it, it is seen that this item of *pañchavāram* was paid in paddy and to the king before the assignment of the lands in the two villages was made to the temple. The phrase *dēvarkku nīkki iṟukka-kkaḍava* qualifying *pañchavāram* occurring twice in the extract makes this sense clear, and precludes us from taking the word *dēva* in this phrase to mean the temple or god. The effect of the grant of the lands was that the stated incomes in paddy which till then used to be paid to the king were transferred to the temple. This extract further lets us know the rate at which this fee of *pañcha-vāram* was paid. Since 600 *kalam* was the *pañchavāra* for 12 *vēli* and 200 *kalam* for 4 *vēli*, it works out at 50 *kalams* per *vēli*. The extracts IV and V thus make it quite plain that *pañcha-vāra* was a tax or fee paid to the king, in kind, on the lands of a village, at 50 *kalam* per *vēli*.

To judge from the rate, it may be said that *pañchavāra* was not an insignificant item in the revenue of the king but was the chief one. The word *vāram* in the compound *pañchavāram* would even suggest that it may be the (*king's*) share, rent or assessment on land. And the particle *pañcha* can have nothing to do with *pañchi* or *pañchu* meaning ' cotton ' or with *pañcham* meaning famine.

We shall now give one more extract with translation to show what the ordinary rate of assessment on lands was and how and when it was realised. It will furnish the ratio of *pañcha-vāram* to the entire assessment.

EXTRACT VI.[1]

L. 20 ....Ivvūr iṟukkum-iḍattu irubattu-

21 [n]ā[l-a]ḍiyāṉa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōlāl nilam=aḷandu payir pā[r][t*]tu viḷainda nilat-tukku [a]ntarāyamu[m] viṉi[y]ōgamum taṟuvaḍāṉa achchum kāriyavarāchchiyum[2] veṭṭi-pāṭṭamum pañchupīli sanduvikkiragappēṟum maṟ[ṟu]m e[p]pe[ya]rpa[ṭṭi]ṉavum utpaḍa kārukku māttāl

22 kāśu kālum mudal Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṉāl nellu mukkalamum tulā viṟaichchu viḷainda nilattukku ivvariśaiyil [o]ṉṟu-pādiyum eḷ [va]ragu [ti]ṉaippull=iṟuṅgu viḷainda nilattukku māttāl tira[ma]m=iraṇḍum [pa]śāṉam=ivva[ri]śai[yu]māga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal iṟuppa-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 448, pp. 170-1.

[2] Read *kāriyavārāchchiyum*.

23 dāga iṭṭu variyilār eḻuttiṭṭa uḷvariyum nam ō[lai]yun=tara=chchonnōm [|*] kaikkoṇḍu ippaḍi cha[ndrā]dityavat śelvadāga=kka[l*]lilum śembilum veṭ[ṭi]kkoḷgavenṟu tiruvāymo[ḻi]n-daruḷinār [||*].

TRANSLATION.

In respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands shall be measured by the rod Sundara-Pāṇḍyan-kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, for *antarāya* and *viniyōga*, for *achchu*, *kāriyavārāchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandu(sandhi)vigrahappēṟu* and for all other payable dues, there shall be paid from this year one-fourth *kāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by Vīra-Pāṇḍyan (-kāl) during *Kār* on each *mā* of land; one-half of this rate shall be paid on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised; two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land in which *eḷ*, *varagu*, *tiṇaippul* and *iruṅgu* had been harvested; and that this same rate shall be (*levied*) for *paśānam* also: and that a copy of the tax register signed by the *variyilār* as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. Thus receiving (*it*), let the same be engraved on stone and copper so that it may remain in force as long as the moon and the sun last.

NOTE.—This inscription is dated in the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and is of importance in several ways. In the first place it lets us know that arrangements existed for the periodical inspection of crops and land; that assessment was charged only on such of the lands as had been sown and crops realised; that this assessment was paid both in kind and in money, which included a number of fees, small and great. The following are stated to be the rates, *viz.*, 3 *kalam* of paddy and ¼ *kāśu* on each *mā* for *Kār*, half of this rate for *Tulā* cultivation, 2 *tiramam* (drammas) on each *mā* for the cultivation of *eḷ*, *varagu*, etc.; for *paśānam* also, the above rates prevailed. The information would have been complete and left nothing to be desired, had the inscription specified the quantity to be paid for each item separately. Even as it is, it serves a very useful purpose as we shall see presently. From the rate given for *mā*, the assessment for a *vēli* works out to 60 *kalam* of paddy and 5 *kāśu*. This covered all the taxes payable on land, *antarāya* and others, mentioned and unmentioned as the inscription puts it, some of which were given in kind and others in money. We have already shown that one of the items included in the *antarāya* was *pañchavāra* and it was 50 *kalam* for a *vēli*. Therefore, deducting this 50 *kalam*, the balance of 10 *kalam* and 5 *kāśu* should have been the charge for all the other items put together. Thus, the single item of *pañchavāra*, amounting to as much as 50 *kalam* out of 60 paid in paddy, seems to be the prime source of the state income from lands. The proportion of this item of *pañchavāra* to the entire income in paddy being five-sixths, an explanation of the connotation of this term is furnished. The duty of the *Pañchavāra* committee may therefore be taken to be the realisation of this important revenue. Here we may note also that a few Sanskrit charters make mention of committee-assemblies and that one in particular has reference evidently to the *Pañchavāra* committee. Verse 6 of the Kolavennu plates[1] of Chālukya-Bhīm II, in describing the donee of the grant, has "*yat-putra-pautrāḥ paṭavō vaṭavō vāragōshṭhishu.*" The Masulipatam plates[2] of the same king, besides employing the term *vāragōshṭhi*, refer to *pañchavārī*. The verse in question runs as follows:—

yat-putra-pautrā vaṭavō vāragōshṭhishu vāgminaḥ |
pañchavārīm samāpayya sampūjyantē mahājanaiḥ ||

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 45.
[2] Above, Vol. V, p. 137, v. 8; see also p. 138, n. 7.

It is not unlikely that *vāragōshṭhi* in these inscriptions is an equivalent of *vāriyam* and that *pañchavārī* has the same significance as *pañchavāravāriyam* of the Uttaramallūr records. The Sīyadōṇī inscription[1] uses the word *vāra-pramukha* in which one may easily recognise the Tamil *vāriya-pperumakkaḷ*. From the reference in the Masulipatam plates, it may be gathered that the choice of a person to serve on the *Pañchavāra* committee was done by the *Mahājanas* by which term are perhaps meant the great men of the village assembly and that the selection was considered a great honour.

No. 5.—KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATES OF GANDARADITYADEVA: SAKA 1048.

BY A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., KOLHAPUR.

The present copper-plates were discovered in course of the operations of levelling the Khāsbāg grounds, Kolhāpur. They were put in a nice stone-case with a slipping lid, and buried some six to seven feet below the surface. The plates with the stone-case are now kept in the Rajaram College Museum, Kolhāpur. I am very thankful to the Principal, Rajaram College, for his kindness in placing these plates at my disposal for their study.

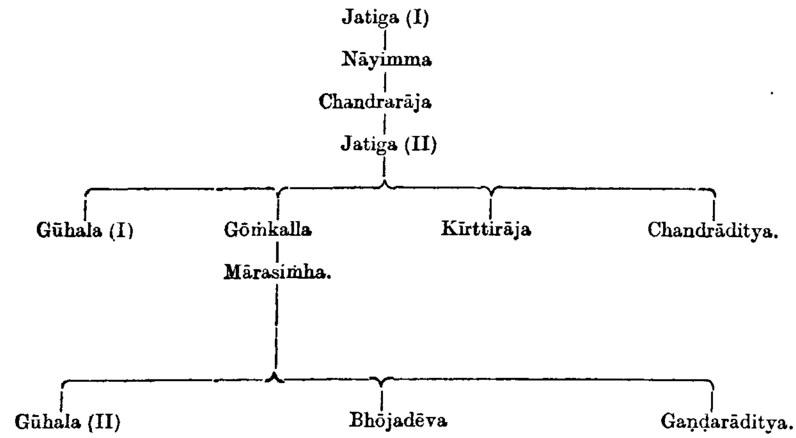
The plates consist of **three** copper sheets each measuring 11 inches in length and about 7½ inches in breadth. They are strung together with a ring of 3 inches in diameter to which is fixed a square seal (2½ by 2½ inches) bearing in relief a well and prominently carved figure of Garuḍa holding a cobra in his left hand. On the prominent border line of the surface there are the marks of the moon and the sun. The plates are tolerably thick, at least 1/10 of an inch, and the inside edges are slightly raised to protect the writing. The first side of the first plate is blank. On the second side of the last plate there is a line-drawing of a cow with a *liṅga* and a sword in front, and the sun and the moon in the corners above.

The plates are preserved in a good condition, due to being enclosed in the heavy stone-case. The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī, and they are deeply incised. A few letters are worn out, but the reading can be easily guessed. The record is composed partly in prose and partly in verse, the **language** being Sanskrit. As to **orthography** almost all the conjuncts with *r* have their other consonant duplicated, *e.g.*, *kīrtti* (l. 7), *dharmma*, *varṇṇa* (l. 12), *sarppa* (l. 18), *nirmmita* (l. 25), etc. Sometimes the consonants have been doubled wrongly, *e.g.*, *maulli* (l. 9), *paṁchchānana* (l. 10), *akhillān* (l. 12), *vikalla* (l. 13), *pratipāllana* (l. 21), *adhigammya* (l. 27), etc. Almost uniformly *b* is represented by *v* in these plates. Though the language is Sanskrit, it shows a good deal of Kannaḍa influence. Perhaps the grant was drafted on a Kannaḍa model. The text contains a few Kannaḍa words too, *viz.*, *maruvaṁka-sarppa*, *ayyana-sihō* (l. 18), *iḍuvar-ādityō* (l. 19), *vīḍ-ānuvṛityā* (l. 22), *khaṁpaṇa* (l. 30) and *magila* (ll. 32, 38). *Vīḍ-ānuvṛityā* is decidedly an imitation of Kannaḍa *bīḍinoḷ* which occurs in the same context in various Kannaḍa grants. The meaning of *malavaṁ* or *mallavaṁ*, etc. (ll. 34, 38) is not clear; even the scribe, in fact, does not appear to be sure about its sound, as he is not uniform in its spelling.

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[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 173ff.

The genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty given in these plates is as shown below :—



It agrees with the usual genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur[1] with the differences: (i) that here we have no mention of Ballāḷa, a brother between Bhōjadēva and Gaṇḍarāditya; and (ii) that Gūhala (I), in these plates, is shown as the elder brother of Gōṁkalla which information we have got here for the first time. In other Śilāhāra plates[2] we are only told that Gōṁkalla and Gūvala were the sons of Jatiga, but in the present record Gūhala is definitely mentioned as an *agraja* which cannot mean anything but an elder brother.[3] Gūhala is called *īśa* here, and in the plates published by Bhagvanlal Indraji we also get: *tad-bhrātā Gūvalō rājā nirjit-āri-vrajō='bhavat*. But it is very difficult to say in the light of the available materials whether Gūhala ruled the country any time, for it appears to have been usual to call all the royal brothers as *rājā*, etc. Possibly Gūhala died early and without any issue. That might explain why Gōṁkalla is so prominently mentioned; and after him Gūhala is mentioned casually, though he was the elder brother.

As to the **contents** of the plates, the grant opens with a few verses giving the genealogy of **Gaṇḍarādityadēva** of the Kolhāpur branch of the **Śilāhāra** dynasty. Then we have a long list of the titles of this ruler. Gaṇḍarāditya, in response to the request of his minister Maillapayya, is stated to have granted lands at **Kōṁnijavāḍa** which is in the *khampaṇa* (something like our modern Taluk) of **Kōḍavalli** in the district of **Miriñji**, for the repairs of the temple of Khēḍāditya at Brahmapurī in **Kōllāpura** and for the maintenance of eight Brahmins whose names and *gōtras* are given. The grant was made in the **Śaka year 1048** when Gaṇḍarādityadēva was in his camp at Vallavāḍa-*grāma*. The grant concludes with the usual verses of curse on those who may violate the conditions of the grant.

A few words may be added regarding the **localities** mentioned in these records. The Śilāhāras are called *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara*, and about the identification of the city of **Tagara**

[1] See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 8; Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 175.

[2] See Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 33.

[3] [The word *agraja* here has probably to be taken in the sense of 'the first born son' (*i.e.*, Gōṅkalla was the eldest son of Jatiga). The Śilāhāra grant of Mārasiṁha dated Śaka 980 published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* (pp. 102 ff.) states clearly that Gūhala was the younger brother of Gōṅkalla. The Kasēlī plates of Bhōjadēva (*An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff.), which also contain the verse under discussion give the reading *āditaḥ* in place of *agrajaḥ*. Thus we find in the plates under publication the same order of descent of the brothers, *viz.*, Gōṅkalla, Gūvalla, Kīrttirāja and Chandrāditya as in other Śilāhāra charters.—N. L. R.]

much has been written. Fleet's identification of Tagara with Tēr is now generally accepted. I might, however, refer here to two latest papers on the subject. Prof. K. G. Kundangar proposes that Tagara should be identified with Tōrke.[1] But it is difficult to derive the form Tōrke from Tagara, and moreover, the place is nowhere called Tārkshyapura from which he has tried to derive it. Recently Prof. Hiralal has pointed out[2] that a Vidyādhara dynasty is associated with Tēr, twelve miles to the north of Dhārāśiva or modern Osmanabad in the Nizam's Dominions. He indicates the possibility that Nīla and Mahānīla, two Vidyādhara princes from Himālaya, were the ancestors of Śilāhāras, and they migrated to Tēr for some political reasons. Thus Prof. Hiralal confirms, on the authority of *Karakaṇḍa-chariu* and other literary sources, the opinion of Fleet that Tagara should be identified with Tēr near Osmanabad. **Vallavāḍa** is to be identified with Vaḷayavāḍa also called Vaḷavāḍa, the site of the present Rādhānagarī about 27 miles to the south-west of Kolhāpur. **Kōllāpura** is the present Kolhāpur ; and **Brahmapurī** is, even to this day, a local name of a part of Kolhāpur adjoining the bank of the river Pañchagaṅgā. **Miriñji** is to be identified with Miraj, and **Kōḍavalli** with Kōḍōlī about seven miles to the east of Kolhāpur. Kōṁnijavāḍa is not identified, but it might have been a small village near about Kōḍavalli.

The **date**, Śanivāra, Āshāḍha śukla Chaturthī, Śaka 1048 of the plates, as kindly worked out for me by Principal R. N. Apte, corresponds with Saturday, 26th June 1126 A.D., which was a day of Karka-saṁkrānti.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-3, 5, 9, 10 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 4, 6, 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 7 *Upajāti*.]

First Plate.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇavaṁ [|*] dakshiṇ-ōṁna (ōnna)ta-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrāṁta[3]-bhuvanaṁ

2 vapuḥ [|| 1 ||*] Āsīd=vidyādharaḥ pūrvaṁ nānmā[4] Jīmūtavāhanaḥ [|*] par-ārthaṁ jīvitaṁ yēna Garuḍāya

3 nivēditaṁ |[| 2 ||*] Śilāhār-ākhya-vaṁśo=yaṁ Tagarēśvara-bhūbhṛitāṁ [|*] tad-vaṁśē **Jatigō** nāma jā-

4 tō bhūbhṛich-chhikhāmaṇiḥ | [| 3 ||*] Svasti śrī-Jatiga-kshitīśa-tanayō **Nāyimma**-nāmā nṛi-

5 paḥ putras=tasya cha **Chaṁdrarāṭ**=pṛithu-yaśās=tasy=āpi sūnuḥ kila [|*] saṁjātō **Jatigō**

6 jagaj-jana-nutaḥ śrīmāṁś=cha taṁ(n)-naṁdanō **Gōṁkallō** bhuvi bhūmi-pāla-ti-

7 lakas=tasy=āpy=abhūd=agrajaḥ[5] | [| 4 ||*] **Gūhalēśō**=tha tad-bhrātā **Kīrttirājō**=nujō=

8 sya cha [|*] **Chaṁdrādityas**=tatas=tasya chakrē rājyam=akaṁṭakaṁ | [| 5 ||*] Śrīmad-Gōṁkala-bhū-

9 mi-pāla-tanayaḥ śrī-**Mārasiṁhō** nṛipas=tat-sūnur=nnṛipa-maulli(li)-lālita-pa-

10 da-śrī-**Gūhal**-ākhyō nṛipaḥ [|*] tad-bhrātā bhuvi **Bhōjadēva**-nṛipatir=vair-ībha-paṁchchā-(chā)-

[1] See *Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya-parishat-patrike*, October, 1934.

[2] See Introduction to his edition of *Karakaṇḍa-chariu*, pp. 41 ff, and his article in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 4 ff.

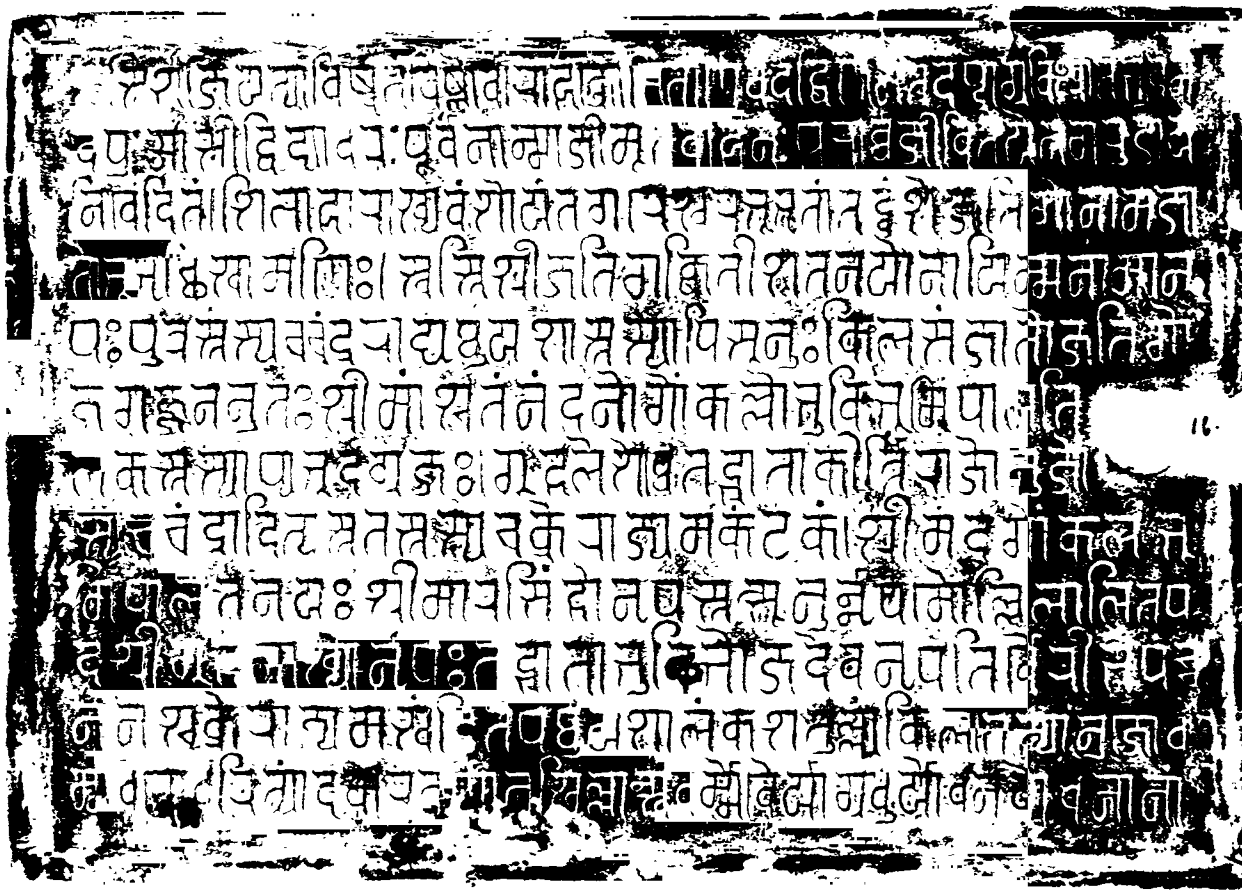
[3] In these plates very often *anusvāra* is used in place of *parasavarṇa*.

[4] Read *nāmnā*.

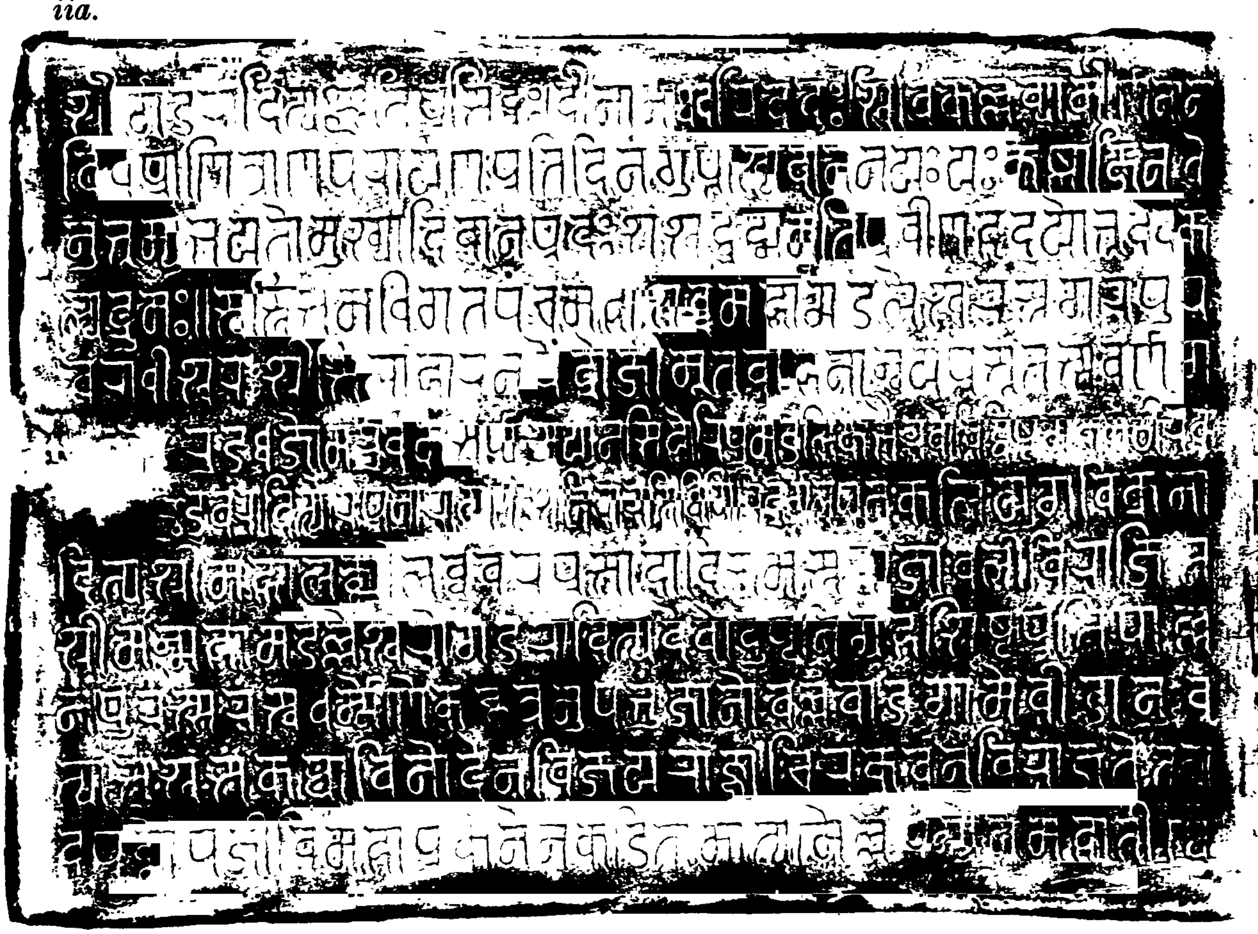
[5] [See note 3 on p. 29 Ed.]

KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATES OF GANDARADITYADEVA: SAKA 1048.

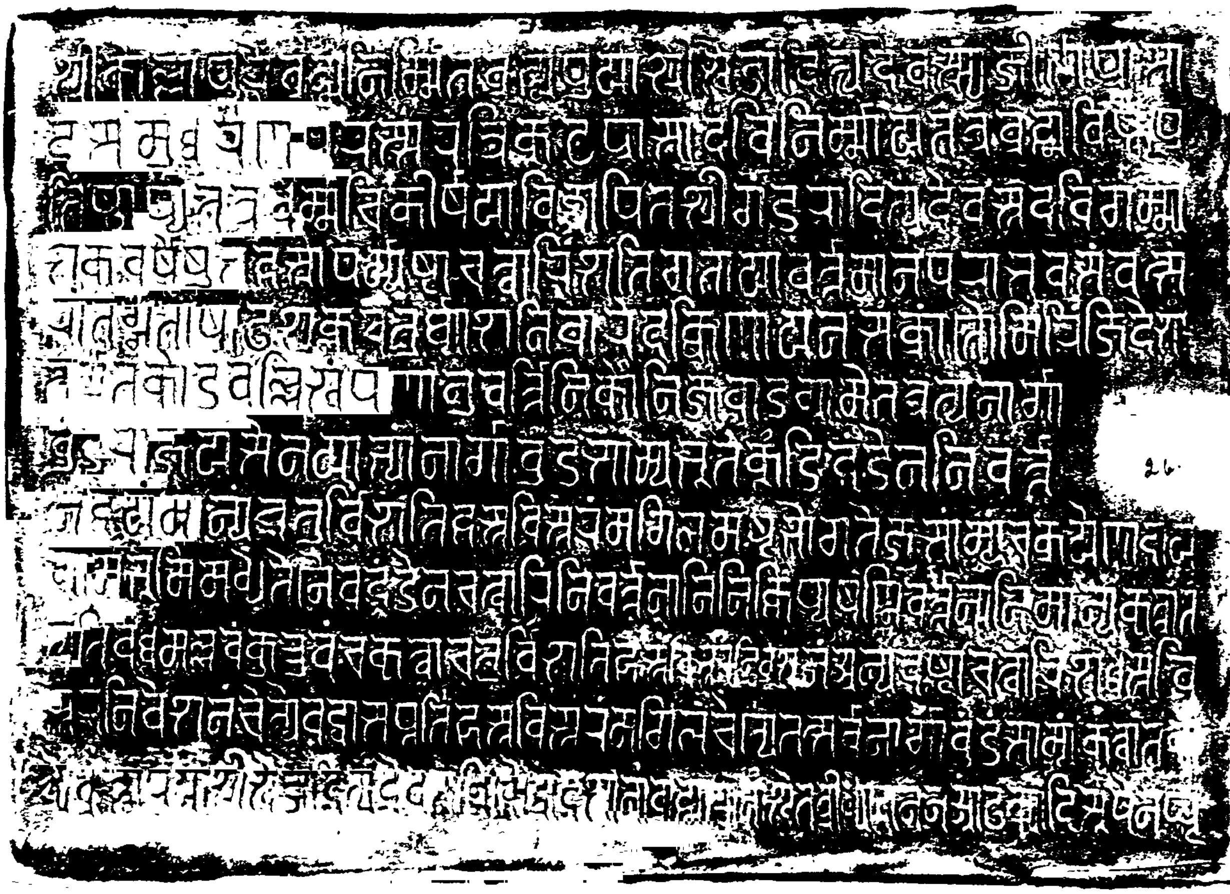
i.



iia.

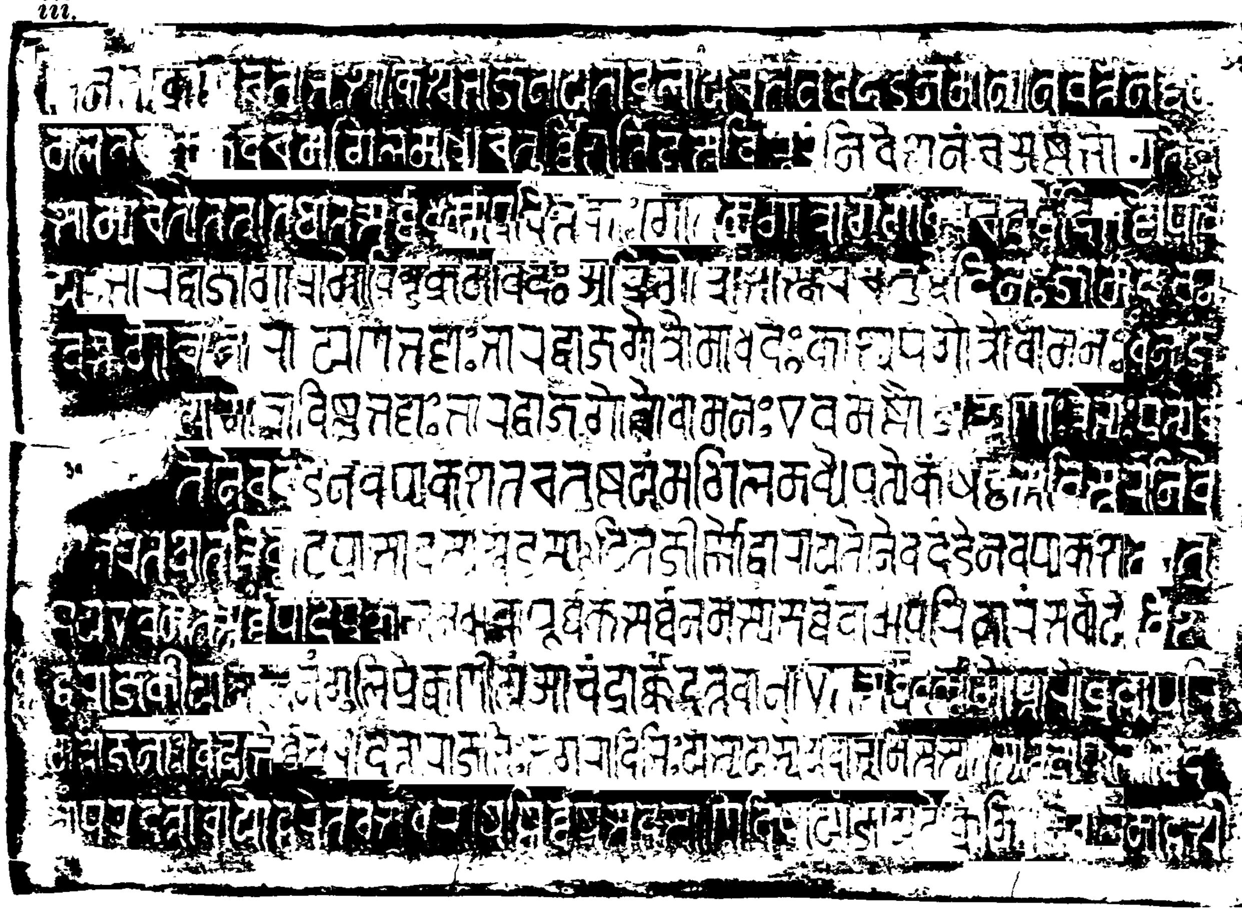


iib.



26 28 30 32 34 36

iii.



38 40 42 44 46 48

11 nanaś=chakrē rājyam=akhaṁḍitaṁ pṛitha-yaśā laṁkaśa[1]-tullyaṁ(lyaṁ) kila | [| 6 ||*] Tasy=ānujō dha-

12 rmma-dharō dharitryāṁ dadhāra varṇṇān=akhillā(lā)n=sva-dharmmē [| *] dhairy-āgra-dhuryō Dhanadō dhanānāṁ

Second Plate : First Side.

13 śrī-**Gaṁḍarāditya** iti prasiddhaḥ | [| 7 ||*] Dīn-ānātha-daridra-duḥkhi-vikalla(la)-vyākīrṇa-nānā-

14 vidha-prāṇi-trāṇa-parāyaṇaḥ pratidinaṁ gupt-ākhya-dānēna yaḥ [|] yaḥ kṛishṇ-ājina-dhē-

15 nu-bhūmy-ubhayatōmukhy-ādi-dāna-pradaḥ śaśvad=V(B)rahma-mati-pravīṇa-hṛidayō bhū-dēva-ka-

16 lpa-drumaḥ || [8 ||*] Svasti [|*] Samadhigata-paṁchamahāśav(b)da-Mahāmaṁḍalēśvaras=Tagara-pura-

17 var-ādhiśvaraḥ śrī-Śilāhāra-narēṁdrō Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasūtas=suvarṇa-Ga-

18 ruḍa-dhvajō maruvaṁka-sarppa[2] ayyana-si(siṁ)hō ripu-maṁḍalika-bhairavō vidvishṭa-gaja-kaṁṭhīrava

19 iḍuvar-ādityō rūpa-Nārāyaṇaḥ Śaṇivāra-sidhdhi(ddhir=)giri-durga-laṁghanaḥ Kali-yuga-Vikramā-

20 dityaḥ śrī-Māhālakshmī-lav(b)dha-vara-prasād-ādi-samasta-rājāvalī-virājita-

21 śrīman-Mahāmaṁḍallē(lē)śvarō **Gaṁḍarāditya**-dēvō dushṭa-nigraha-śishṭa-pratipālla(la)-

22 na-purassaraṁ sva-dharmmēn=aika-chchhatram=upabhuṁjānō **Vallavāḍa**-grāmē viḍ-ānuvṛi-

23 tyā(ttyā) sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdēna vijaya-rājjyaṁ(jyaṁ) chiraṁ kurvan virājatē [|*] Tat-pā-

24 da-padm-ōpajīvi-mahāpradhānēna Kaḍitāmātya-Maillapayyēna mahā-tīrthē

Second Plate : Second Side.

25 śrī-**Kōllāpurē** V(B)rahma-nirmmita-V(B)rahmapuryāṁ śrī-Khēḍāditya-dēvassya(sya) jīrṇa-prāsā-

26 da-samudhdh(ddha)araṇa-purassaraṁ Trikūṭa-prāsādaṁ vinirmmāya tatra V(B)rahma-Vishṇū pra-

27 tishṭhāpya tatra dharmma-chikīrshayā vijñāpita-śrī-Gaṁḍarādityadēvas=tad=adhigammya (mya)

28 Śaka-varshēshu sahasr-ōparyy-ashṭāchatvāriṁśati gatāyāṁ vartamāna-Parābhava-saṁvatsa-

29 r-āṁtarggat-Āshāḍha-śukla-chaturthyāṁ Śanivārē dakshiṇāyana-saṁkrāṁtau Miriṁji-dēś-āṁ-

30 targgata-Kōḍavalli-khaṁpaṇ-ānuvarttini **Kōṭṭnijavāḍa**-grāmē tatratya-Nārgā-

31 vuṁḍa-Rājaya-Sēnayābhyāṁ Nārgāvuṁḍa-sāmyabhūtaṁ Kūṁḍi-daṁḍēna nivartta-

32 na-dvayaṁ. mānyaṁ chaturviṁśati-hasta-vistaraṁ magilam=ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-sāmyaṁ cha krayēṇ=ādāya.

[1] Apparently there is a scribal error. I propose the reading *Laṁkēśa.*

[2] Read *maruvakka-sarppa.*

33 grāma-bhūmi-madhyē tēn=aiva daṁḍēna chatvāri nivarttanāni nikshipya shaṇ=nivarttanāni mānyaṁ kritvā ta-

34 t-pratibaddhaṁ[1] mallavaṁ kutruvaṁ cha kritvā chaturviṁśati-hastaṁ vistaraṁ nivēśanaṁ anyad=ashṭāchatvāriṁśadh(d)-dhasta-vi-

35 staraṁ nivēśanaṁ ch=ēty=ēvaṁ dvāsaptati-hasta-vistaraṁ magilaṁ ch=ēty=ētat=sarva-Nārgāvuṁḍaṁ sāmyaṁ kritvā tan-ma-

36 dhyē V(B)rahmapuryāṁ śrī-Khēlādityadēva-sannidhau dvādaśānāṁ v(b)rāhmaṇānāṁ śvēta-vrīhy-ōdanēna āḍhaky-ādi-sūpēna ghri-

Third Plate.

37 tēna takrēṇa chaturbhiḥ śākaiś=cha bhōjanāya tāṁbūlāya cha tēn=aiva daṁḍēna mānyaṁ nivarttana-dvayaṁ

38 malavaṁ cha kuruvaṁ cha magila-madhyē chaturvviṁśati-hasta-vistaraṁ nivēśanaṁ cha ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-

39 sāmyaṁ ch=ēty=ētat | Tathā tat-sarvva-dharmma-prachintakāḥ Gautama-gōtrā Gaṁgādhara-chaturvvēdi-bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyā-

40 yāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Gōvinda(nda)-kramavidaḥ Atri-gōtrā Bhāskara-Chaturvvēdinaḥ Jāmadagnya-

41 Vatsa-gōtrā Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrō Mādhavaḥ Kāśyapa-gōtrō Vāmanaḥ Dhan-aṁja-

42 yā(ya)-gōtrā Vishṇu-bhaṭṭāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrō Vāmanaḥ ēvam=ashṭau v(b)rāhmaṇāḥ tēbhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ

43 tēn=aiva daṁḍēna vappaka-śata-chatushṭayaṁ magila-madhyē pratyēkaṁ shaḍh(ḍ)-ḍhasta-vistaraṁ nivē-

44 śanaṁ cha tathā tat-Trikūṭa-prāsādasya khaṁḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇṇ-ōddhārāya tēn=aiva daṁḍēna vappaka-śata-chatu-

45 shṭayaṁ ēvam=ētat=sarvvaṁ pāda-prakshālana-dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ sarvva-namasyaṁ sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihāraṁ sarv-āya-viśu-

46 ddhaṁ rājakīyānām=anaṁguli-prēkshaṇīyaṁ ā-chaṁdr-ārkkaṁ dattavān | Ētat=sarvva-dharmma-gōptārō V(B)rahmapuri-

47 mahājanāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ | [| 9 ||*] Sva-da-

48 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ | shashṭir-vvarsha[2]-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ || [10 ||*] Maṁgalaṁ mā(ma)hā-śrī [ḥ||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Welfare ! Prosperity !

(Verse 1) Victorious is that Vishṇu's manifested form of a boar which has agitated the ocean and which has the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right tusk.

(Verses 2-8) Formerly there was a Vidyādhara, Jīmūtavāhana by name, who, for the sake of others, offered his life to Garuḍa. This family, called Śilāhāra, (*is*) of kings (*who were*) the lords

[1] Read *pratibaddhaṁ*.

[2] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha-*.

of Tagara; in that family was born a crest-jewel of kings **Jatiga** by name. Welfare! The prosperous lord of earth Jatiga had a son, king **Nāyimma** by name; his son was **Chandrarāṭ** of great fame; to him in turn was born a son, **Jatiga** by name, who was praised by the people of the world; and his prosperous son was **Gōṁkalla** who was a saffron-mark (*on the forehead*) of all the kings on the earth. His elder brother[1] was king (? *īśa*) **Gūhala**; his younger brother was **Kīrtirāja**, and next to him was **Chandrāditya** who made his kingdom free from all the troubles. That prosperous lord of the earth, Gōṁkalla, had a son, *viz.*, king **Mārasiṁha**; his son was king **Gūhala** by name whose feet were fondled by the crowns of kings; his brother was king **Bhōjadēva** who was a lion to the elephants in the form of enemies on the earth, and who is reported (*kila*) to have consolidated his kingdom with wide fame like that of the king of Laṅkā (?)[2]. His younger brother is the famous **Gaṇḍarāditya** who is a protector of *Dharma* on the earth, who has maintained all the *Varṇas* in their respective duties, who is a courageous and foremost leader, and who is a Kubēra of treasures. Day to day he is engrossed in sheltering by anonymous gifts the various living beings that are distressed, helpless, poor, miserable, maimed and wandering; he bestows, in both the ways,[3] eminent gifts such as the skin of the black-antelope, cows and lands; his mind is skilled in reflecting on the eternal Brahman; and he is a wish-fulfilling tree to the Brahmins.

(Ll. 16-23). Welfare! The prosperous *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gaṇḍarādityadēva—who is honoured by all the royal titles such as: one who has obtained *pañchamahāśabda*, a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the overlord of Tagara, the best of towns, the prosperous Śilāhāra Monarch, one born in the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana, one who has the banner of golden Garuḍa, one whose shelter is sought by the serpent,[4] a lion to his father,[5] a Bhairava to the inimical *Maṇḍalikas*, a lion to the elephants (*in the form*) of antagonists, the sun of the archers,[6] Nārāyaṇa in handsomeness, one who achieved success (*even*) on Saturdays, one who seized the mountain forts, a Vikramāditya of the Kali age, and one who received the favours of the boon from Śrī-Mahālakshmī—is carrying on for a long time his victorious reign enjoying the sole mastery of the kingdom by carrying out his

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[1] [See p. 29 n. 3, above.—Ed.]

[2] The reading *pṛithuyaśā laṁkaśa* is decidedly defective, and the metre too is spoiled. I have taken it as *Laṁkēśa*.

[3] *Ubhayataḥ* refers to gifts given in two ways, namely, openly and anonymously. [Dr. Chhabra correctly points out that *ubhayatōmukhī* has been used here in the sense of a parturient cow, a gift of which is highly eulogised in the Smṛitis. *Cf.* Hēmādri, *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa, prakaraṇa 7.—Ed.]

[4] The correct reading should be *maruvakka-sarppa*. The nasal here is due to that deceptive *śūnya* (called *nolli*) used in Old-Kannaḍa script which has two values, when it is fat with space inside it means that the next consonant is duplicated, when small it is an *anusvāra*. *Maruvakka* is a Kannaḍa word, a further corruption from *maru* or *mare pokka* or *hokka* from the root *maru* or *mare pogu* 'to seek shelter'. It is a title of the Śilāhāras, because they are Garuḍa-dhvajas, the serpent being always at the mercy of Garuḍa. [Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao suggests that it would be better to interpret the expression as a 'serpent to the hostile army' taking *maṛuvakka* to mean 'a hostile army'—in which sense it is widely used in Mediæval Kannaḍa literature—than to consider both the component parts of the word as corruptions (*i.e.*, of *maṛe* and *pokka*). *Maṛuvakka-sarppa* corresponds to Skt. *para-bala-sarppa* which is found among the *birudas* of the chief Mārasiṅgha of the Sēnāvāra family which, like the Śilāhāras, claimed to belong to Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya and Khachara (*i.e.*, Vidyādhara)-vaṁśa (see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 94).—Ed.]

[5] *Ayyana siṁhō*: again a Kannaḍa word 'a lion(-like son) of his father', meaning a pet and brave son of his father. This reminds us of the Kannaḍa phrase '*bappare huliya*', meaning, 'Bravo, my tiger', generally addressed by the father to his son.

[6] *Iḍuvar* is a Kannaḍa word meaning 'those that put (an arrow to the bow)', 'those that shoot arrows', that is, the archers.

duties (*svadharmēṇa*), by punishing the wicked and protecting the good, and spending his time merrily in happy talks in his standing camp[1] at Vallavāḍa-grāma.

(Ll. 23-39) Kaḍitāmātya Maillapayya, the *Mahāpradhāna* dependent on his (*i.e.*, of Gaṇḍarādityadēva) lotus-like feet, after repairing the dilapidated temple of śrī-Khēḍādityadēva, situated in Brahmapurī, created by Brahman in the great holy place of śrī-Kōllāpura, built a *Trikūṭa-prāsāda*, installed there (*the images of*) Brahmā and Vishṇu, and with a desire to do some religious act requested Gaṇḍarādityadēva who understood it (*i.e.*, his desire). And when the Śaka years one thousand and forty-eight had elapsed, in the Parābhava year, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Āshāḍha, on Saturday, on the Dakshiṇāyana-saṁkrānti, he bought, by paying the cost, from Rājaya and Sēnaya of the Nārgāvuṇḍa[2] family in the village of Kōṁnijavāḍa in the *khampaṇa* of Kōḍavalli in the province of Miriñji two *nivartanas* of non-taxable land (*mānya*) that had the rights of Nārgāvuṇḍas, measured by the Kūṇḍi pole, and a plot for a house twenty-four cubits in extent with the eight rights, etc.; then he added thereto from the land in the village, four *nivartanas* measured by the same pole, and thus made six *nivartanas* of land free from tax, etc.,[3] . . . . . .[4] [constructed] a house 24 cubits in extent and another 48 cubits in extent: thus in all 72 cubits in extent. All these had the rights of the Nārgāvuṇḍas. In Brahmapurī, in the presence of (*the god*) śrī-Khēḍādityadēva, he gave two *nivartanas* of land measured by the same pole with a house 24 cubits in extent along with eight rights, etc., to twelve Brahmins for their food with rice of white grains, with broth made of *āḍhakī* and other pulses, with ghee, butter-milk and four vegetables and for *tāmbūla*.

(Ll. 39-44) Then there are these eight Brahmins all of them intent on religious practices: Gaṅgādhara-Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of Gautama-*gōtra*, Gōvinda-kramavid of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, Bhāskara-Chaturvēdin of Atri-*gōtra*, Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa-*gōtra*, Mādhava of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, Vāmana of Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa of Dhanañjaya-*gōtra* and Vāmana of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.[5] To each of them were granted 400 *vappakas*[6] measured by the same pole and to each a house six cubits in extent. Similarly for the repairs of the broken parts, etc., of the *Trikūṭa-prāsāda* 400 *vappakas*[6] were given by the same measure.

(Ll. 44-47) This *sarva-namasya* (*grant*) which is free from all obstacles, which is faultless with regard to its income and which is not to be touched by finger (*even*) by the royal officers, is made to last as long as the sun and the moon after a libation of water and a washing of the feet. The *Mahājanas*[7] of Brahmapurī shall protect all these religious gifts.

(Verses 9-10) [These are two of the well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 48) Auspicious glory.[8]

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[1] *Viḍānuṛityā* is probably to be taken as meaning 'following the custom of a *viḍu* (*i.e.*, camp)'. It reminds us of a similar expression in Kannaḍa grants *bīḍinoḷ* meaning 'in the camp'.

[2] *Nārgāvuṁḍas* are those who are now known as Nāḍagauḍas, a Kannaḍa word meaning 'headmen of the country'.

[3] *Magila* means a site for a house.

[4] The meaning of *malavaṁ*, etc., is not clear. The same phrase is spelt differently in ll. 34 and 38.

[5] It should be noted that some names are in singular and some in plural.

[6] *Vappaka* is a measure.

[7] *Mahājanas* were members of a particular assembly probably something like our Pañchas.

[8] My thanks are due to my colleague Prof. K. G. Kuṇḍangar who helped me in translating certain technical terms in the plates.

No. 6.—HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By Dr. Sten Konow, Oslo.

The credit for bringing this record to light belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas. In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 91 ff., he draws attention to some remarks by Masson about a Kharōshṭhī inscription he had found at 'Tope No. 13 of Hidda' on an earthen jar, and which he had copied. A lithographed reproduction is found opposite p. 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*.

Professor Thomas further tells us that, in going through Masson's papers in the India Office Library, he found 'a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharōshṭhī inscriptions', and one of them proved to be the very record reproduced in the old publication. There were several attempts, and Professor Thomas reproduced the most careful one and published his reading of the inscription, which was subsequently, with some alterations, reproduced in my edition of the record in the *Corpus*, pp. 157 ff.

The copy published by Professor Thomas is far from being satisfactory, but the way in which he was able to rearrange the sequence of the letters and bring out the meaning is highly to be admired. But now new material has come to hand, which makes it possible to read the legend with greater certainty.

In a letter of the 13th December 1935, Dr. E. H. Johnston writes: 'In the course of cataloguing the Masson papers in the India Office Library, I have come across a number of copies of the inscription on the Hiddah jar...... .. Most date from after Masson's return to England early in 1842 and have no special value....... Three however are on blue paper; one seems to be a new working copy, written out for an attempted transliteration. The others are on two strips of paper, which Masson pasted on to another sheet of paper after his return to England.'

Fuller particulars about these last-mentioned copies were given in another letter from Dr. Johnston of the 13th January 1936: 'The copies are on two strips of blue foolscap, measuring 55 by 315 millimetres and 98 by 313 millimetres, respectively. I regard them as Masson's originals for various reasons. That he looked on them as particularly important is shown by the fact that he has cut them out of the particular sheet on which they were and pasted them on to another sheet; this must have been done after his return to England, as the kind of paper on to which they have been pasted shows. Masson used this blue foolscap almost exclusively in 1834 and many of his original sketches of the Topes of Hiddah and Chaharbagh are on similar paper, having been done that year (1834) at the time of excavation. The writing is done with a broader pen than he was in the habit of using. There are at least a dozen copies of this inscription among his papers, most of them made after he had left Afghanistan, and in every case except this the copy was evidently made in order to put between the lines an attempt at transliteration. No room has been left for such writing on these strips, though you will notice some remains of such an attempt at the bottom. I imagine the first strip was left incomplete after writing the first line because of the disfigurement by blots.'

With the kind permission of Dr. Randle, the Librarian of the India Office, excellent photographs of these strips have been prepared, and I have been authorized to make use of them for an eventual new edition of the record.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Johnston is right in considering these strips as Masson's original draft And we can also see that the incomplete strip is the first one. It has partly been corrected in the second. And we shall find several certain indications which show that the copies reproduced in the *Ariana Antiqua* and in Professor Thomas' plate have been made from our strips.

The arrangement of the letters is the same as in the published plates, and it is clear that the two lines of the inscription ran all round the jar, and that Masson failed to see where the record begins. Professor Thomas' ingenious restoration of the sequence is absolutely certain, and I shall follow it in my ensuing remarks, using the abbreviations **A** for the *Ariana Antiqua* plate, **B** for the copy published by Professor Thomas, **I** for the first strip and **II** for the second.

The first word is correctly given as *saṁbatśarae* in I. In II the *anusvāra* hook is more rounded, and Masson has added an *e-mātrā* above *saṁ*, probably because the top of the *akshara* was blurred. This wrong *e*-stroke is then found both in A, which here faithfully reproduces II, and in B, which represents a combination of I and II.

The ensuing *athaviśatihi 20 4 4* do not call for any remark. We can only see that Masson first misread the *vi*, but corrected it in II.

Then follows *mase* with a bottom stroke crossed by a horizontal, bent downwards at both ends and surmounted by a curved upright, below *se* in I, while these additions have been omitted in II, evidently as the result of closer inspection, so that we must certainly read *mase*. The bottom strokes return, however, in B, where they are the same as in I, and in A, where there is only a long horizontal.

Then comes *Apelae* in I. In II the *pe* and the final *e* have been slightly modified. In A *pe* has been misread as *pi*, and *la*, which is a little misshapen in I, has been miswritten. In B the two different forms of *e* have been entered, that of II in the line, that of I, slightly misshapen, above.

The ensuing *sasthehi* is quite clear; but it is hardly probable that *sta* with the vertical to the right had a different sound from the ordinary *sta*. The word itself is, as we know, Iranian, *cf.* Av. *sand-* 'to appear', Khotanī Saka *sasta-* 'appeared'. Between the letters *sa* and *sthe* there is in II a long vertical stroke. It is impossible to tell why Masson has inserted it.

The *hi* of the following *daśahi* is misdrawn in II, the bottom having been continued into the preceding *śa*, causing a break in the left bar of the latter. Both forms are reproduced in B.

The *i* of the ensuing *iśa* (not *iśe* as read by Professor Thomas) has an angular top in I, and this form recurs in A, and also in B, where, however, the rounded form of II is added above the line; *śa* is misshapen in A, and in B a second form has been added above the line, we cannot say from which source.

In the word *pratisthapita* we can clearly follow the process of deterioration. I is quite clear, though the upright of *stha* is separated from the cross-bar. In II the horizontal of *pra* protrudes slightly to the left of the vertical, and the bottom of the final *ta* has been lengthened, and a short vertical has been added, so that the *akshara* looks almost like *ro*. The results can be seen in the apparent *phra*, the disjointed *stha* and the misshapen *ta* of A, and in the similar *pra* and the splitting up of *tistha* into three *aksharas* in B.

In the word read as [*ra*]*jaraṁtimi* by Professor Thomas, we can now see that the apparent hook which he took to be a mutilated *ja* is a clear *ma*. The preceding *ra* shows a short horizontal stroke protruding to the left just above the bottom in I, so that we could think of reading *ro*. But it is absent in II, and as the same *rama* recurs in l. 2, the reading seems to be certain. *Rama* can hardly be anything else than the name of a person, probably the Indian name, which already occurs in the *Ṛigvēda*.

The *akshara* following after *rama* looks like *taṁ*, but can also be a shortened cursive *raṁ*. Then comes an evidently misdrawn letter in I, while II has an unmistakable *ña*. A and B give both forms, one above the other, and here again clearly show their dependence on I and II. With the ensuing *mi* we thus get *ramataṁñami* or *ramaraṁñami*. If it were possible to assume a

doublet *tanya* besides *taniya* 'own', which we read on a Tor Ḍherai potsherd[1], we might think of connecting *ramataṁñami* with the following *thubami* 'in the Stūpa belonging to Rāma', but we have no reason for supposing the existence of such a variant, *taniya* itself being doubtful and probably only the final portion of *ataniya*. The word *raña*, Skr. *araṇya* 'wood, grove', on the other hand, occurs in connection with *thuba* on the Kurram casket.

'The Rāma wood' is then the name of the place where the stūpa was situated, and most probably the real name. *Cf.* passages such as *Takhaśilae nagare—utareṇa—prachu deśo—Kshema nama—atra...... śariraṁ [pra*]tithaveti* 'in the town of Takshaśilā,—to the north,—the eastern quarter,—Khema by name,—here he establishes a relic' (Taxila copper-plate, with the enumerating idiom which we know so well from Marāṭhī); *ime pradistavita bhagavato dhatuo dhammaraïe Takshaśi[la*]e taṇuvae bosi(dhi)satvagahami* 'these relics of the Lord were established in the Buddha relic-stūpa of Takshaśilā, in his own Bodhisattva-chapel' (Taxila silver scroll); *Chhaḍaśilae śarira praïstaveti gahathubami* 'in Chhaḍaśilā he establishes a relic in the house-stūpa'[2]; *Vagramarig(r)aviharam(r)i thu[ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada Śakyamuṇe śarira parithaveti* 'in the Vagramariya vihāra, in a stūpa, he (sc. Vagramariya) establishes a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni' (Wardak vase), etc. The last-mentioned passage shows that such a name can be derived from the name of a living person.

In my edition of the Kalawān record I have shown that the list of Yakshas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*[3] contains details which may be of interest in connection with Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, but that the forms of the names used in the Māyūrī must sometimes be checked by the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work. I believe that such is also the case with reference to our record.

In the *Mahāmāyūrī* l. 83 we read: '*Laṅkeśvaraś ca Kapiśyāṁ Mārīcī Rāmakakshayām*' 'the lord of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa, is the Yaksha) in Kapiśī, Mārīci in Rāmakakshā.'

Now the arrangement of the various localities in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is roughly geographical, and we are probably justified in assuming that Rāmakakshā should be looked for in Afghanistan. Professor Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that the irregular form *-kakshayām* for *-kakshāyām* may point to some corruption. Of the Chinese versions one has *lo-mo-k'i-lo, i.e., Rāmakhilē,* which is just as unsuitable in the rhythm as *Rāmakakshāyām.* Yi-tsing gives *o-lo-mo-lin* 'the forest of Rāma', and the Tibetan translation *dga-bahi tshaṅ-tshiṅ* 'the wood of the pleasant one'. From these renderings we learn that the literal meaning of the name was 'Rāma wood', and from the fact that Mārīchi and not Rāma is mentioned as the Yaksha of the place, we must necessarily draw the inference that the Rāma wood was not considered to be a grove dedicated to a Yaksha or other supernatural being called Rāma, but as a place founded or owned by a person of the name Rāma.

As indicated above, the Rāma-grove was most probably situated in Afghanistan, and I think that we are justified in assuming that it was the very same 'Rāma-grove' which is mentioned in our record. Since the inscription in l. 2 contains wishes for the welfare of Rāma, he was probably at that time the owner of the wood, and we may draw the inference from the *Mahāmāyūrī* that his name stuck to the place also in later times, after his death.

The Hidda inscription would then be the oldest record in which this 'Rāma-grove' is mentioned. It is, besides, written in prose, and we have every reason for assuming that it contains the genuine form of the name. The author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, who, according to Professor

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 176.

[2] Kalawān inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 251 ff.

[3] *Cf.* the late Sylvain Lévi's important paper, *J. A.*, XI, ii, 1915, pp. 19 ff.

Smith's observations, is remarkably careful with regard to the rhythm, could not use *Rāmāraṇyē* in his verse. He therefore chose a synonym of *araṇya*, as indicated by Yi-tsing and the Tibetan translation. *Khila* might be a translation of *araṇya*, taking this to mean 'wilderness, desert', but the word does not suit the metre and is evidently a later 'improvement'. *Kakshayām* might be considered as a metrical license instead of *kakshāyām*, but then *kakshā* is not known to have had the meaning 'wood, forest'. *Kaksha*, on the other hand, has this sense, and it is, therefore, I think, probable that the author of the *Mahāmāyūrī* wrote *Rāmakakshake*, and that this was subsequently changed to *-kakshayām* by somebody who did not know that there was a 'Rāma wood', but knew the word *kakshā*.

After *ramaramñami* both I and II have *thubami saṁghamitrena ṇavakarmiana, i.e., ṇavakarmiena* 'in the stūpa, through the *Navakarmika* Saṁghamitra'. The shape of *gha* is a little irregular, and the loop is half open in II, which has led to a misshapen *gha*, with the better form above it, in B. No importance can be attached to the fact that the initial *na* of *ṇavakarmi[e]na* looks like a cerebral *ṇa*. Since we have a dental *na* in the beginning of *nirvana-*, l. 2, it is clear that the two characters are not distinguished in such a way that the apparent *ṇ* is used when initial and the apparent *n* between vowels, in which case we should have to assume that *ṇ* in reality denotes the dental, and *n* the lingual *ṇ*. It is, on the contrary, probable that the clear distinction between *ṇ* and *n* which we find in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript only corresponds to the actual state of things in a restricted area and is partly due to the influence of literary tradition, while the North-Western Prakrit generally only knew the dental *n*[1].

The designation *navakarmika* is used in two other Kharōshṭhī records. In the Taxila copper plate we read, according to Professor Thomas' evident correction,[2] *mahadanapati Patika saja uvajkae[na*] Rohiṇimitreṇa ya imami saṁgharame navakarmika* 'the great gift-lord Patika together[3] with the Upādhyāya Rōhiṇīmitra, who is *navakarmika* in this Vihāra'. The Māṇikiāla inscription, l. 12 runs *sadha Budhilena navakarmigeṇa* 'together with the *navakarmika* Buddhila'. The term is also met with in Brāhmī inscriptions, *cf.* Professor Lüders' List, and in several passages in Pāli literature, to which Professor Smith has been good enough to give me some references. According to *Kaccāyana* 353, *Saddanīti* 786-[23] a *nāvakammika* is one who is entrusted with a *navakamma*, a monk or a nun selected by the Saṁgha in order to act on its behalf. *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 159, ll. 22 ff., we read about people who undertake some *navakamma* and take care of the monks who supervise the work (*navakammaṁ adhiṭṭhenti*), and the Buddha gives instructions about the choice of such bhikkhus. A *navakammika* monk is to be zealous so that a Vihāra may be completed quickly and dilapidated portions repaired (*navakammiko, bhikkhave, bhikkhu ussukkaṁ āpajjissati kinti nu kho vihāro khippaṁ pariyosānaṁ gaccheyā ti, khaṇḍaphullaṁ paṭisaṁkharissati*), and he should be selected by the Saṁgha after such assistance has been requested by some householder. In *Vinaya Piṭaka* IV, 211, Sāḷha wants to build a Vihāra and asks for a nun as *navakammikā*, and the bhikkhunīsaṁgha deputes the nun Sundarīnandā for the purpose. She constantly repairs to Sāḷha's residence and asks for various implements (*vāsiṁ detha, pharasuṁ detha, kuṭhāriṁ detha, kuddālaṁ detha, nikhādanaṁ dethā ti*), while Sāḷha constantly goes to follow the progress of the work (*katākataṁ jānituṁ*). In accordance with such passages Buddhaghōsa, *Samantapāsādikā* on *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 160, l. 12 says that the *navakammika* does not do the manual work, but supervises the progress (*laddhanavakammena bhikkhunā vāsipharasu-nikhādanādīni gahetvā sayaṁ na kātabbaṁ, katākataṁ jānitabbaṁ*). In *Vinaya*

[1] Professor Turner has been good enough to tell me that in Shina Skr. *-ṇ-* regularly appears as *-ṇ-* and *-n-* as *-n-*.

[2] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6.

[3] Professor Thomas explains *saja* = *sadya* 'at present'. I identify it with Vedic *sacā* 'together'.

Piṭaka IV, 34, ll. 2 ff. we read about the Āḷavaka monks that they were engaged in *navakamma* (*navakammaṁ karontā*), and that they cut down trees or had trees cut down. But one of the monks, who was felling a tree, was warned by its dēvatā not to destroy her dwelling in order to make one for himself, and the Buddha speaks about the offence in connection with the destruction of life which was inevitable when a tree was cut.

A *navakammika* may reside for a prolonged period at one place. In *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 15, ll. 29 ff. we read about the venerable Sudhamma, who stayed with the householder Chitta as his *navakammika*, and in *Jātaka* IV, 310, ll. 13 f. about residence as *navakammika* in a great Vihāra in Kajaṅgalā (*āvāsiko hotu mahāvihāre, navakammiko hotu Kajaṅgalāyaṁ*), and the commentary here speaks of a dilapidated Vihāra (*jiṇṇavihāra*), *i.e.*, one in need of repairs.

It is evident from the above quotations that the *navakamma* was of different kinds, from the building of a Vihāra down to various sorts of repairs. *Manorathapūraṇī* I, 31, l. 15 speaks of a *navakammika* in connection with Uposatha halls, almshouses, etc. (*uposathāgāra-bhojanasālādīni*), and such work was formerly considered as a good means of banishing distracting thoughts (*porāṇakapaṇḍitā pana navakammaṁ katvā pi vitakkaṁ pachhindiṁsu*, *Papañcha-sūdanī* II, 91, l. 18). And in *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 172 we hear of several minor kind of *navakamma* such as heaping up clay or earth, replastering a wall, making a door or a socket for a bolt, white-washing, etc.

A *navakarmika* is consequently in most cases a monk, acting on behalf of the Saṁgha in supervising new buildings, repairs, etc., and such was evidently the case with Saṁghamitra. What he had to superintend may have been the erection of the Stūpa, or some repairs, or even only the putting down of the relic.

For the second line the new material consists of one copy only, *viz.* II. As seen by Professor Thomas, we must evidently begin with the sixth *akshara* from the end.

The first word is certainly *edena*, though the *e*- stroke of *de* is curved and joined to the upright in such a way that Masson in A and B has introduced a small loop.

The next word was correctly read as *kuśalamulena* by Professor Thomas, who pointed out that the *u* of *ku* and the final *na* are missing. The new copy shows definitely that I was wrong in assuming that the ensuing *e* was misdrawn for *na*. After *śa* follows in II what looks like a second *śa*, corrected to *na*, and then a cancelled letter which looks as an unsuccessful attempt at writing a *la*. In A both these letters are clumsily imitated, one above the other, while B seems to combine them into one misshapen akshara. What looks like *śa* corrected to *na* might be the *na* we miss after *le*, in which case we would have to infer that it had been misplaced in the original. It is, however, more probable that Masson has forgotten to cancel it properly. The dot before the ensuing *la* is, as Dr. Johnston informs me, not in ink, but the remains of a drop of moisture.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *etesha dharmana*, where the final *na* is misshapen in A.

The next *aksharas* were read *lokika vija* by Professor Thomas, while I suggested to read *abhibhuti*. The new copy clearly shows that the first *akshara* was *la*. A comparatively long sloping line descends towards the left from the underside of the hook of *la*, which itself is continued on to the vertical. It might be taken to be the *o*- stroke, which, however, protrudes from the vertical in other inscriptions. It is therefore possible that it is of the same kind as the superfluous and meaningless stroke between *sa* and *sthe* in *sasthehi* II, l. 1. It is considerably shortened in B and it has led to a distorted sign in A. The next *akshara* is certainly *bhi*, as stated by Professor Thomas, and the new copy clearly shows that it is followed by *bhavima*.

The curve of *ma* is here narrower than in *rama*, l. 1, and we understand how Masson has come to write the hook which has been misinterpreted as a mutilated *ja*. If we bear in mind that the nom. pl. of *in*-bases frequently ends in *ī* in Pāli and Prakrit, it becomes evident that we must translate *labhi* (or, *lobhi*) *bhavima* 'may we become possessed (or, desirous) of,' and the usual wording of such wishes in other texts favours the reading *labhi*.

With regard to the ensuing *yasha*, which is perfectly clear in all copies, it is, of course, possible that it corresponds to Skt. *yat shaṭ*. But, in the first place, we should expect *sho* for *shaṭ*, and, in the second, the parallelism with the preceding *etesha dharmana* leads us to expect *yesha*, so that *ya* is probably a miswriting or misreading for *ye*. But then it seems almost certain that the *akshara* following after *dharma* must be *ṇaṁ* and not *kha*, so that we must read *dharmaṇaṁ*. The use of *ṇa* instead of *na* does not make any difficulty, as we have already seen. As a matter of fact the *akshara* in question looks more like *ṇaṁ* than *kha*. And there is also another difficulty in reading *kha*. This *kha* would have to be connected with the following *e* to *khae*, corrresponding to Skt. *kshayē*. But the regular development of old *ksha* in our dialect is to become a sound written with a sign which has been variously transliterated *ksha* and *c̕hha*, and which clearly denotes the cerebral affricative known from Dardic.[1]

It cannot be objected that the *anusvāra* is suspicious. We have the same uncertainty in *kshunaṁmi*, *raṁñami*, *thubami*. I shall only mention in passing that in all other instances of the genitive plural in our record a consonant follows, while here the next sound is a vowel. But it may be worth while remembering that final *aṁ* is written *a* in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, and still we can see that the final nasal made itself felt, so that, *e.g.*, Pāli *sīhaṁ va* is represented by *siha ba*[2] and not *siha va*.

E must then be taken to the following *akshara*, which we now see cannot be *ba* but must be *ta*, a reading which Professor Thomas mentions as possible.

Then follows what he read as *dho*, but which looks much more like *vo* and may be the enclitic personal pronoun of the second plural, used in a weakened sense 'you see', much like the corresponding *ū* in Khotanī Saka.

The next two *aksharas* seem to be *syeta* ; A has *syata*. I do not any more think that we can adopt Professor Thomas' emendation of *tavosyeta* to *bodhisatva*, because Masson's new copy seems to be so reliable throughout. The only way of explaining *syeta* I can think of is that the *e* above *sya* has come in in the same way as the *e* of *seṁbatśarae* in II l. 1, as also assumed by Professor Thomas, and that there has been an invisible *i*-mātrā in *ta*. I would therefore read *syati* and translate : may we become possessed of these *dharmas* of which *dharmas* this may be, *i.e.*, of which *dharmas* the following may consist (or, be the cause).

The next passage can be read without any doubt, as done by Professor Thomas : *śarira sarvasatvana nirvanasaṁbharae bhavatu*. The final *ra* of *śarira* is provided with a small hook, which has become a regular *anusvāra* in A, but there is no reason for reading *śariraṁ*. The *r*-loop of (*sa*)*rva* runs into the vertical of the preceding *sa* ; the top of the *sa* of *satvana* has been connected with the upright of the *va* of *tva*, and there is an apparent bar to the right of the vertical of *rva* in *nirvana*, which evidently is only the disjointed continuation of the *i*-stroke of the preceding *ni*. The result is that we find various distortions both in A and in B which here again clearly show their dependence on II. *Sarva* looks like *saṁ* and a mutilated *rva* ; *satvana* has been split up and mutilated in different ways ; the *rva* of *nirvana* looks

[1] Cf. Turner, *Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs* No. 4, p. 11.

[2] The form *avalaśa va* (A [2] 15) shows that we have to do with the acc. pl., and that *abalassaṁ* in the *Dhammapada* is due to a misunderstanding of the original.

almost like *rka*, and in B slightly differing forms have been added above the *na* of this word. In A, moreover, the *bha* of *saṁbharae*, has been slightly distorted.

The whole sentence is a blessing of the same kind as the final clause of the Taxila silver scroll. We may only be in doubt whether *śarira* should be connected with the preceding *eta*, in which case we might think of construing *y[e*]sha dharmaṇaṁ* with *nirvanasaṁbharae* and taking *bhavatu* as a further explanation of *syeta*, *i.e.*, *syati* 'to the nirvāṇa equipment of which *dharmas* for all beings this your *śarīra* might serve'. Such an explanation seems, however, to be rather hard, and it is more in accordance with the usual formula to translate: 'out of which *dharmas* this may result: let the *śarīra* be for the *nirvāṇa* equipment of all beings', or, more probably, 'of which *dharmas* this your *śarīra* may consist (or, be the cause). Let it be for the *nirvāṇa* equipment of all beings'.

As already indicated the next word is clearly *ramasa*, and the suspicious form *rajasa* instead of *raño* 'of the king' disappears from the dialect. The form *rajaṣa* in the Niya inscriptions corresponds to Skt. *rājyasya*.

Then comes a difficult *akshara*, which Professor Thomas describes as an 'unintelligible form, which seems to contain a *y*.' He read the ensuing letters as *griprachaṁya* and added: 'We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agrapratyaṁśa*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions: either there has been a misreading of *agraprachaṁśa* (confusion of *ya* and *śa* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agraprachāya*=*agrapratyāya*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute," "share"'.

As long as we did not know Masson's original copy, we were justified in assuming that his reproductions were not quite reliable. Now we cannot do so any more, and we must assume that the 'unintelligible' letter, which has become quite disfigured in A and B, is a fairly reliable copy of what Masson saw on the jar. So far as I can see, it is possible to read it as *no*, the *akshara* being turned backwards in a similar way as the *de* of *edena*, but it is more probable that we have to do with a misshapen *a*. Then follows *griprachaya*. The *p* of *pra* shows the same protrusion, only more pronounced, as in *pratisthapita* l. 1. The same is the case in A, and also in B, where we find two slightly varying attempts at rendering the *akshara*. The bottom of *cha* is curved like the bottom of *dha*, but it does not seem possible to read *chaṁ*. *Prachaya* may represent Skt. *pratyaya* as well as *pratyāya*. The latter word is, so far as I know, only found in lexicographical works as one of the meanings of *kara*, *e.g.*, in Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha* 405 *karaḥ pratyāya-śuṇḍayōḥ raśmau varshōpalē pāṇau* '*kara* means toll, trunk, ray, hail, hand.' We have no right to assume that it could mean 'share'. Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *prachaya* in a Buddhist inscription is anything else than the well-known *pratyaya*, Pāli *pacchaya*.

If the reading *a* is correct, we thus have *ramasa agri prachaya*, where *agri*=*agrē*. It is hardly allowed to connect this *agri* with the ensuing *prachaya* into a compound. There cannot however, in my opinion, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in supposing that what is meant is to invoke a blessing on Rāma as the person who is to receive the principal share of the *puṇya* connected with the establishment of the relic, just as we read in the Wardak vase inscription *mahiya cha Vag(r)amareg(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apaḍ(r)iyaṁśae bhavatu* 'may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself Vagramareya,' where the person there singled out is the owner of the Vihāra, which fact makes me inclined to think that Rāma in our inscription occupied a similar position, *i.e.*, that he was the donor or owner of the Stūpa and not an eponymous Yaksha.

If I am right about the purport of the sentence, (*a*)*gri* means or it is 'in future,' the locative of *agra* 'first, principal,' and means about the same thing as *agrapratyaṁśa*. With regard to *prachaya*, if it is not miswritten for *prachaśa, i.e., prachaṁśa=pratyaṁśa,* we may doubt whether it is to be taken as a nominative or as an ablative, but the former seems to me to be the proper explanation.

I cannot finish these lines without paying my tribute to Professor Thomas for the sagacity and ingeniousness with which he has succeeded in solving almost all the problems connected with the Hidda record at the hand of the inferior reproductions at his disposal. And I should also like to give expression to my admiration of Masson's achievement. Without apparently understanding a single word he has left us a reliable and extremely careful copy, which gives an almost perfect reproduction of the original.

With some confidence I then give the following text and translation.

TEXT.

L 1 saṁbatśarae aṭhaviśatihi 20 4 4 mase Apelae sasthehi daśahi 10 iśa kshunaṁmi pratisthapita śarira Ramaraṁñami thubami Saṁghamitrena ṇavakarmiana(-ena.).

L 2 edena k[u]śalamule[na*] etesha dharmana labhi bhavima y[e*]sha dharmaṇaṁ eta vo syeta (syati) śarira sarvasatvana nirvanasaṁbharae bhavatu Ramasa agri prachaya.

TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-eighth—28—year, in the month Appellaios, after ten—10—had appeared, in this instant was established a relic in the Rāma grove, in the Stūpa by Saṁghamitra the superintendent of work. Through this root of bliss, might we become recipients of these *dharmas*, of which *dharmas* this your relic may be. Let it lead to nirvāṇa equipment for all beings and be the support in future (or, the cause for the foremost share) for Rāma.

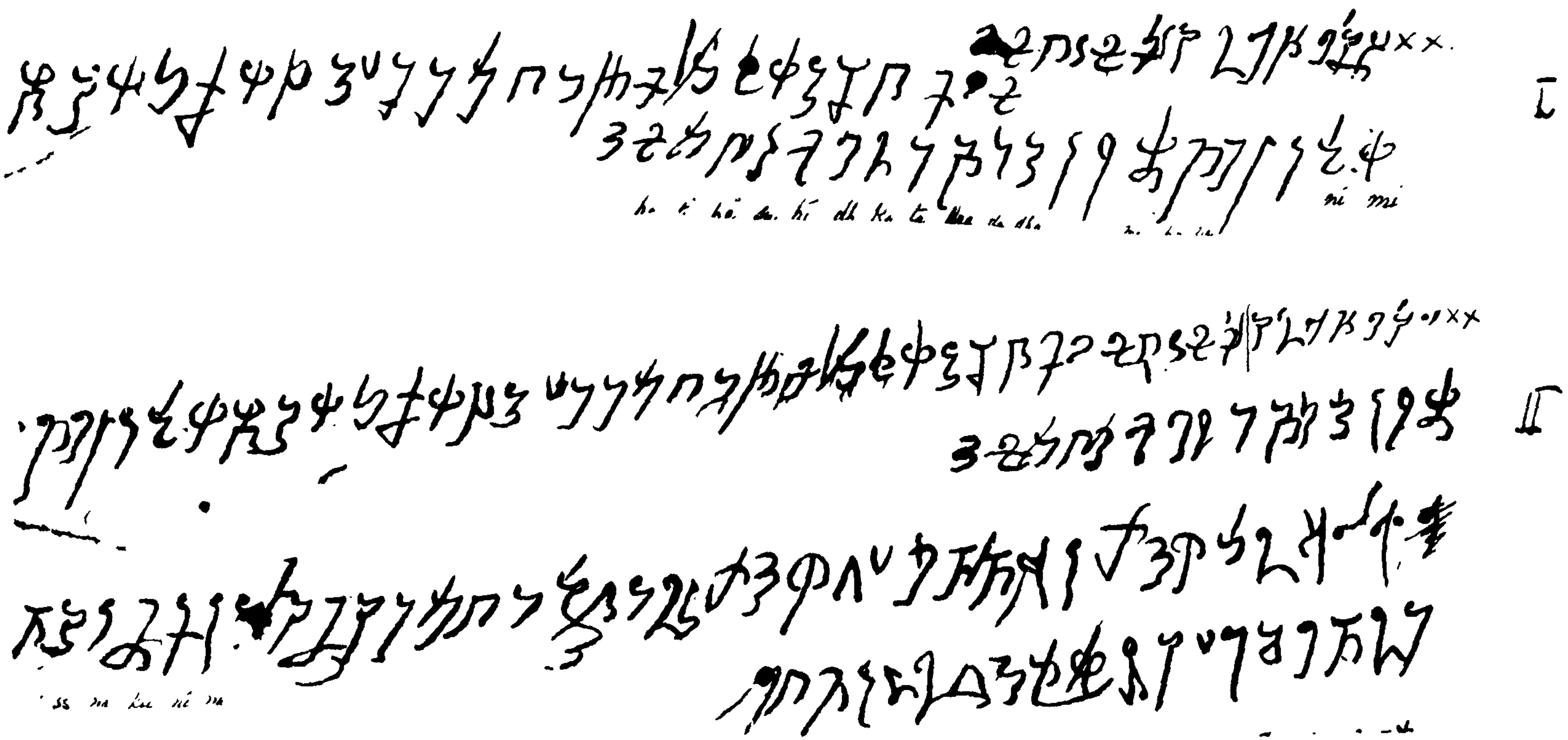
No. 7.—THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS : KRITA YEAR 295.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The **three Maukhari inscriptions**, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by me at **Baḍvā** in Kotah State in Rājputāna on the 1st of March 1936 in the course of a tour of archæological exploration organised by the State Historian, Dr. Mathuralal, at the instance of the Kotah government. Baḍvā is a large village, about 5 miles south-west of Antah, a railway station on the Kotah-Bina line of the G. I. P. Railway. The stone pillars, on which the inscriptions are engraved were at the time of their discovery situated outside the village, about half a mile to its east, at a locality known as Thamb-Tōraṇ [1] which is obviously a vernacular form of the Sanskrit expression *Stambha-Tōraṇa*. This name was probably given to the locality, about 1,700 years ago, when two stone structures, partially resembling an arch, were raised there by the erection of four sacrificial posts by the Maukhari rulers, then ruling over the territory. At the time of their discovery only three of these pillars were *in situ*, one inclined at an angle of about 80°, and the other two lying flat on the ground. One of the latter pillars had to be raised before ink-impressions of its inscription could be taken, as it had fallen with the inscribed side downwards. The remnants of the fourth pillar could be found at a distance of about two furlongs, where a

[1] The Kotah government is taking steps to remove these pillars to Kotah.

Hidda Inscription of the Year 28.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3958 E'36-275

FROM THE PHOTOGRAPH OF AN EYE COPY.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

portion of it was discovered converted into a *satī* stone. On one side of this stone are still to be seen the letters *yajñō* of the original inscription of the 3rd century A. D. It is therefore clear that this fourth pillar also bore an inscription, similar to, but not identical in its contents[1] with those on the other three.

The two pillars of the front row were separated from each other by a distance of about 25 feet. The rear row, of which only one pillar was *in situ*, stood behind the first at a distance of about 25 yards. The ends of the *yūpas* turn inwards to their proper right, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph ; two *yūpas*, standing at a distance of about 25 feet with their inclined portions facing each other, must have appeared like the lower portions of a *tōraṇa*. This may have been the reason, as I have already suggested, for the name *Stambha-Tōraṇa* being given to the locality, probably ever since the time of the erection of the pillars.

Each of the three pillars is described as a *yūpa* in the inscription engraved upon it. Sacred texts declare that *yūpas* should be made of wood. The *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* vividly describes the expedition for securing a suitable stump for this purpose [2]—how the tree is to be felled, how its superfluous branches are to be chopped, etc. Different results are promised to the sacrificer according to the tree that may be selected for making the *yūpa*. The *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* lays down that the *yūpa* itself was to be offered as an oblation at the end of the sacrifice.[3] No wooden *yūpas* have, however, been so far discovered.[4] The stone ones, that we have come across so far, begin from the 2nd century A. D., and seem to be an innovation introduced for commemorative purposes by the advocates of the Vedic revival, probably with a view to emulate Buddhist pillars like those of Aśōka. We have so far discovered only four complete stone *yūpas*, besides the present three. In the early centuries of the Christian era the stone *yūpas*, commemorating different sacrificers, must have been fairly common ; otherwise the word *yūpa* would not have acquired the sense of a *jaya-stambha*.[5]

It is interesting to note that the practice of erecting commemorative *yūpas* runs counter to the sentiments expressed in this connection by the authors of the Gṛihyasūtra and Dharmasūtra literature. Their writers probably flourished just after the time of the Upanishadic and Buddhist revolt against the practice of slaughter of animals in sacrifices. Many of them like Vāsishṭha,[6] Baudhāyana,[7] Vishṇu [8] and Āśvalāyana[9] declare that the touch of a *yūpa* is as polluting as that of a funeral pyre or a woman in her courses ; the *Hiraṇyakēśi-Gṛihyasūtra* says that by touching a *yūpa* one brings upon oneself the guilt of whatever faults may have been committed in the sacrifice.[10] It would appear that with the revival of Vedic sacrifices, the leaders of society and of the new movement ceased to subscribe to the above views of the Dharmaśāstra writers

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[1] In the inscriptions on the pillars completely preserved the word *yajñō* does not occur.

[2] VI, 3.

[3] II, 1.

[4] The wooden post, bearing a fragmentary inscription, discovered at Kirārī (*ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 152), does not look like a *yūpa*. It has a *kalaśa* at the top, which no sacred text recommends in the case of a *yūpa*. Its inscription is too fragmentary to determine whether it was a *yūpa*.

[5] *Cf.* संग्रामनिर्विष्टसहस्रबाहुरष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूप: । अनन्यसाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किल कार्तवीर्य: ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 38.

[6] *Cf.* यूपचितिश्मशानरजस्वलासूतिकाशुचीनुपस्पृश्य सशिरा अभ्युपेयादप इति । IV, 31.

[7] I, 5, 9, 5.

[8] 22, 69.

[9] III, 6, 8.

[10] *Cf.* न यूपमुपस्पृशेत् । दुरिष्टं यज्ञस्य प्रतिमुंचति यद्येकमुपस्पृशेत् । I, 5, 16, 16. The commentator मातृदत्त adds :— दुरिष्टमिति भूतनिदर्शनमात्रम् एव यागे प्रतिषेधो नास्त्यस्मिन् ॥

and began to encourage the construction of stone *yūpas* as a triumphant and enduring testimony to the revival of the old Vedic religion. *Yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt, says the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa.*[1] Hindu champions of the revival of the Vedic religion were obviously as proud of their commemorative stone *yūpas* as Indra was of his thunderbolt.

Detailed instructions have been given in the Vedic literature about the shape and size of the sacrificial post. The height was rigidly fixed only in the case of the Vājapēya sacrifice, where the post had to be made 17 cubits high; in the case of other sacrifices it could vary from five to fifteen cubits.[2] After the leaves and branches of the stem were cut off, it was to be given an octagonal shape, for that was the shape of the thunderbolt of Indra, and *yūpa* is a thunderbolt.[3] The stem was not to be straight, it was to be curved both at the top and the centre, the concavity in either case facing the same side.[4] It was never to be made tapering at the top, for such a post was supposed to hasten the death of the sacrificer.[5] At a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was to be slipped in a ring or *kaṭaka*, technically known as *chashāla*, which also had naturally to be octagonal in shape.[6] *Yūpa* resembled in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*; so it had a girdle at its centre and a triple *upavīta* across it. It was to be covered by a number of cloths.[7]

These detailed instructions about the nature of the *yūpas* do not seem to have been known to the sculptors responsible for the construction of the stone *yūpas* of King Mūlavarman of Borneo; for they are roughly dressed stones of irregular shape.[8] In India, however, the Hindu revivalist tried to conform to the requirements of the sacred texts as far as possible. Thus none of the complete and undamaged *yūpas* discovered so far is pointed at the end. They all bend at the top. The *yūpas* on the *Aśvamēdha* coins of Samudragupta show a bend at the middle also; the omission of this feature in the case of stone *yūpas*—for we do not find it on a single *yūpa* so far discovered—is probably to be attributed to a greater regard being paid to artistic beauty than to the injunctions of the sacred texts. A stone pillar showing a bend in the middle and at the top would be hardly graceful. The portion above the ground of the three *yūpas* at Baḍvā is octagonal; the underground shaft of two of them is, however, square. The shafts of the *yūpas* discovered at Īsāpur and Bijayagaḍh[9] are, however, square at the bottom and octagonal above. This departure from the requirements as laid down in the sacred texts also seems to be due to architectural considerations. A pillar square at the bottom and octagonal above was probably regarded as more graceful than one octagonal throughout. The

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[1] II, 1.

[2] *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, VI, 3. The cubit is to be the cubit of the *Yajamāna*. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, however, allows any height for the *yūpa*; see III, 6, 4, 26.

[3] *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, II, 1. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* connects the eight sides of the shaft of the post to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatrī* metre (V, 2, 1, 5). This is a fanciful reason.

[4] The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* requires it to be आनत उपरिष्टादुपनतो मध्ये and not अपनतो मध्ये, XI, 7, 4, 3; the *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* lays down that it should be मध्याग्रोपनतम् । VI, 1.

[5] *Cf.* *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 7, 4, 3; अथ यस्य . . मूल इवाग्रं भवति स ह कपोती नाम । यस्तादृशं यूपं कुरुते पुरा हायुषोऽस्माल्लोकमेति ।

[6] *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, VI, 1, 26. Some authorities permitted a *chashāla* made of wheaten dough. See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, 2, 1, 6.

[7] *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 21. For the resemblance between the sacrificial post and a *Brahmachārin*, see *Ṛigvēda*, III, 8, 4 & 5.

[8] Vogel, *The Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koetei*, p. 202, [As Dr. B. C. Chhabra has pointed out, they might not have been intended to represent sacrificial posts; see *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 41—Ed.].

[9] *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 40ff. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

architect responsible for the *yūpa* at Nāndsā seems to have paid scanty regard to the sacred texts; for he has fashioned a pillar entirely circular.[1] None of the pillars at Baḍvā has a girdle at the middle; we can, however, see it clearly on the *yūpas* of the *Aśvamēdha* coins of Samudragupta[2] and on one of the two Īsāpur pillars. Our *yūpas*, like all the rest discovered so far, do not show any *upavīta*.[3] Nor do they show any cloths carved round them. Probably it was felt that it would not be easy to show this detail in stone, and so the architects in all cases discovered so far, have omitted it. Cloths fluttering like banners at the ends of the *yūpas* on the coins of Samudragupta seem to be the ends of the cloths with which the *yūpa* was to be covered. The *yūpas* on these coins have pedestals; no traces of these were discovered near the *yūpas* at Baḍvā. Sacred texts do not recommend them.

The total height of two of our *yūpas* is 13′ 3″ and that of the third 15′ 8″; the length of the shaft underground is about 4′ in each case. Each of them has a square *chashāla* about eight inches from the top, as laid down in the sacred texts. The portion above the *chashāla* bends inwards, as is the case with all the other sacrificial pillars discovered so far.

The inscriptions on these *yūpas* have been written not in horizontal lines, as is the case with the Īsāpur pillar, but in one long vertical line, reading from the top to the bottom, and about 8 feet in length.[4] The inscription on the *yūpa* of Balasiṁha, however, is written in two such vertical lines on two different facets of the octagonal pillar owing to some natural defect in the stone in the first facet. Each of these lines is 4 feet and 8 inches long. The height of the normal letters is about 1·8″, of letters with verticals like *ka*, *ra*, etc., about 4″, of conjunct letters like *kla*, *sya*, etc., 4½″ and of conjuncts with medial vowels like *tri* about 6″. The letters on the *yūpa* of Balasiṁha are slightly bigger and broader, and seem to have been engraved by a different mason, copying a manuscript written in a different duct. The **Characters** bear a general resemblance to those of the third century A. D. in general, and to those on the Nāndsā *yūpa* in particular, engraved 13 years earlier.[5] We do not see here any precursors of the Eastern variety forms of the Gupta alphabet. Medial *ā* and *ē* strokes are still indicated by horizontal lines (except in some rare cases like *dē* in *Sōmadēva* in inscription B) usually attached at the top. In *mō* of *Mōkharēḥ* the vowel sign is attached in the middle. *Ya* has developed a loop in its left limb, and when the last member of a conjunct, it shows all possible varieties of form. Sometimes it is archaic,—tripartite and with a curved back (cf. *sya* in *śuklasya* in the first line of the record of Balasiṁha; in this same inscription, however, is to be seen the relatively later bipartite form in *-siṁhāsya*). Normally, however, this letter shows a loop on the left. In inscription C, there is the stop *m* at the end; it is denoted by the normal form of the letter *ma*, but smaller in size and written below the line as is usually found in the writing of this period.

Numerical Symbols for 200, 90 and 5 occur in each of the three records. The signs for 90 and 5 are the usual ones for the period, but the additional stroke attached to the symbol for hundred in order to convert it into 200 is rather unusual. Instead of a short horizontal stroke being attached to the vertical, in each of the three inscriptions we find the horizontal stroke first taken upwards and then led right across the top of the symbol to more than half its breadth. That this modified symbol stands for two hundred is rendered absolutely certain by its being identical in form with the symbol used in the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription. In the latter record the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

[2] Allan, *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. V, Nos. 9-14.

[3] Possibly the garlands round the top of the *Yūpas* discovered at Īsāpur may have been intended as substitutes for the *upavīta*.

[4] The inscription on the Bijayagaḍh pillar is also vertical and written in the same manner.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

date is also expressed in words and the import of the numerical symbol engraved there is thus absolutely certain. As will be presently shown, the year 295 of the record has to be referred to the Vikrama era. The earliest known inscription of this era is that on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, which is dated in the year 282.[1] This record, however, has not yet been properly edited.

The **Language** of the record may be described as incorrect Sanskrit. *Kritēhi* at the beginning of the inscriptions seems to be a mistake for *Kṛitaiḥ*. Among other mistakes may be pointed out *Phalguṇa* for *Phālguna*, *pañchē* for *pañchamē* and *śri* for *śrī*. The reading *dakshiṇyam* is absolutely certain on the *yūpa* of Balasiṁha; it seems to be a mistake for *dakshiṇā*. In the inscriptions on the *yūpas* of Sōmadēva and Balavardhana *sahasraṁ* has been spelt as *sahashraṁ*. Usually no *sandhi* rules have been observed, the solitary exception being *Mōkharēr=Bala-puttrasya* in the inscription on the pillar of Balasiṁha.

Each record commemorates the performance of a *Trirātra* sacrifice. The *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* gives a detailed description of the origin and nature of this sacrifice.[2] We are told that Prajāpati invented it for Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and won thereby the three worlds. The *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* declares that by the merit of this sacrifice, the sacrificer can win for himself whatever is threefold (*trividha*) in affairs both mundane and spiritual.[3] This sacrifice is an amalgam of Agnishṭōma, Ukthya and Atirātra sacrifices, performed on the first, second and third days respectively[4]. Its full name is *Garga-Trirātra*; it was called *Aśvi-Trirātra* if a horse was immolated on the second day.[5] The wording of the concluding portion of each record, *Trirātra-saṁmitasya dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) gavāṁ sahasraṁ* appears to be suggested by that of the concluding sentence of the description of this sacrifice in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (VII, 15) where we read,

तदेतत्सहस्रायनं सहस्रं स्तोत्रियः सहस्रं दक्षिणा सहस्रसंमितः स्वर्गो लोकः ।

The Maukhari sacrificers gave precisely the same amount of *dakshiṇā* as prescribed by the sacred texts. As a matter of fact, *Trirātra* sacrifice has been described in one place as *Sahasra-dakshiṇa-Trirātra*.[6] Out of these 1,000 cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten; the three that remained every day, along with the thousandth one, which was required to be variegated in colour, were to be given to the *Hōtṛi* on the last day of the sacrifice.

The fragmentary *yūpa*, discovered at Nagarī, records the performance of a Vājapēya sacrifice by at least three brothers.[7] The three sacrificers at Baḍvā, though brothers, chose to set different commemorative *yūpas*. Their number was four, but the name of the fourth sacrificer has perished along with his commemorative *yūpa*, of which only a fragment could be discovered and recovered.

The names of the brothers, whose memory has been preserved by their commemorative pillars, are **Balavardhana, Sōmadēva** and **Balasiṁha.** They are described as the sons of **Mōkhari Mahāsēnāpati Bala.**[8] The term Mōkhari is a mere variant for Maukhari and thus **our record, which is dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, is the earliest dated Maukhari record to be so far published.** The Maukhari family of Bala is undoubtedly earlier than the house of Yajñavarman ruling in Bihār, as the former was ruling in Rājputāna in the first half of the 3rd century A. D., and Yajñavarman cannot be placed earlier than the fourth

[1] *Ibid.*; *ante*, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 1, No. 1.

[2] VII, 15.

[3] XVI, 21.

[4] *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, VII, 15.

[5] *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

[6] *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 4, 2, 1.

Memoirs, A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 120.

[8] [See p. 52 n. 8 below.—Ed.]

century A. D. The seal discovered by General Cunningham in Gayā district bearing the legend *Mokhaliṇaṁ* in Aśōkan Brāhmī is still the earliest Maukhari document, but it bears no personal name.[1]

The term Maukhari connotes that the family was founded by a progenitor named Maukhara ;[2] if he was a real historical personage, we have now to place him earlier than the third century A. D. Whether the Maukhari families of Bihār, Kanauj and Baḍvā were all descended from him, we do not know. No evidence is available at present to establish any family connection between these three houses. The *varman*-ending names of the members of the Bihār and Kanauj Maukhari families, along with the epithet *kshatrasthitēr=dēśikaḥ* given to one of the members of the former family,[3] make it clear that they were Kshatriyas by caste. Three of the four names of the members of the new Maukhari family, Bala, Balavarddhana and Balasiṁha, confirm the same conclusion. It is also interesting to note that all these Maukhari rulers are seen to be zealous patrons of the Vedic sacrifices.[4]

None of the Maukhari chiefs mentioned in these records were known to us so far.[5] Bala, the head of the family, is designated as *Mahāsēnāpati*. It is, however, not easy to determine the precise political status denoted by this title. *Sēnāpati*, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records. Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere general. In contemporary Āndhra[6] and Ikshvāku records,[7] however, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district.[8] It would appear that the Maukhari Commander-in-chief Bala was very probably enjoying a similar status. He does not seem to have been an independent ruler.

If he was not independent, whose feudatory was he ? This question cannot be confidently answered at present. At the time of our record, *i.e.*, in A. D. 239, the Kushāṇas were too weak to exercise any paramount control over southern Rājputāna, even if we suppose that the accession of Kanishka took place in *c.* 120 A. D. From the very brief and imperfect summary of the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription published so far,[9] it would appear that in A. D. 226, *i.e.*, 13 years earlier than the time of our record, the rule of the Western Kshatrapas extended up to Nāndsā, which is about 70 miles nearly due west of Baḍvā.[10] It is therefore not improbable that the imperial overlord of

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 14. It may be pointed out that the facsimile of this important seal has never been published and that its present whereabouts are unknown.

[2] See Kaiyaṭa on the *Pātañjala Mahābhāshya* on Paṇini IV, 1, 79. Our record does not connect the Maukharis with Aśvapati, the Madra king, as does the Haṛāhā record. The Madras were originally in the Punjab, and if the statement of the Haṛāhā inscription is true, it is likely, as my colleague Dr. R. S. Tripathi has suggested, that like the Mālēyas and Yaudhēyas, the Maukharis also may have had their home in the Punjab, from where they may have gradually migrated south-eastwards. If so, this movement must have begun very early ; for we find the Maukharis in Bihār in the 3rd century B. C. It is, however, possible that the connection with Aśvapati may be more Puranic than historical.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Inscription No. 49.

[4] For the Bihār family's patronage of the Vedic religion, see *ibid.*, Inscription No. 49, v. 1. For the Kanauj family's patronage see v. 7 of the Haṛāhā inscription, *ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 116. These references are not merely conventional.

[5] A Mathurā inscription dated in the year 80 mentions Bala as a son of a certain lady (*ante*, Vol. I, p. 392, No. 24). If we place Kanishka in *c.* 120 A. D., then the date of this Bala would be c. 200 and it would be possible to identify him with Bala of our inscriptions. But from the fragmentary Mathurā record it does not appear that Bala, mentioned therein, was a Maukhari.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.

[7] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 1.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

[10] Nāndsā is 36 miles from the railway station Bhilwara on the Chitor-Ajmer lines

the Maukhari Commander-in-chief Bala was the Kshatrapa ruler Vijayadāman, who was ruling from A. D. 238 to 250.[1] If agreeing with Prof. Rapson[2] and disagreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[3] we place Īśvaradatta Ābhīra's intervention in A. D. 236, it is probable that Bala may have been compelled to transfer his allegiance to the interloper, provided he had made his power felt up to Kotah.

From the Chandravaḷḷi inscription of Mayūraśarman, the famous founder of the Kadamba house, it appears that he had defeated the Pallavas, Punadas, Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Pāriyātrikas, Śakas and Maukharis.[4] Since the record mentions specific kings and dynasties defeated, we cannot suppose that it contains mere empty boasts. All except the first two powers in the above list, belong to Central or Western India. The date of Mayūraśarman is, however, not definitely fixed, but I think the view of Dr. Krishna that he flourished about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.,[5] is to be preferred to that of Mr. Moraes who places him a century later.[6] If such be the case, then our new Maukhari inscriptions will throw considerable light upon the political situation of the time. It has been suggested that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūraśarman were the Maukharis of Bihār ; but it does not appear from the list of Mayūraśarman's victories that he had extended his sphere of activity much beyond Western India. If, as suggested above, the Maukharis of Baḍvā were the feudatories of the Śakas (and of the Ābhīras also during their temporary ascendancy), then it is very probable that the Maukharis whom Mayūraśarman defeated were some of the descendants of Bala. After defeating (or encountering) the Traikūṭakas and Ābhīras, Mayūraśarman attacked Central Gujarāt. He was there opposed by the Śakas, a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukhari feudatories of Central India. This circumstance is very probably responsible for the victory over the Maukharis claimed by Mayūraśarman. It does not seem that he had ever invaded Bihār.

It would appear that at the time of the performance of the sacrifice in A. D. 239, *Mahāsēnāpati* Bala was still alive. His sons were probably occupying subordinate positions in his principality. None of them seems to have made much progress in his official career, as no title like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati* or *Daṇḍanāyaka* is associated with any one of them.[7]

The date of the records is given at the beginning of each of them in identical phrases. The expression used is :—*Kritēhi 200, 90, 5, Phalguṇa-śuklasya pañchē di.*

In order to get at the real meaning of the first word used here, it is necessary to compare the expression with similar ones occurring in early Indian inscriptions. Relevant passages to be considered are the following :—

(1) *Kṛitayōr=dvayōr=varsha-śatayōr=dvyāśītayōḥ 200 80 2 Chaittra-pūrṇamāsī(syā)m.*—Nāndsā pillar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53).

(2) *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ashṭāviṅ(ṁ)śēsku 400 20 8 Phālguṇa(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśyām=ētasyām=pūrvvāyām.*—Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription (Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253).

(3) *Śrī(r=m) Mālava-gaṇ-āmnātē praśastē Kṛita-saṁjñitē ēkashashṭy-adhikē prāptē samāśata-chatushṭayē......dinē Āśvōja-śuklasya pañchamyām.*—Mandasor inscription of Naravarman (*ante*, Vol. XII, p. 320).

[1] Rapson, *Catalogue, etc.*, p. 129.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. cxxxv.

[3] *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1913-14*, pp. 227-45.

[4] *Archæological Survey of Mysore*, Annual Report, 1929, p. 50.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[6] *The Kadamba-kula*, p. 71.

[7] [See p. 52 n. 8 below.—Ed.]

(4) *Yātēshu chatu[r]shu Kri(Kṛi)tēshu śatēshu sausyaishvā (? shṭhā)śīta-sōttara-padēshv=iha vatsa[rēshu]*|| *śuklē trayōdaśa-dinē bhuvi Kārttikasya māsasya.*—Gaṅgdhār inscription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 74).

(5) *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ēkāśity-uttarēshv=asyāṁ Mālava-pūrvāyāṁ 400 80 1 Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyāṁ.*—Nagarī inscription (*P R A S WC.*, 1915-16, p. 56; *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120).

Besides the present three records, we have thus five other instances where the word *Kṛita* is used in connection with the reckoning of an era. Out of these, in three passages, *viz.*, Nos. 1, 2, and 4, the term *Kṛita* alone has been used and in the remaining two, *viz.*, Nos. 3 and 5, it is used along with a reference to the Mālavas. In the two other Mandasor inscriptions, one of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman[1] and the other of Yaśōdharman[2] the term *Kṛita* has been omitted altogether and the era is indicated as *Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt.*

The controversy connected with the interpretation of the term *Kṛita* used in the above passages has not yet closed. That all the above passages refer to the years of the Vikrama era is now admitted, but why the terms *Kṛitēshu*, *Kṛitayōḥ*, etc. have been used in connection with the era is not yet definitely known. On the analogy of the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, it is clear that *Kritēhi* of our inscriptions is to be corrected into *Kṛitaiḥ* and is to be taken as governing a term like *varshaiḥ* which is understood. The usual locative is here supplanted by the instrumental. But the meaning is the same, *viz.*, 'when *Kṛita* years 295 had passed away.'

Dr. Fleet, while discussing the passage No. 4 above, was inclined to hold that *yātēshu Kṛitēshu vatsarēshu* should be interpreted as 'when fully completed (480) years had passed.' He held that *kṛitēshu* is more or less synonymous with *yātēshu.* The passage No. 3 above, however, makes it clear that *kṛita* cannot be taken in that sense, but is clearly the proper name of the year or the era referred to in that document. While discussing the passage No. 3 above, the late MM. Haraprasad Sastri suggested that *Kṛita* was the proper name of the first year of a cycle of four years current in ancient India. He could substantiate his theory only by supposing that Bijayagaḍh and Gaṅgdhār inscriptions, which are dated in the years 428 and 480 respectively, expressed expired years. This theory is now no longer tenable, for in our present records and in the passage No. 1 above, the years mentioned are 295 and 282 respectively, and still they are described as *Kṛita.* In a cycle of four years, these years would be 3rd and 2nd respectively or 4th and 3rd, if we take them to be expired years. MM. Sastri's theory has therefore to be abandoned in the light of the new data.

While commenting upon the passage No. 3 above, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has observed that time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation for the word *Kṛita.*[3] He was inclined to hold that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or royal dynasty associated with this era. To him it appeared that what is now known as Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of counting years and was consequently originally known as *kṛita* or 'made'. We do not so far know of any great astronomer having flourished in *c.* 57 B. C. None of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have attempted the founding of an era. Astronomers in ancient India have *invented* eras like the Saptarshi and the Kaliyuga ones going back to pre-historic times; they are not known to have founded eras commencing at any specific historic date.

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 163.

What then is the meaning of the term *Kṛita* in the above passages? I see no reason why it should not be taken as the proper name of the era. From the passage No. 3 above it is clear that though the era was traditionally handed down in the Mālava tribe, it was known as *Kṛita*. The term *Kṛita* there does not designate any particular year of the era, but the whole collection of years. cf. *Kṛita-saṁjñitē ēkashashṭy-adhikē prāptē samā-śata-chatushṭayē.* The era may have been originally known by that term because of the name of its founder. *Kṛita* as a personal proper name is not familiar in later Indian history and literature, but the case seems to have been different in earlier times. Kṛita was the name of one of the Viśvēdēvas; Vasudēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhiṇī; a pupil of Hiraṇyanābha was known by that name; and fathers of Uparichara and Haryavana were christened by it.[1] What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named Kṛita? According to the *Viśvarūpa*, *kṛita* has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word,—'booty'. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named Kṛita may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (*kṛita*). To commemorate the victory an era was started called Kṛita named after its founder and his great achievement.

This theory is only a tentative one. I admit that so far we have no evidence whatsoever of a king named Kṛita having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B. C. But it is not improbable that in course of time we may discover a king of that name ruling at that time. It is also true that an era named after king Kṛita should be known by a *taddhita* expression like *Kārta-varsha* or *saṁvatsara*, on the analogy of the expression *Gaupt-ābdē varsha-śata-trayē varttamānē* occurring in the Ganjām plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja.[2] The authors of early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (as is, for instance, evidenced by the present inscriptions) and the expression *Kṛita* (*saṁvatsara*) for *Kārta* (*saṁvatsara*) is quite possible in their compositions. It may be further pointed out that in several cases *taddhita* expressions have not been used in such cases. Thus in the Sūnak plates of Karṇadēva[3] dated in the year 1148 and in the Bhadreswar inscription of the time of Chaulukya king Jayasiṁhadēva[4] dated in the year 1195, we have the expressions *Vikrama saṁvat* 1148 and 1195 and not *Vaikrama saṁvat* 1148 and 1195. Similarly we come across the expression *Valabhī Saṁvat* and not *Vālabhēya saṁvat*.[5] There is therefore nothing unusual in the years of the era of king Kṛita being known as *Kṛitaiḥ varshaiḥ* or *Kṛitēshu vatsarēshu* or *Kṛitayōr=vatsara-śatayōḥ*.

The foundation of the Vikrama era is still shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Dr. Sten Konow has suggested on the authority of the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* that the era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Mālava in commemoration of his ousting the Śakas from Ujjayinī, where they had obtained a temporary footing.[6] What is stated by the Jaina tradition is not, however, confirmed by the epigraphical data. If we analyse the inscriptions where the Vikrama era has been used, we find that the earliest instance, so far known, of the term Vikrama being associated with the era occurs full 794 years after its foundation.[7] This Vikrama is for the first time called a king only in the 11th century of the era.[8] It is therefore clear that in the

[1] See Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary under *Kṛita*.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 317.

[4] *Archæological Survey Report for Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xiii, No. 56.

[5] Unā inscription, *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 293-5.

[7] Dhiniki inscription of Jāikadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

[8] Ēkliṅgjī inscription of Naravāhana, dated V. 1028; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

first seven centuries of this era, its connection with a king named Vikrama was altogether unknown. If, as the Jaina tradition asserts, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, the expeller of the Śakas, was the founder of the era, it has to be admitted that people had completely forgotten his memory within 250 years after his death. We shall have to suppose that it was somehow revived in the 11th century, probably due to the historic researches of the time ; and that the era came to be renamed after him. This seems to be altogether improbable.

The precise interpretation of the term *kṛita* being for a long time doubtful, the earliest proper name associated with the era was for a long time considered to be that of the Mālavas. Kielhorn had observed that from about the 5th to the 9th century of this era it was believed by poets to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava.[1] The Mālavas, however, do not seem to be connected with the foundation of the era. It is interesting to note that in the three earliest instances of the use of this era, *viz.*, the present records and the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, the Mālavas have not been associated with the era at all. The term *Kṛita* alone is used to denote it. The same is the case with the Gaṅgdhār inscription of the year 480 (passage No. 4 above). The passage No. 3 above is the earliest instance, known so far, of the association of the Mālavas with the era ; but there it is expressly stated that Kṛita was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas.[2] The evidence available so far shows that the association of the Mālavas with the era commenced sometime towards the middle of the 5th century A. D., as evidenced by the passage No. 3 above. Towards the end of that century its original name Kṛita was dropped, as would appear from the name of the era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.[3] People of the 8th century believed that the era was founded by a Mālava ruler.[4] Down to the 4th century, however, the Vikrama era was known as *Kṛita* and was not known to be connected with the tribe or king of the Mālavas. The supersession of the name Kṛita by Mālava is paralleled by the supersession of the name of Gupta era by the term Valabhī era in western India.

The geographical position of the places, where *Yūpa* inscriptions and inscriptions with the term *Kṛita* occur, is worth noting. *Yūpa* inscriptions have been found at Īsāpur, Bijayagaḍh, Baḍvā, Nagarī and Nāndsā. Bijayagaḍh is about 50 miles south-east of Īsāpur ; Baḍvā is about 140 miles south-south-east of Bijayagaḍh ; Nagarī is about 90 miles east of Baḍvā ; and Nāndsā is about 40 miles north-east of Nagarī. It would appear from this that eastern Rājputāna played an important part in the revival of Vedic religion. *Kṛita* era inscriptions have been discovered at Nāndsā, Baḍvā, Mandasor, Bijayagaḍh, Gaṅgadhār and Nagarī. Mandasor is about 100 miles south-west of Baḍvā and Gaṅgadhār is about 36 miles east of Mandasor. South-eastern Rājputāna was thus the country where the designation *Kṛita* was current. It is worth noting that it is precisely in this area that the term Mālava came to be later associated with the era ; for Mandasor, Nagarī, Kaṇaswa and Gyārāspur are situated in the same sector of the country. It is therefore clear that in this province the term Mālava superseded the earlier name Kṛita after the 4th century.

The inscriptions mention no places. The village where they were discovered, is known as Baḍvā ; it is not improbable that Baḍvā may be a contraction of Balavāḍī and that the modern humble village may have been once a flourishing capital,—founded by the *Mahāsēnāpati* Bala,

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 403-4.

[2] This is no place to discuss the precise interpretation of the terms *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnātē*. *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vāśāt* and *Mālavānām-gaṇa-sthityā*. All these refer to the established usage in the Mālava tribe. I do not think that the era has anything to do with any tribal organisation of the Mālavas.

[3] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

[4] See Kaṇaswa inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

who may have been the founder of the Maukhari branch in Kotah state. Its present population is only about 1,600, but half a century ago, it is said to have been four times more populous.

Before concluding, I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Major-General Ap-Onkar Singh, C.I.E., Dewan of Kotah, and to Dr. Mathuralal, State Historian, Kotah, for procuring the photographs of the *Yūpas* and supplying valuable information for the preparation of this article.

TEXT.[1]

A. The Yūpa of Balavarddhana.

L. 1. Siddhaṁ [*] Kritēhi(Kṛitaiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguṇa(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañchē di śri(śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatēḥ [2] Mōkharēḥ[3] Bala-puttrasya Balavarddhanasya yūpaḥ[।*] Tri-rāttra-sammitasya dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) gavāṁ sahashraṁ(sahasram)[4][।*].

B. The Yūpa of Sōmadēva.

L. 1. Siddhaṁ[*] Kritēhi(Kṛitaiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguṇa(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañchē di śri (śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatēḥ [2] Mōkharēḥ[3] Bala-puttrasya Sōmadēvasya yūpaḥ[।*] Tri-rāttra-saṁmitasya dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) gavāṁ sahashram(sahasram)[5][।*].

C. The Yūpa of Balasiṁha.

L. 1.[6] Kritēhi(Kṛitaiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguṇa (Phālguna)-śuklasya pañchē da(di) śri(śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatē[r]-Mōkharē-.

L. 2. *r*=Bala-puttrasya Balasiṁhā(ha)sya yūshaḥ[7](paḥ) [।*] Tri-rātra-saṁmitasya dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) gavāṁ sahasram [।*].

TRANSLATION.

Well accomplished! On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna (*of the year*) 295 by Kṛita(*years, this*) sacrificial pillar (*was erected*) by Balavardhana (Sōmadēva in inscription **B** and Balasiṁha in inscription **C**), son of Bala, the glorious Mōkhari commander-in-chief.[8] The fee of a thousand cows as laid down for the Trirātra sacrifice (*was duly given to Brāhmaṇas*).

No. 8.—NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, has been in the possession of Mr. Ganapati Sarkar, Zemindar of Beliāghāṭā, Calcutta, since 1929. I first saw it at the Annual

[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Read *-patēr=*.

[3] Read *Mōkharēr* .

[4] There is a triangular symbol at the end.

[5] There are two symbols at the end of this record, one triangular and the other circular.

[6] The word *siddhaṁ* has been omitted in this record.

[7] The letter *sha* is a result of the engraver's carelessness.

[8] [According to the text *Mōkharēḥ* and *śri-mahā-sēnāpatēḥ* would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *mahā-sēnāpati* it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikhāku rulers.—*Ed.*]

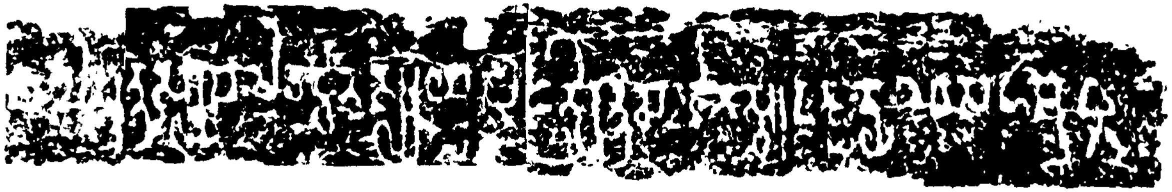
Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yupas: Krita Year 295.

A. The Yupa of Balavarddhana.

Left half.

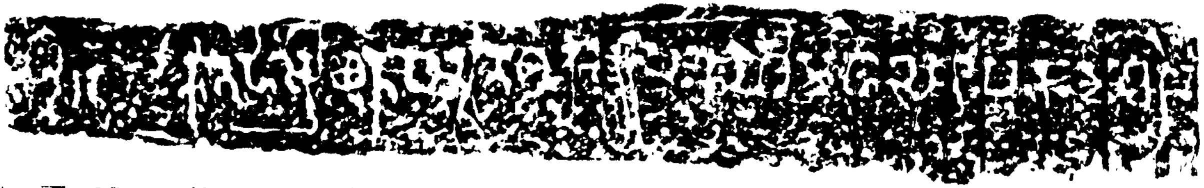


Right half.



B. The Yupa of Somadeva.

Left half.

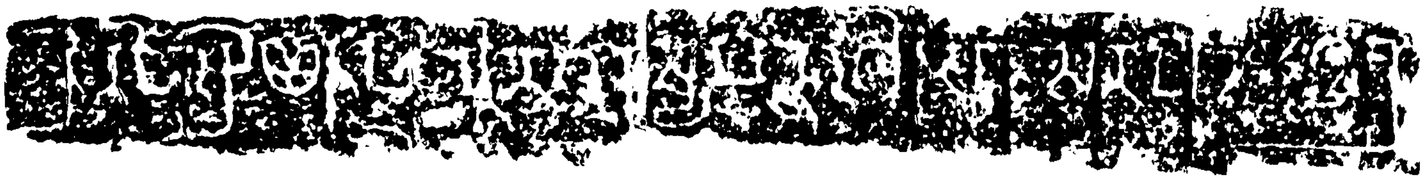


Right half.



C. The Yupa of Balasimha.

First line



Second line



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36–285.

Scale: One-eighth.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

A photograph of the Yupas.



Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd February, 1936. Subsequently, at my request Mr. Sarkar very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and publication. So far as available information goes, the copper-plate comes from a village called **Nandapur**[1] which lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, at a distance of about two miles to the north-east of Surajgarhā in the District of Monghyr. The plate is said to have been fixed to the wall of a niche in a dilapidated temple close to the site of a *Śiva-liṅga* locally known as 'Burhānāth Mahādēva'. According to reports collected by Mr. Sarkar, Nandapur and its neighbourhood are full of ruins representing an ancient site, a part of which has perished due to the erosion of the river bank.

This is a **single sheet** of copper, measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears inscription on both sides, there being in all nineteen lines of writing of which fifteen are on the obverse and only four on the reverse. A **seal** is attached to the plate, which originally must have borne an inscription. But it has since suffered much from corrosion with the result that none of the letters is at present preserved. Probably two letters are also missing in line 4, just where the donee's name was mentioned, and a few are damaged, or partly obliterated, in lines 17 and 18. The rest of the document is in a fair state of preservation, and the engraving is, on the whole, well executed.

The **characters** belong to 'the eastern variety' of the Gupta Alphabet (cf. *la*, *sha*, *sa* and *ha*) as found in the Dhānāidaha, Dāmōdarpur, Baigrām and Pāhārpur copper-plates, being typical of the writing prevalent in Bengal during the fifth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the hook-like sign for medial *ā* attached to the bottom of some letters in making up the sign for the medial *ō*, *e.g.*, in *Gōrakshita* (l. 12), which occurs also in other records of the period. Another form of the medial *ā* sign is also used, in the shape of an upright stroke hanging from the right side of the *mātrā*. When applied to *ṇa* and *ma* this stroke is lengthened, reaching the bottom of the letter where it is slightly bent to the left, *e.g.*, in *Brāhmaṇā-* (l. 3) and *sammānaṁ* (l. 15), in which we must recognize an advanced form of the sign.[2] The forms of the final *t* and *m* are noteworthy, *e.g.*, in *vasēt* (l. 19) and *dattam* (l. 13). The numerical signs for 4, 100, 60, 9 and 8 occur in the inscription (ll. 13, 19).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose, excepting that there are two imprecatory verses in lines 17-18. The phraseology will be found to tally in many respects with that of the Baigrām copper-plate.[3] As regards **orthography**, we should note the use of both *ba* and *va*. But the writer of the document has failed to distinguish between the two letters in the words *bāhya* (ll. 5, 9), *stamba* (ll. 5, 9), *kuṭumbin* (ll. 2, 13) and *Bandhudāsa* (l. 8), in all these instances the sign for *va* being used instead of that for *ba*.[4] The consonants *ka* and *ta* are often doubled before a subscript *r*, *e.g.*, in *vikkrayō* (ll. 6, 9), *gōttra* (l. 3) and *kshēttra* (l. 13), although the word *vikraya* is spelt with a single *ka* in line 10. Some of the consonants following a superscript *r* are occasionally doubled, *e.g.*, in *pravarttanāya* (l. 4) and *dharmma* (l. 11).

The charter was issued from a village called **Ambila.** It records the purchase of 4 *kulyavāpas* of fallow land within the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, at the rate of two *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, by the *Vishayapati* **Chhattramaha,** and the transfer of the same property as gift to a Brāhmaṇa, to enable him to perform 'the Five Great Sacrifices'. The name of the donee ending in *svāmin* cannot be made out with certainty. He was an inhabitant of **Nanda**-*vīthī* and **Khaṭā-pūraṇa**-*agrahāra,* and belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and the Chhandōga (*charaṇa* of the Sāmavēda). The land was bounded on the south by the plot given away to Gōrakshita and on the

[1] It is marked as 'Nandpur' in the 1″-scale map of the Survey of India (Sheet No. 72 K : 3 and 7) published in 1925.

[2] Cf. *e.g.*, Faridpur grant of Gōpachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, Pl. III (facing p. 204), l. 24.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.

[4] Similarly in the Baigrām copper-plate the letter *va* instead of *ba* occurs in *stamba* in line 5, while *ba* is correctly employed in *stamba* in line 11, in *bāhya* in lines 5 and 11, and in *kuṭumbin* in line 2.

west by the land known as Gōpālibhōga. In the present transaction, the *Vishayapati* Chhattramaha himself was the applicant and appeared before the *Adhikaraṇa* to secure the plot of land by means of a *tāmra-paṭṭa*. The matter was enquired into and reported on by the Record-keepers (*Pustapāla*) Pradyōtasiṁha and Bandhudāsa. The land was measured by the standard unit of 8×9 *nalas*, following the recognized cubit length of Darvvīkarmma, as in the Baigrām charter. The copper-plate is dated **the 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, the year 169,** which is referable to the **Gupta era** of 319 A.D. The date would thus correspond to the year **488 A.D.**

I am unable to identify **Ambila** whence the charter was issued, or **Jaṅgōyikā,** the village in which the plot of land was situated. But the name '**Nanda**-*vīthī*' has perhaps survived in 'Nandapura' where the plate is said to have been discovered. That the document was drafted, engraved and issued from Bengal, or more precisely from North Bengal, follows not only from the nature of the script but also from the close agreement of its phraseology with that of Baigrām and other plates of this century discovered in North Bengal. Moreover, from the mention of 8×9 *nalas* and the standard cubit length of Darvvīkarmma, the conclusion becomes irresistible that the land that was so measured and given away must have also belonged to the same region, although the donee himself resided at Nandapura in the Monghyr District of Bihār.

TEXT.[1]

Obverse.

1 Svasty=**Amvi(mbi)la**-grām-āgrahārāt[2]=sa-viśvāsam=adhikaraṇām(ṇam) **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=saṁvyavahā-

2 ry-ādi-kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kuśalam=anuvarṇṇya bōdhayanti(ti) likhanti(ti) cha [|*] Vijñāpayati naḥ vishayapati-**Chhattramahaḥ**

3 ichchhāmy=ahaṁ sva-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē **Nanda**-vaithēya-**Khaṭāpūraṇ**-āgrahārika-Chchhāndōga-Kāśyapa-sa-gōttra-Brāhmaṇā-

4 ....**svāminē** pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanāya khila-kshēttra-kulyavāpa-chatushṭayaṁ krītv=ātisrashṭum [|*]

5 Yushmad-vishayē cha samudaya-vā(bā)hy-ādy-astamva(mba)-khila-kshēttrāṇāṁ śaśvad-ā-chandr-ārka-tāraka-bhōjyā[nā*]-

6 m=akshaya-nīvyāḥ dvi-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=arhatha mattō=shṭau dīnārān=upa-

7 saṁgṛihya **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē khila-kshēttra-kulyavāpa-chatushṭayam=akshaya-nīvyās=tāmrapaṭṭēna dātum=iti [|*]

8 Yataḥ Pustapāla-Pradyōtasiṅha(siṁha)-Va(Ba)ndhudāsayōr=avadhāraṇay[3]=āvadhṛitam=ast=iha vishayē samudaya-

9 vā(bā)hy-ādy-astamva(mba)-khila-kshēttrāṇām=akiñchit-pratikarāṇāṁ dvi-dīnārikya-kulya-vāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittaḥ [|*]

10 Ēvam-vidh-ōtpratikara-khila-kshēttra-vikrayē cha na kaś=chid=rāj-ārttha-virōdhaḥ dīya-mānē tu Paramabhaṭṭāraka-

11 pādānāṁ dharmma-shaḍ-bhāg-āvāptis=tad=dīyatām=ity=ētasmād=vishayapati-**Chhattra-mahād**=ashṭau dīnārān=upa-

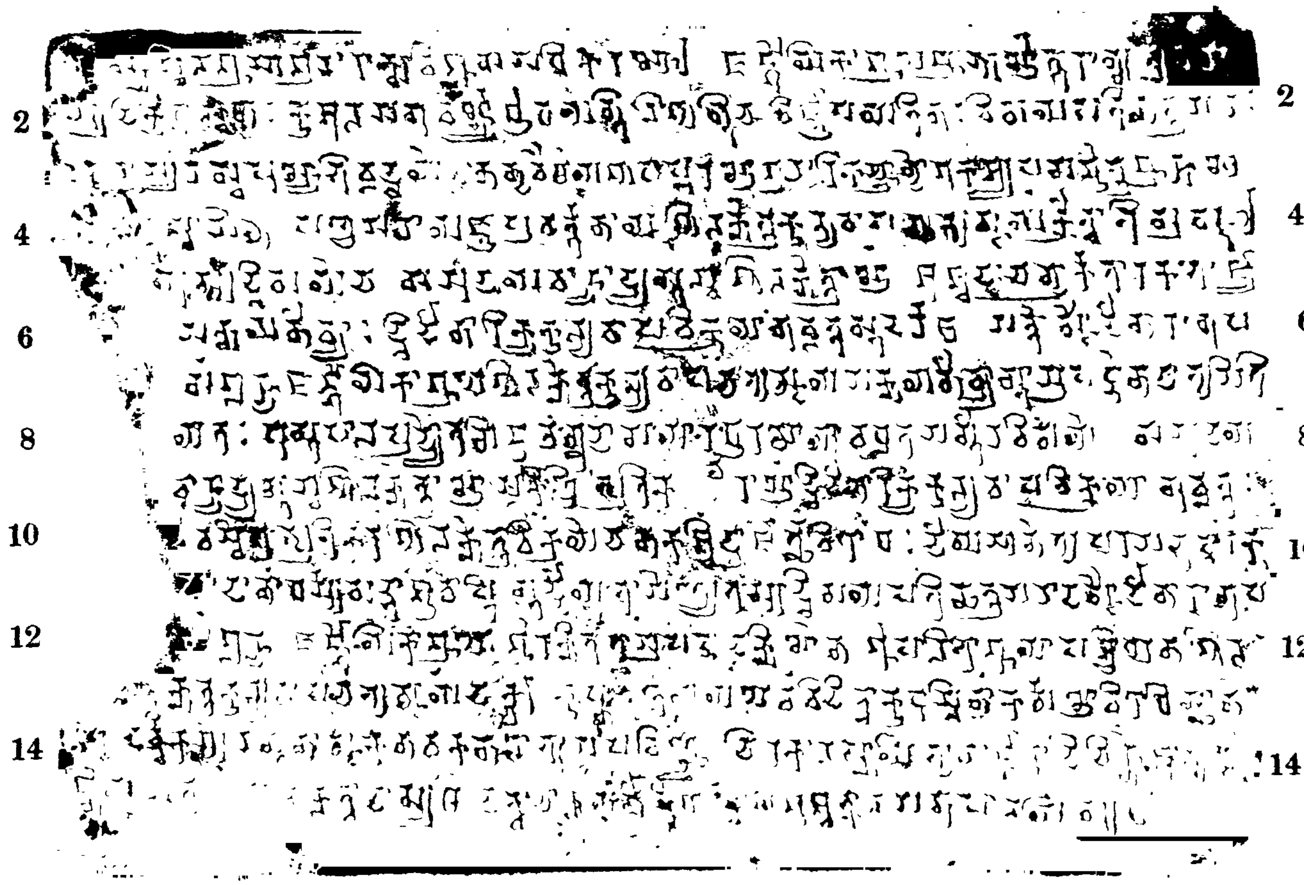
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[1] From the original.

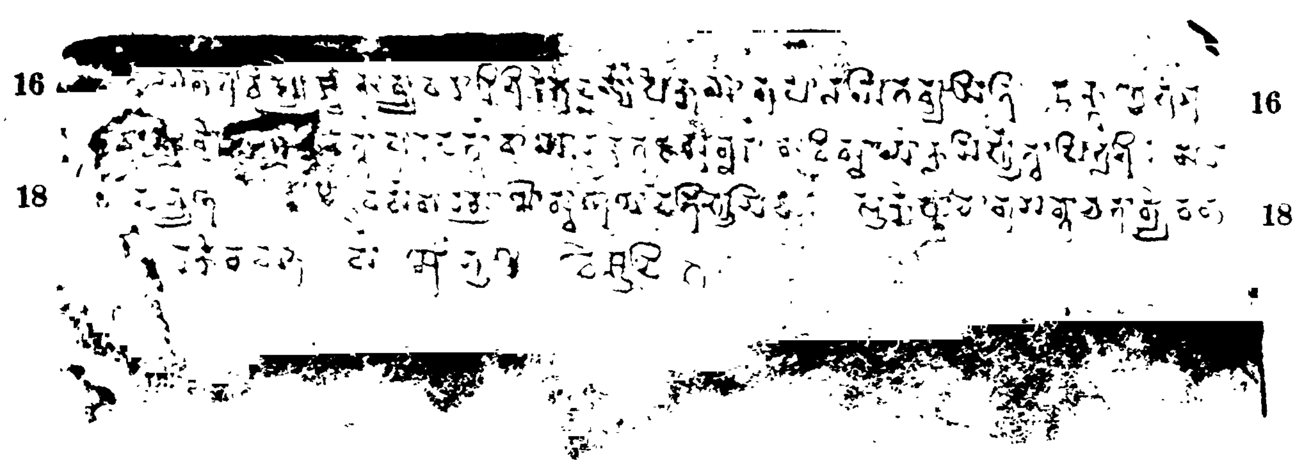
[2] [As in the Pāhārpur Plate one would expect here the mention of some officers like Āyuktakas who conveyed the necessary information to the Court. See p. 55 n. 1.—Ed.]

[3] The letter *va* in =*avadhāraṇay*- was at first omitted through inadvertence and later inserted below.

Obverse.



Reverse.



12 saṁgṛihya **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē Gōrakshita-tāmrapaṭṭa-dakshiṇēna Gōpālibhōgāyā paśchimēna khila-

13 kshēttra-kulyavāpa-chatushṭayaṁ dattam ku 4 [|*] Tē yūyam=ēvaṁ viditvā kuṭumvi(mbi)nāṁ karshaṇ-avirōdhi-sthānē

14 Darvvīkarmma-hastēn=āshṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām=apaviñchhya chira-kāla-sthāyi-tushāṅgār-ādi-chihnaiś=chaturddi-

15 ṅ-niyamita-saṁmānaṁ kṛitvā dāsyatha datvā(ttvā) ch=ākshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa śaśvatkā-lam=anupālayishyatha

Reverse.

16 varttamāna-bhavishyaiś=cha saṁvyavahāribhir=ētad-dharmm-āpēkshay=ānupālayitavyam=iti [|*] Uktañ=cha bhaga-

17 [vatā Vyā]sē[na] [|*] Sva-dattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha

18 pachyatē [||*] [Shashṭiṁ] varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva na-

19 rakē vasēt [||*] **Saṁ 100 60 9 Vai śudi 8**

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-2) Hail ! From the (*royal*) grant (*agrahāra*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the District (*Vishayapati*) **Chhattramaha**[1], with confidence[2] intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikaraṇa*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being :

(Ll. 3-7) " I wish to make over, for the sake of the increase of my religious merit, 4 *kulyavāpas* of fallow land, after (*it*) has been purchased, to the Brāhmaṇa...... **svāmin**, an inhabitant of the *agrahāra* of **Khaṭāpūraṇa** in **Nanda**-*vīthī*,[3] belonging to the Kāśyapa-*gōttra* and the Chhāndōga(-*charaṇa of the Sāmavēda*), to enable him to perform the Five Great Sacrifices.[4] Now, in your District (*vishaya*) there is established the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *kulyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*) and being under perpetual endowment (*akshaya-nīvī*)[5] can be enjoyed eternally, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. So you should accept from me eight *dīnāras* and grant (*me*) by means of a copper-plate, for the sake of perpetual endowment, four *kulyavāpas* of fallow land in the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**."

(Ll. 8-11) Whereas it has been ascertained on enquiry by the Record-keepers, Pradyōtasiṁha and Bandhudāsa, that there is established in this District the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *kulyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*), and whereas there can be no loss of income to the Crown in such sale of revenue-free fallow land—rather in case of gift a sixth part of the religious merit would accrue to the King (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*)[6]—now therefore let (*the land*) be granted.

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[1] [See p. 54 n. 2. I should translate : 'From . . . Ambila . . (the Āyuktakas) . . . intimate and write to (*bōdhayanti likhanti cha*) the Court that *Vishayapati* Chhatramaha informs us . . ' —Ed.

[2] Cf. *sa-viśvāsam* in a Dāmōdarpur copper-plate ; *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 136, l. 2.

[3] The term *vīthī* is used in the sense of a part of a district or sub-division. Cf. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71.

[4] The five sacrificial rites are *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*.

[5] The expression *akshayanīvī* is used in l. 6 as well as in l. 7 in the fifth case, evidently as *hētau*. In the Baigrām copper-plate, l. 17 it has the same case-ending in this sense.

[6] The reigning king is thus referred to also in other grants, *e.g.*, in Baigrām (l. 13), Dāmōdarpur, No. 5 (ll. 12-13, where the correct reading should be *dharmma-shaḍ-bhāg-āvāpti*), and in Faridpur grant of Dharmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 195, l. 13).

(Ll. 11-13) So having realized eight *dīnāras* from the Head of the District, **Chhattramaha,** four *kulyavāpas* of fallow land, *ku 4,* is being granted in the village of **Jaṅgōyikā,** *(the land being bounded)* on the south by *(the plot granted by)* a copper-plate charter to Gōrakshita and on the west by Gōpālibhōga.

(Ll. 13-16) Therefore having known this, you should give away *(the plot)* in a land that may not cause hindrance to cultivation of householders, after measuring *(it)* by *(the standard unit of)* 8×9 reeds, according to the cubit length of Darvvīkarmma, and also after demarcating the area in four directions by permanent marks of chaff, charcoal, etc.

(Ll. 15-16) And having made over you should still maintain *(it)* for ever, under the operation of the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshaya-nīvī*). Likewise, it should be maintained, out of regard for piety, by the present and future administrative officers as well. And so says Lord Vyāsa. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 19) **The year 169, the 8th day of the bright half of Vai(śākha).**

No. 9.—SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA.

BY PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This is a set of **three copper-plates,** measuring 8½ inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The outer faces of the first and third plates are blank, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a circular **seal** bearing in relief the figure of a conch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

The plates were discovered at the village of **Srungavarapukōṭa,** in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras). The cultivator who found them was under the impression that the metal was gold. So he broke the third plate, and had one piece melted by a goldsmith who, of course, declared it to be made of copper. Thus the remaining plates were left intact and secured by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D. He gave them to Mr. M. Narasimham, who sold them to the **Madras Museum** where the plates are now preserved.

Mr. M. Narasimham edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (Vol. VIII, pp. 153-160), with Photo-prints of the plates. Unfortunately, his reading contains several errors, and many of his introductory remarks are either palpably wrong or open to serious objections.

I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **alphabet** is of an early southern type. It is undoubtedly earlier than the early Gāṅga records, *e.g.*, those of Hastivarman[1] and Indravarman,[2] dated respectively in the years 80 and 87 of the era used by the family. It shows great resemblance to the alphabet of the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman.[3] Dr. Hultzsch, who edited this inscription, observed that its alphabet resembled that of the Kollēru plates of the Śālaṅkāyana King Vijayanandivarman. Since then the Pedavegi grant[4] of this king has given us an approximate idea of his date. He was the great-

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.
[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

grandson of Hastivarman, who must almost certainly be identified with the king of Vēṅgī defeated by Samudragupta. The reign of Vijayanandivarman thus falls in the fifth century A. D.

The present record is dated only in the regnal year, but so far as we can judge from palæography alone, it would, I think, be safe to presume that the present plates belong to the **century 450-550 A.D.**

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the three well-known imprecatory verses (ll. 16-19) the inscription is written in prose.

As regards **orthography,** the following points may be noted. Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions, *viz.*, *-chandrārka* (l. 10), *-ājñair=bhava°* (l. 11), *°bhir=vrittam* (l. 14) and *rājarshi* (l. 13). Consonants *k*, *m* and *t*, followed by *r*, are also doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y*. *Anusvāra* is used for palatal *ñ* in *prabhaṁjana* (l. 4), the *anusvāra* sign being wrongly placed above *j*. Both *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* are used. The final *t* and *m* are indicated by small-sized letters (*m* in l. 12, *t* in l. 19).

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Kiṇḍēppa** in **Tēllavalli**-*vishaya* as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa **Mātṛiśarman,** by the king of **Kaliṅga,** *Mahārāja* **Anantavarman,** son of *Mahārāja* **Prabhañjanavarman,** and the grandson of *Mahārāja* **Guṇavarman,** lord of **Dēvarāshṭra.** The grant was issued from the victorious city of **Pishṭapura.**

King Anantavarman is also known to us from the Siripuram copper-plate grant.[1] It was issued by Anantavarman, lord of Kaliṅga, from the victorious city of Dēvapura. It gives the name of the king's father as Prabhajjanavarman, evidently a mistake for Prabhañjanavarman, and that of his grandfather as Guṇavarman. There is no mention, however, of the last named king being lord of Dēvarāshṭra.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of the donors of the two grants. Still, it may be remarked in passing that the phraseology of the two grants shows no close resemblance, and that they were issued from different places. This point is noteworthy as, very often, arguments for and against the identity or close association of two kings are based on such considerations.

Dēvarāshṭra, over which king Guṇavarman ruled, must be the kingdom of the same name which was conquered by Samudragupta. Formerly this was identified with Mahārāshṭra. But G. Jouveau-Dubreuil proved, with the help of the Kāsimkōṭa plates, that **Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadēśa** formed part of Dēvarāshṭra.[2] Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadēśa was taken to mean " the Kaliṅga country of which Elamañchi (the modern Yellamanchili) was the chief town " ; and hence Dēvarāshṭra was located in the Vizagapatam District. This view is supported by the present grant, inasmuch as it seems to show that Pishṭapura was included within the kingdom of Dēvarāshṭra. It is, no doubt, possible to take the view that Dēvarāshṭra, over which Guṇavarman ruled, did not originally include Pishṭapura which was subsequently acquired by Anantavarman ; but, even then, we must regard the two as neighbouring localities.

In any case, it appears to be reasonably certain, that Anantavarman ruled over both Pishṭapura and Dēvarāshṭra which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta. Of the two ' Victorious Cities ' from which he issued the grants, Pishṭapura is, no doubt, the same as

[1] It was edited by Mr. M. Narasimham in the Telugu Journal *Bhāratī* (September, 1931) which is not accessible to me. A short account of its contents is given in his article on the present grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153). The Government Epigraphist has, at my request, very kindly placed at my disposal an excellent ink-impression of the Siripuram plates. My remarks are based on the original reading of these plates.

[2] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī District. The other, Dēvapura, from the close resemblance in name, may be regarded as the capital of Dēvarāshṭra, but of this there is no definite evidence as yet.

Of the kings who ruled in Kaliṅga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gāṅga dynasty, only the names of Chaṇḍavarman,[1] Umavarman,[2] Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman,[3] Śaktivarman[4] and Viśākhavarman[5] were hitherto known from inscriptions. The present grant adds the names of three new kings belonging to a dynasty, *viz.*, Guṇavarman, Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman.

We cannot definitely postulate any relationship between this dynasty and the kings previously known, although they all probably flourished between 400 and 550 A. D. But, in view of the very little knowledge we possess of the history of Kaliṅga during this period, two suggestions are made below in the hope that they may be of some use for future research in this direction.

As regards the king Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman, it has been suggested by Mr. D. C. Sarkar, that the name probably signifies "Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family."[6] If this view were accepted, this Prabhañjanavarman might be tentatively identified with the father of Anantavarman. It may, however, be pointed out that no other ruler of Kaliṅga styles himself as belonging to the Nanda family.

Some association may also be inferred between Anantavarman and Śaktivarman. Both issued their plates from the victorious city of Pishṭapura, and both had Varman as their name-endings. Further, Śaktivarman is called 'Vāsishṭhīputra', while in the present grant, Anantavarman's father is described as 'moon in the Vāsishṭha family'[7].

As to the **time** of King Anantavarman, I have already expressed above my view that the grant is to be placed, on palæographical grounds, during the period between 450 and 550 A. D. The **date,** most probably a regnal year, was mentioned at the end of line 19, but unfortunately this portion is missing, as noted above.

Mr. M. Narasimham has referred King Anantavarman to the first century A. D.[8] He bases this conclusion on the following expression in the Siripuram grant: *ashṭāśśakasaṁkhyabhya . . . mahāśvayujē savva(mva)tsarē*. He interprets it as 'the eighth year of the Śaka era, in the year of Mahāśvayuja', He ignores, however, the fact that '*ashṭāśśaka-saṁkhyabhya*', obviously a mistake for '°*saṁkhyēbhyaḥ*,' cannot be taken as either qualifying the word *samvatsarē*, or as an independent word expressing date. I believe, the word qualifies the preceding word '*brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*' and denotes the number of *Brāhmaṇas* to whom the grant is made. I must confess, however that I am unable to explain the word, beyond merely suggesting that it might stand for 18, 28 or 88.

In any case, whatever may be the interpretation of the word, the king Anantavarman can never be referred to the first century A. D., as the alphabet of the inscription is too late for that

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[1] Kōmarti pl.; above, Vol. IV, pp. 144 ff.

[2] Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant: above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. Tekkali pl.; *J. A. H. R. S.,* Vol. VI, pp. 53-4. King Umavarman mentioned in these two plates may be the same or different persons.

[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

[4] Rāgōlu pl.; above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

[6] *Journal of the Department of Letters* (published by the Calcutta University), Vol. XXVI, p. 66, f. n. 2.

[7] [It may be noted that while Prabhañjanavarman and his father Guṇavarman are described as 'Moon in the Vāsishtha family', *i.e.,* belonging to the Vāsishṭha-*gōtra*, Śaktivarman bears the metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra, which indicates that probably the last mentioned belonged to a family different from that of the two former rulers. —Ed.]

[8] *J. A. H. R. S.,* Vol. VIII, p. 158.

period. It may be further pointed out that *ashṭāśśaka* is not a correct grammatical form for denoting ' the eighth Śaka year ', and that no king of Kaliṅga was likely to use the era, under that express name, in the eighth year of its foundation.

As to the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Pishṭapura** and **Dēvarāshṭra** have already been dealt with. The village **Kiṇḍēppa,** the object of the grant, was situated in the **Tēllavalli**-*vishaya*. Neither of these can be identified with certainty. Mr M. Narasimham says that the river called ' Tel ' in the *Zamindary* of Jeypore used to be called the ' Ṭelivāhi ' in early times. He then argues that " the modern Jayapore (sic) must have been called Ṭēllavalli (sic) vishaya on account of the river Ṭelivāhi which flows across it."[1] This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory argument.

About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of Srungavarapukōṭa, where the plates were found, there is a village called Tella-gamudy (82°-58′×17°-58′) and near it, another village, called Koṇḍapālem. The former is situated at the crossing of two roads, and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site. I venture to suggest that Tella-gamudy may be identified with the **Tēllavalli**-*vishaya* of the grant. But as there are several villages of the name of Koṇḍapālem in the neighbourhood of Srungavarapukōṭa it is not certain which of these is referred to in the inscription as the Kiṇḍēppa-*grāma*. Probably the latter has to be identified with Koṇḍapālem near Tella-gamudy.

The donee is styled **Achaṇṭapura-bhōgika.** I have translated it as ' resident of Achaṇṭapura ', taking the term ' *bhōga* ' as a territorial division. I am unable to identify this place.

In the inscriptions of the **Śailōdbhava**, the **Parivrājaka** and the **Uchchakalpa** kings, the term ' *bhōgika* ' is used as a technical official title, possibly connected, according to Fleet,[2] with the territorial division called *bhōga*. But the term is used only with reference to the fathers and grandfathers of persons who wrote the charters.[3] In the case of the records of the **Gāṅga** dynasty we have, as the engravers of their charters, (1) Āditya-Mañchin, also called Āditya-Bhōgika, and his son (2) Khaṇḍichandra, also called Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōgika.[4] In all these cases, the term **bhōgika** must be taken as an official title, probably the chief of a *bhōga*, and whatever may be the particular duties of this official, the writing and engraving of charters were most probably included in them. But there is no doubt that the office carried dignity and prestige with it; for, in the records of the Parivrājaka and Uchchakalpa kings, even high officials like *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* performed the same office, and described their fathers and grandfathers as *bhōgika*. In Sanskrit Dictionaries, the term *bhōgika* is explained as ' groom, horse-keeper '. The term has also been regarded as equivalent to Telugu *Bhōi*, a palankeen-bearer.[5]

None of the above meanings of *bhōgika* is suitable in the present case. We cannot think of the donee Mātṛiśarman who was a Brāhmaṇa, possibly following scholarly pursuits, either as a regular official, or following such menial occupations as those of a groom or a palankeen-bearer. We have, therefore, to take Achaṇṭapura-*bhōga* as the name of a territorial unit, and regard Mātṛiśarman as a resident of the same.

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 157.
[2] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 100, f. n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 105, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134; above, Vol. III, p. 46; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 182.
[4] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 308.
[5] *Ibid.*, f. n. 8.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[1] Svasti[||*]Vijaya-**Pishṭapur**-ādhishṭhānān=mahī-maṇḍala-vyāpi-śārad-ēndu-kara-nirmma-la-guṇasya

2 **Dēvarāshṭr**-ādhipatēr=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijay-ādhigata-yaśasō Mahārāja-śrī-**Gu-**

3 **ṇavarmmaṇaḥ** parama-pautraḥ śakti-ttray-ōpanata-rājya-sampadō Vāsishṭha-kula-cha nd-rama-

4 saḥ śrī-Mahārāja-**Prabhajaṁna**[2]**varmmaṇaḥ** priya-puttras=sva-bala-vikkrām[3]-ōpārjjita-bhūr=nna-

5 ya-vinaya-sattva-sampann-ādhigata-yaśā dēva-dvijāti-guru-jan-ānuddhyāna-saṁ-

Second Plate ; First Side.

6 varddhita-mahimā parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ **Kaliṅg-ādhipatiś=** śrī-

7 Mahārāj-**Ānantāvarmmā**[4] **Tēllavalli**-vishayē **Kiṇḍēppa**[5]-grāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭu-

8 mbinaḥ samājñāpayaty=asti ēsha grāmō=smābhir=Uttārāyaṇē[6]=smat-puṇy-ābhivṛiddha-

9 yē ētasmai Kauśika-sa-gōttrāya Taittiriya[7]-sa-bramhachāriṇē[8] **Achaṇṭapura**[9]-bhōgi-

10 ka-**Mātṛiśarmmaṇē** ā-chandr-ārka-tāraka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā sarvva-kara-bharaiḥ

Second Plate ; Second Side.

11 parihṛitya sampradattas=tad=ēvam=avadhṛit-ājñair=bhavadbhis=tad-ājñ-ānuvidhāyibhi-ḥ pratyaha-

12 m=upasthātavyam[||*] Brāhmaṇēna ch=ātmanō=grahāraḥ puttra-pauttrikam=upabhujyamā-

13 nō na kaiś=chid=vallabha-durllabhair=upahantavyaḥ[||*] Āgāmibhir=api rājarshi-

14 bhir=vṛittam=anupālayadbhir=yyath=āsya dharmma-prasavasy=āvichchhēdēna pravṛi-

15 ttir=bhbhavati[10] tath=ānushṭhēyaṁ ēvañ =cha sati tatra tēshām=api dharmmēṇ=ābhisamba-

Third Plate ; First Side.

16 ndhas=smaryyatē || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhi [ś=ch=ānupālitā | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=ta-*]

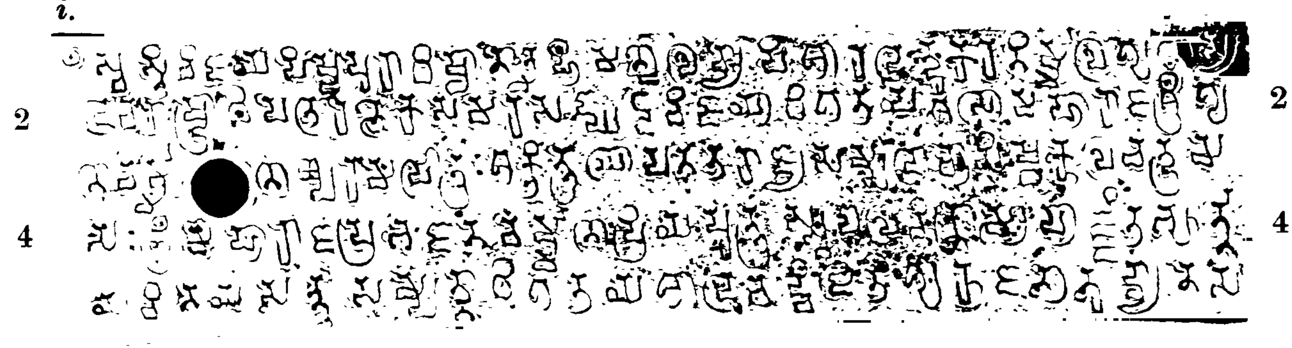
17 sya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāṁ vā yatnā[d=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīṁ mahīmatāṁ śrēshṭha dānā-*]

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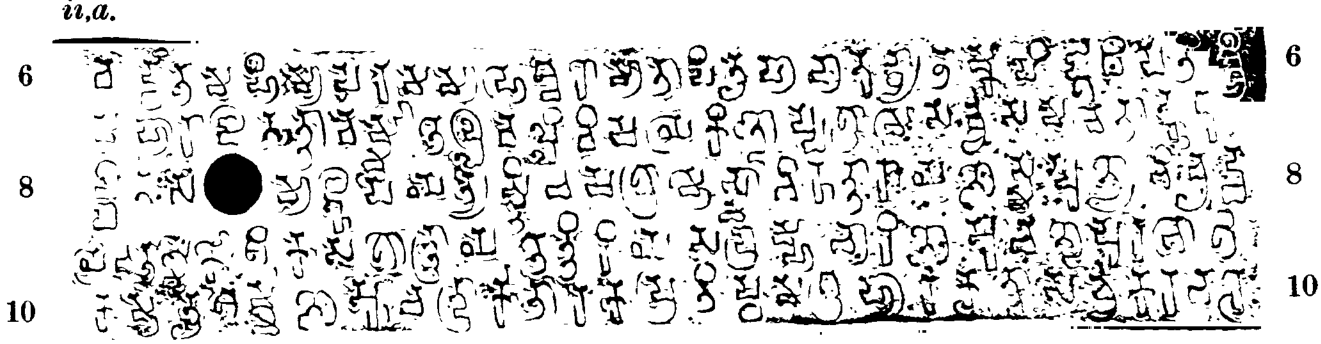
[1] Expressed by a symbol.
[2] Read *Prabhamjana.*
[3] Read *vikkram°.*
[4] Read *Ananta.°*
[5] N. reads *Kiṇḍōppa,*—but the right vertical stroke is a regular part of the letter *ē* (N. denotes Mr. Narasimham).
[6] Read *Uttarāyaṇē.*
[7] Read *Taittirīya°.*
[8] Read *sa-brahma°.*
[9] N. reads *Achanṭapura.*
[10] Read *°bbhavati.*

SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA.

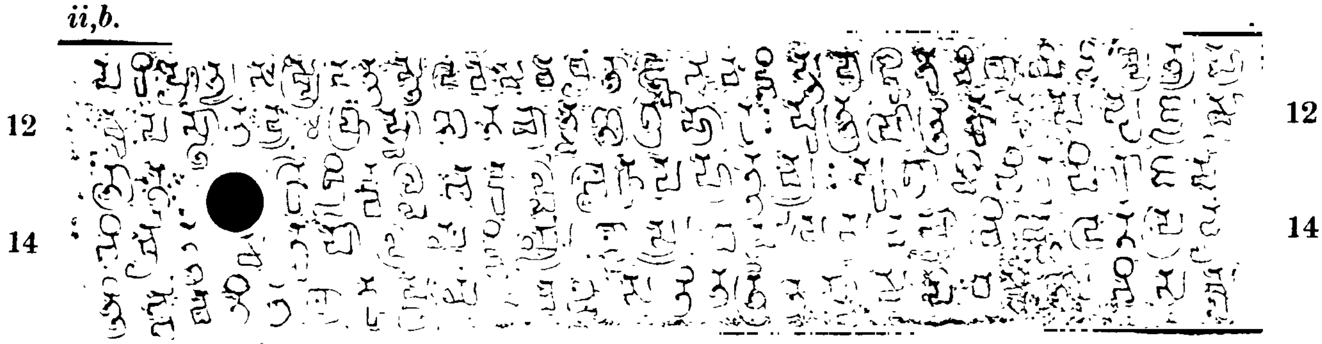
i.



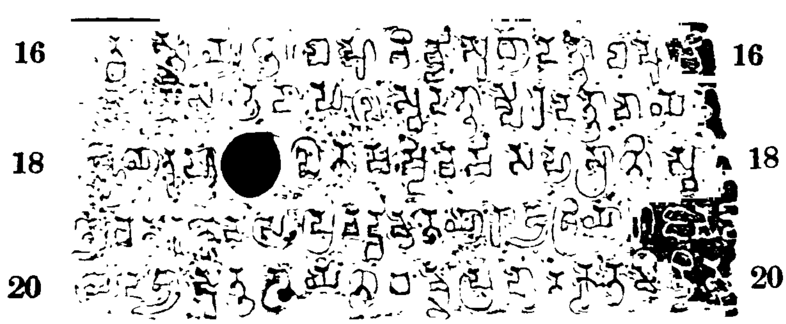
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Seal.



From a photograph.

18 ch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(m) [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē [mōdati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tā *]-

19 ny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Pravarddhamānayā rājya-śriyā rājava . . . . [tra*]

20 yōdaśyām=Uttarāyaṇē dharmma-pradānaṁ kṛitam=iti bhū[1] . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ. Hail! From his residence in the victorious city of **Pishṭapura**, the glorious *Mahārāja* **Anantavarman,**—who is the lord of **Kaliṅga**; who adores the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; whose greatness has been enhanced by affectionate solicitude for the gods, the twice-born, and the elders; who has acquired fame by reason of his being endowed with wisdom, modesty, and virtue; who has acquired the earth by his own strength and valour;

who is the dear son of the glorious *Mahārāja* **Prabhañjanavarman**, the moon of the Vāsishṭha family, who (*Prabhañjanavarman*) brought about the prosperity of the kingdom by the three elements[2] of regal power;

who is the most excellent grandson of the glorious *Mahārāja* **Guṇavarman,** who[3] acquired fame by victories in many stubbornly fought battles, who [3] was the lord of **Dēvarāshṭra,** and whose[3] spotless virtues, like the rays of autumn moon, pervaded the whole world :—

commands[4] (*as follows*) all the ryots present at the village of **Kiṇḍēppa** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Tēllavalli**: this village has been granted by us, during summer solstice, for the sake of increasing our religious merit, to this **Mātṛiśarman,**—a member of the Kauśika *gōtra*, a student of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*), and a resident of **Achaṇṭapura**-*bhōga*—after having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars, and exempting (*it*) from all burdens of taxation.

Having understood this command you should, every day, act in accordance with it. The *Brāhmaṇa*, enjoying his own *agrahāra* in hereditary succession (*lit. through sons and grandsons*) should not be hindered in any way, by any officer (*however*) eminent.[5]

The future royal ascetics, following the traditional usage, should pursue that (*course*) which would lead to continuous progress (or practice) of this act of virtue. This being so, the association of these (*succeeding kings*) also with religious merit in this matter is mentioned in the *Smṛitis*.

[*Three customary verses follow.*]

By the increasing majesty . . . . . .

On the thirteenth (*tithi*), during the summer solstice, this religious gift is made.

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[1] N. reads '*bha*'. The *ū-kāra*-like sign may really be part of the next letter.

[2] There are three elements of royal power (*śakti*), *viz.*, (1) *prabhuśakti*, *i.e.*, the majesty or pre-eminent position of the king himself; (2) *mantraśakti*, *i.e.*, the power of good counsel, and (3) *utsāhaśakti*, *i.e.*, the power of energy.

[3] Refers to Guṇavarman.

[4] Refers to Anantavarman.

[5] The original expression is '*Vallabha-durllabha*.' The first word means 'Overseer, Superintendent, or herdsman', and probably stands for royal officials in general. I am unable to suggest any definite meaning for *durllabha*. One of its meanings given in the lexicon, is 'eminent or extraordinary,' and it may be regarded as an adjective of *Vallabha* (*Mayūra-vyaṁsakādivat*). Or possibly, from its association with Vallabha, it may also have to be taken in the sense of an Official, though the term in this sense is not known from any other source.

No. 10.—NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN ; THE YEAR 79.

BY PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This is a set of **three copper-plates**, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank while the two other plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing is distinct and in good preservation. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular **seal** showing indistinctly a couchant bull, facing right.

The plates were discovered in a field in the village of **Narasingapalli**, Chicacole *tāluk*, Ganjām District, by one Suran Nayudu, while digging earth. He gave it to Mr. Byri Appalaswami Nayudu, from whom it was obtained by Mr. M. S. Sarma and sold to the **Madras Museum.** The inscription has been published in the Telugu Journal *Bhāratī*, Vol. XI (September, 1934), pp. 461 ff., which is not accessible to me. I edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **alphabet** is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Urlām plates of the same king and the copper-plate grants of Indravarman II. This is only what could be expected, for Vinayachandra, who wrote the present plates, is also the writer of all the plates of the Kaliṅga kings **Hastivarman** and **Indravarman II,** *viz.* :—(1) Urlām plates of Hastivarman ;[1] (2) Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman II ;[2] (3) Santabommali plates of Indravarman II ;[3] and (4) Parlā-kimēḍi plates of Indravarman II.[4]

If we compare the alphabet of our grant with that of the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman I,[5] dated in the year 39, we find that the latter belongs to a distinctly earlier class, and indeed the difference appears to be far greater than would be warranted by the interval of 40 years between the two. Attention may be specially drawn to the forms of *kh, g, ṇ, n, bh, m, v* and *ś*.[6]

The final form of *m* occurs at the end of the inscription, while it is replaced by *anusvāra* in *phalaṁ* (l. 23), *°nupālanaṁ* (l. 24), and *dvādaśyāṁ* (l. 27). The two **numerical symbols** 70 and 9 are used in the date (l. 27).

The **language** is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five verses, the inscription is written in prose. The influence of Prākrit may be traced in the form *ēkūnāśiti* (l. 27). As regards **orthography,** *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṅ* in *Rājasiṅhasya* (l. 28) and *saṅghatēḥ* (for *saṁhatēḥ*, l. 29), while dental *n* is represented by *anusvāra* in *gītāṁ* (l. 21). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with the exception of *sh* in *varsha* (l. 25), and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta* (l. 8). Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land for defraying the expenses of the worship of god Nārāyaṇa and repairing his temples. The land included four *nivēśanas* (which means houses or probably sites for the same) and was situated in the village **Rōhaṇaki** in the district of **Varāhavartanī.** *Mahārāja* **Hastivarman** of Kaliṅga, who makes the grant, belongs to the **Gāṅga** family. As noted above, this king is already known to us from the Urlām plates, dated in the year 80.[7] The present grant is **dated in the year 79,** and is thus earlier of the two. Except

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 128.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134.

[5] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 49.

[6] The difference is, no doubt, partly the result of difference in the style of writing, but as the two records belong to the same locality, we may assume, with a tolerable degree of certainty, on the basis of the palæographic examination alone, that the Jirjingi grant is earlier than the present one.

[7] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.

the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman I, dated in the year 39, this is the earliest copper-plate grant of the *Gāṅga* family so far discovered.[1]

The introductory portion of this grant agrees word for word with that of the Urlām plates, save that in the latter the word *sukha* is added after the word *sarvvarttu* in line 1. As is well known, this long phraseology became stereotyped in the grants of the family, and, with some additions and alterations, continued for nearly five hundred years. The corresponding phraseology of the Jirjingi grant is, however, quite different. The present grant is, therefore, the earliest document where we can trace the stereotyped phraseology of the *Gāṅga* records. The five verses of the Urlām plates also occur in this grant.

The inscription is **dated** in the **year 79.** The exact equivalence of this date depends upon the determination of the epoch of the **Gāṅga era** to which it is presumably to be referred. As is well known, scholars differ widely on this point. This subject is too vast and complicated to be dealt with here. I may note, however, that whereas some earlier writers like Sewell[2] and R. D. Banerji[3] placed the initial date of the era, respectively in the ninth and eighth century A.D., Mr. G. Ramdas[4] pushes it back to the fourth century A.D. Dr. Fleet,[5] who first dealt with the subject, was of opinion that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era were A.D. 481 and 634. He based his views partly on palæographic and partly on historical grounds. The latter have now lost much of their force, but I believe his view still holds good on palæographic grounds. The present grant may be regarded on palæographic grounds as somewhat later than that of Anantavarman which I have edited above. I have there shown my grounds for referring the latter to the century 450-550 A.D. The present grant may, therefore, be referred to the **period 550-650 A.D.** The **epoch of the Gāṅga era** would accordingly fall between **470-570 A.D.**

This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, *viz.*, that of Prof. R. Subba Rao,[6] who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A.D. 494.[7] Although one may differ from him in some of his arguments and conclusions, and may not be inclined to be dogmatic about the particular year A.D. 494, I think, the data presented by him would reasonably lead to the hypothesis that the epoch of the Gāṅga era lies between 494 and 560 A.D., *i.e.*, roughly speaking, about the **first half of the sixth century A.D.**[8] **Hastivarman** may thus be regarded as flourishing towards the end of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A.D.

No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Urlām plates, two of his *birudas* or epithets, *viz.*, **Rājasiṁha** and **Raṇabhīta** are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr. Hultzsch has already drawn attention to its peculiar

[1] I leave out of account the Tirlingi grant, dated 28 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54), for the reading of the date appears to me to be very doubtful. The writer of this grant is also Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra. So if the year of the Tirlingi plate belongs to the same era to which those of Hastivarman and Indravarman II are to be referred, we have to presume that Vinayachandra was in active service from the year 28, or some time previous to it, to the year 91 (date of Parlā-kimēḍi plates of Indravarman II), or some time posterior to it. In other words, he held the office for nearly sixty-five to seventy years. This appears to be highly improbable.

[2] *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 357.

[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 398 ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 133.

[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4.

[7] Mr. J. C. Ghosh suggested that it should more properly be A.D. 496; *Ind. Ant*, 1932, p. 237. See also Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 201, note 1.

[8] I shall discuss the question more fully in a separate article.

character and the fact that it occurs as a name of a member of the **Śailōdbhava** family.[1] I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, *viz.*, Yaśōbhīta (or A-yaśōbhīta) and Sainyabhīta.[2]

So far as is at present known, such names do not occur elsewhere. Hastivarman's rule in Kaliṅga falls during the period when the Śailōdbhava family was ruling in Kōṅgōda immediately to its north. The assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of Śailōdbhava family, though we have no definite information as to any relation between the two.

The present grant of Hastivarman is a **dev-āgrahāra**, *i.e.*, a free-hold created, not for the benefit of an individual person, but for the regular worship of god **Nārāyaṇa** and the repairs of his temples.[3] We have a similar example in the Santabommali plates of Indravarman II[4] which repeat the exact phraseology of this inscription denoting the object of the grant.

As noted below, the three epithets of god Nārāyaṇa (ll. 12-13) occur in a single verse of **Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa** (canto X, verse 21), and it is not unreasonable to presume that the composer of the record was acquainted with that work. Of far greater interest, from the historical point of view, is the designation of the god, *viz.*, **Raṇabhītōdaya** (l. 13). There can be hardly any doubt, that this was derived from the king's own *biruda*, Raṇabhīta. It thus furnishes an example, well known in India and Indian Colonies in the Far East, of designating (the image of) a god after the king who set it up.[5]

The king made this grant presumably at the request, or on the recommendation, of **Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika** (l. 16). The word *pratibōdhita* (l. 17), used in this connection, literally means 'to awaken, to inform, to entrust, etc.', but, considering the context, it is clear that 'to request' or 'to recommend' would convey the real sense.[6]

As to Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika, there is no doubt that **Buddha-mañchin** was the name of a person who held the office of a 'Bhōgika'. The different meanings of the term '*Bhōgika*' have been discussed by me while editing the Srungavarapukōṭa grant of Anantavarman (above, p. 59). For an example of personal name of this type I may refer to Āditya-mañchin, the writer of the Chicacole plates[7], and the son of Vinayachandra who wrote the present grant. It is interesting to note that this Āditya-mañchin is referred to as Āditya-Bhōgika in the Purle plates.[8] This alteration of titles led Dr. Hultzsch to remark that like '*Bhōgika*', *Mañchin* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhōi*, 'a palankeen-bearer'. The presence of both the words in the name of Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika disproves this assertion. Besides, the sense 'palankeen-bearer' can hardly be applied to either Āditya-, or Buddha-mañchin. I have shown that the duties of the official called *Bhōgika* included writing or engraving of royal charters. In the present instance the term might mean the chief of the territorial unit called *bhōga*.[9] In that case it would be the duty of this officer to suggest to the king the grant of land for the maintenance of a temple of

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 331.

[2] For the Śailōdbhava Inscriptions, *cf.* Bandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1672-6.

[3] The phrase *khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-bhagna-ghaṭana* occurs in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta; above, Vol. IX, p. 98.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

[5] *Cf.* my book *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I. *Champā*, pp. 184-6.

[6] *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132, f. n. 3.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

[8] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 362.

[9] It is a sub-division of a district. *Cf. e.g.*, '*Vishayapati-bhōgapati*' in Khālimpur Copper plate of Dharmapāla; above, Vol. IV, p. 243; also *Vōṅkhāra-bhōga-sambaddha-Jijjika-grāmē* in l. 11 of the Jirjingi grant of king Indravarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 52). The editor reads Jijjikā.

Nārāyaṇa in his jurisdiction. The first part of the name Buddha-mañchin may be a reminiscence of the stronghold which Buddhism once had in this region.

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** is now usually identified with Mukhaliṅgam[1]. The district **Varāhavartanī** (l. 9) is mentioned, in several Gāṅga records. Dr. Sten Konow suggested that it was probably near Chicacole[2]. This view is supported by the present grant. For the village **Rōhaṇaki,** mentioned in the present grant as situated in the district of **Varāha-vartanī,** may be identified with modern **Rōṇaṅki** (Ronunky of the Indian Atlas, Degree Sheet, 84°×18°-20′), a hamlet of Singupura of the Chicacole *tāluk*. Further, an unpublished grant of Vajrahasta III[3] refers to the village of Navagrāma in Varāhavartanī-*vishaya*, and this village can be easily identified with the present Naogam in Tekkali *tāluk* of the Ganjām District. Mr. G. R. Pantulu has identified the village Siddhārthaka in the Varāhavartanī-*vishaya* with Siddhāntam near Chicacole[4]. The Varāhavaıtanī district would thus roughly correspond to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali. It was presumably bounded on the west by Kuraka-*rāshṭra,* corresponding to modern Palakoṇḍa *tāluk*[5]. According to Mr. G. Ramdas, the village Sellāda in the Rūpāvartanī-*vishaya*[6] belongs to Tekkali *tāluk*. If this identification be accepted, Rūpāvartanī-*vishaya* may be located to the north of Varāhavartanī. As already suggested by Hultzsch, this Rūpāvartanī-*vishaya* is probably the same as Rūpyavatī-*vishaya* mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Indravarman[7].

About two miles to the south-east of Rōṇaṅki, there is a village called Byrey in the Atlas. It is at the junction of two roads, and on the bank of the Vaṁśadharā river. Is the name a reminiscence of the old Varāha-vartanī ? Local investigations alone can solve this problem.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[8] Svasti [||*] Sarvv-arttu-ramaṇīyād=vijaya-**Kaliṅga**-nagarāt=sakala-bhuvana-
2 nirmmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa[9]-svāminaś=charaṇa-kamala-
3 yugala-praṇāmād=apagata-kali-kalaṅkō vinaya-naya-sampadā-
4 m=ādhāraḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-parispand-ādhigata-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya-
5 ś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvani-tala-pravitat-āmala-yaśāḥ anēka-
6 samara-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabdō **Gāṅg**-āmala-kula-pratishṭhaḥ pratā-
7 p-ātiśay-ānāmita-samasta-sāmanta-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 puñja-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ

1 Kaliṅganagara was identified by Fleet with Kalingapatam (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XVI, p. 132). Mr. G. V. Ramamurti proposed the identification with Mukhaliṅgam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 187-8). This view is now generally accepted, but it is not free from doubts (*cf. Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.* 1924-25, p. 79). Fleet's view is still upheld by some (*cf., e.g.*, Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya's article in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 623 ff.). For a detailed discussion of the subject, *cf. J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57 ff.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 95.

3 Edited below, pp. 67 ff.

4 Above, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

5 See above, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

6 *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

7 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

8 Expressed by a symbol.

9 This letter has been read by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XVII, p. 332, l. 2) as *rṇna*. But undoubtedly we have to take it as the normal symbol for *rṇṇa*, in which the curves of *ṇ* are not repeated twice

9 śrī-Mahārājō **Hastivarmmā**[1]/ **Varāhavarttanī**-vishayē **Rōhaṇakyāṁ**
10 sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vō ya-
11 th=āsmin=grāmē shaṇṇāṁ halānāṁ bhūś=chhēdīkṛitya chatur-nnivē-
12 śana-sahitā bhagavatē sapt-ārṇṇava-śāyinē sapta-sām-ōpa-
13 gītāya sapta-lōk-aika-nāthāya **Raṇabhitōday**-ābhidhānāya
14 **Nārāyaṇāya** bali-charu-satra-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

15 saṁskārāya cha sarvva-karaiḥ parihṛity=ā-chandr-ārkka-pratishṭhaṁ dēv-āgrahāraṁ
16 kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē **Buddha-mañchi**-bhōgikēna prati-
17 bōdhitair=asmābhir=ddattā [|*] tad=viditvā na kēnachit=parivādhā[2] kāryyā [|*]
18 Sīmānta-liṅgāni ch=ātra pūrvvēṇ=āsya grāma-garttā dakshiṇēna
19 varaṇḍakaḥ[3] paśchimēna vishaya-garttā kuravaka-mūla-sahitā utta-
20 rēṇa saha tāla-vāṭikay=ēti | Bhavishyad-rājabhiś=ch=āyan=dāna-
21 dharmmō=nupālanīyas=tathā cha Vyāsa-gītāṁ[4] ślōkān=udāharanti [|*]

Third Plate; First Side.

22 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya
23 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||1*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=ra-
24 ksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahīm=mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ (nam) [||2*]
25 Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ā-
26 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti[5] | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁva-
27 tsarāḥ ēkūnāśiti (ēkōnāśītiḥ) 70 9 Jēshṭha[6]-śukla-dvādaśyāṁ(śyām) || Idaṁ Vinaya-chandrēṇa
28 Bhānuchandrasya sūnunā [|*] śāsanaṁ Rāja-siṅhasya[7] likhitaṁ sva-mukh-ājñayā [||4*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

29 Maṇḍalāgr-āgra-nishpēsha-nishpishṭ-ārāti-saṅghatēḥ[8] [|*]
30 Śrīmatō=pratigh-ājñasya **Raṇabhītasya** śāsanam [|| 5*]

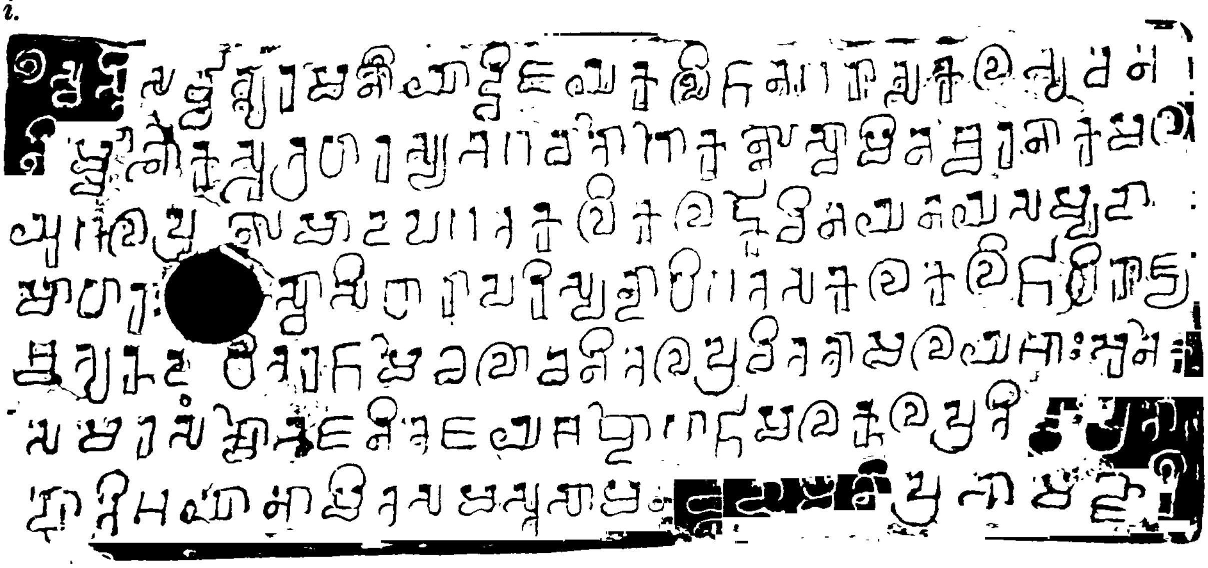
TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Hail! From the victorious (*city of*) **Kaliṅganagara**, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious *Mahārāja* **Hastivarman**[9] . . . . . commands (*as follows*) all the ryots assembled at **Rōhaṇaki**, in the district of **Varāhavarttanī** :

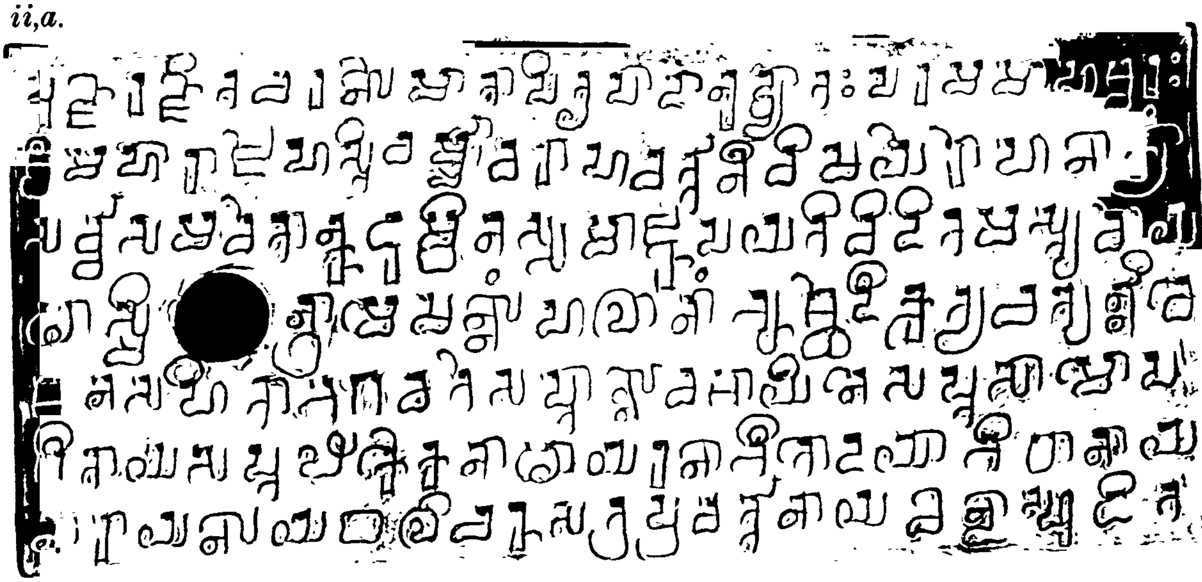
[1] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[2] Read *paribādhā*.
[3] Read *varaṇḍakaḥ*.
[4] Read *gītān*.
[5] Read *vasēt* [||3*] *iti*.
[6] Read *Jyēshṭha*.
[7] Read *siṁhasya*.
[8] Read *saṁhatēḥ*.
[9] The long epithets of the king are omitted in the translation, as they have been translated many times (*cf.* above, Vol. III, p. 129).

NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN; THE YEAR 79.

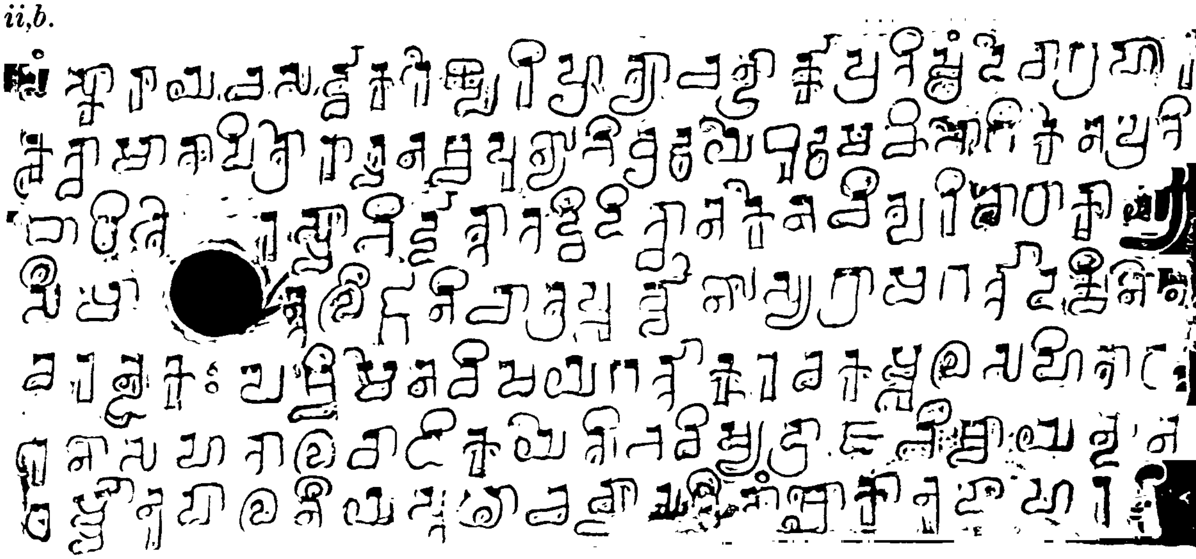
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.

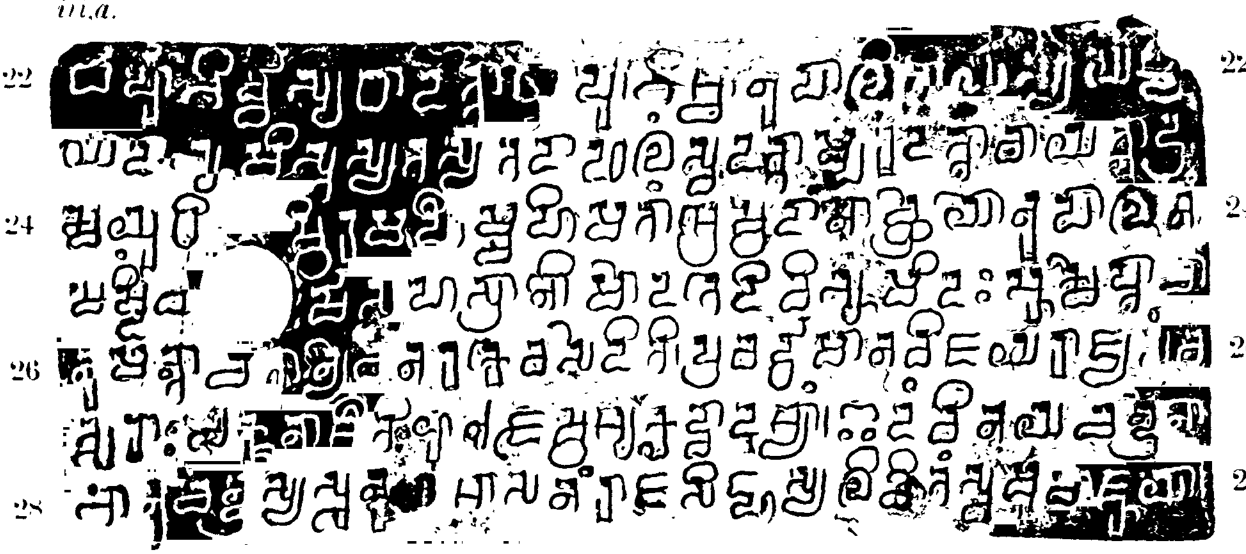


SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

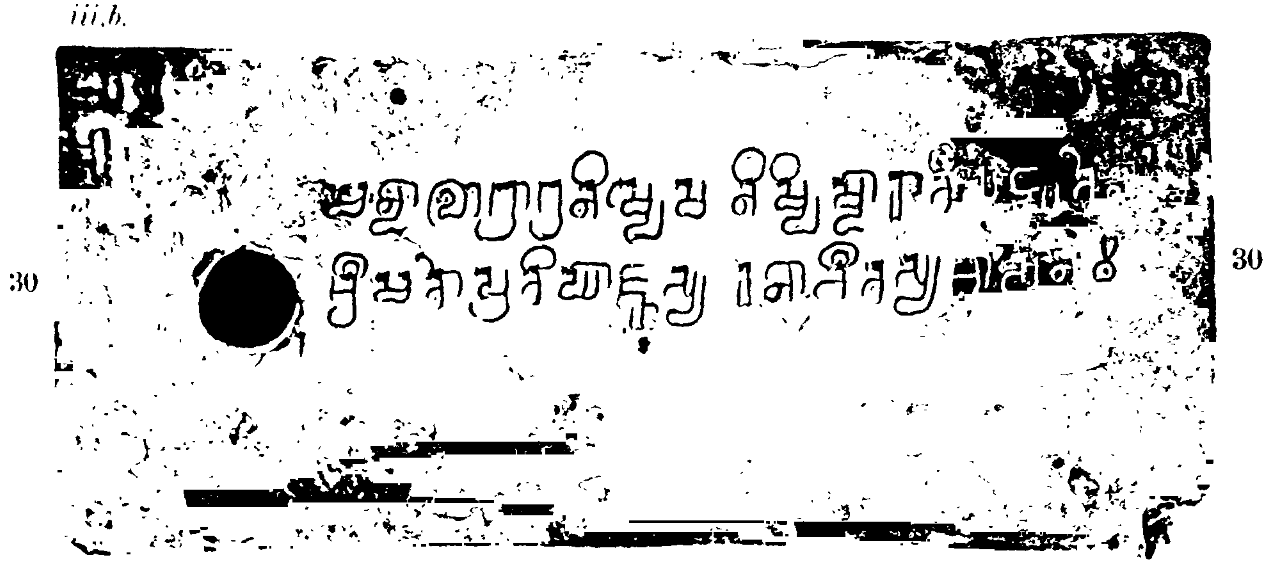
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

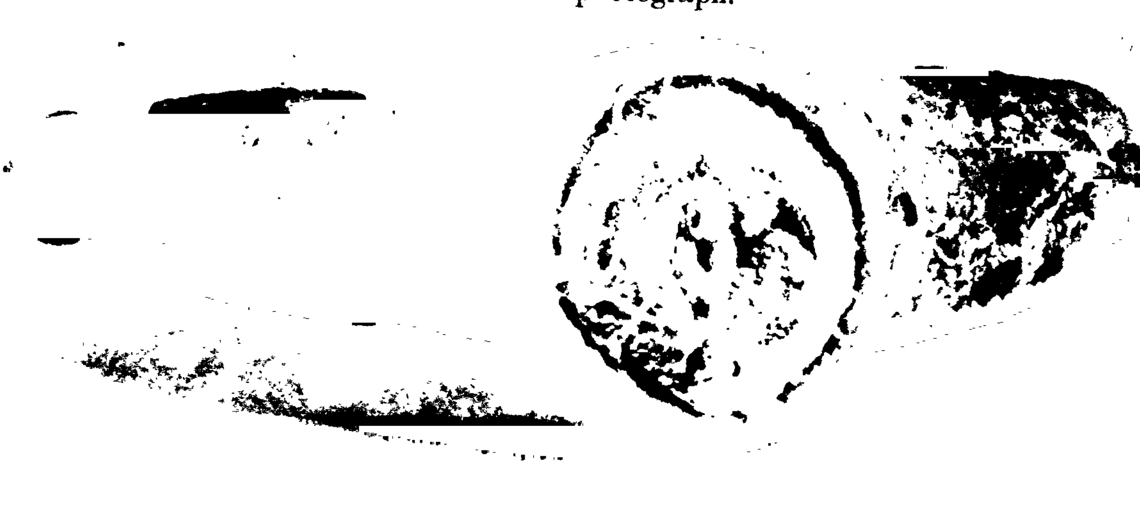
iii.a.



iii.b.



Seal: From a photograph.



Be it known to you, that having constituted six *halas* of land, with four cottages, in this village, as (*a separate*) section, and making it an *agrahāra* for god, which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all taxation, we have, at the request of (*lit. being informed by*) **Buddha-mañchi,** the Bhōgika, and for increasing the religious merit of (*our*) parents and ourselves, granted it to **god Nārāyaṇa,**—who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in seven hymns (*Rathantara*, etc.), who is the sole lord of seven worlds[1]; and who has the designation **Raṇabhītōdaya,**[2]—for the sake of performing (*oblations known as*) *bali, charu* and *satra,* and for the repairs of dilapidations (*of the temple*).

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance.

The boundary marks are as follows :—On the east, the trenches of the village ; on the south, the mound of earth ; on the west, the trenches of the district with the Kuravaka-thicket ; on the north, along with the palm-grove.

The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted.

(*Here follow three of the customary verses*).

In the year **Seventy-nine 70, 9** of the prosperous victorious reign, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of *Jyēshṭha*.

(*Verse 4*) At the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth, this charter of **Rājasiṁha** has been written by **Vinayachandra,** son of Bhānuchandra.

(*Verse 5*) (*This is*) a charter of the glorious **Raṇabhīta,** whose commands are irresistible, and who has totally crushed the hostile confederacy by the strokes of the point of (*his*) scimitar.

No. 11.—GANJAM COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III; SAKA-SAMVAT 991.

BY PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This is a set of **five copper-plates** measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank, while there is no writing on the last plate, which was evidently put in to protect the writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular **seal** bearing a couchant Nandī, a drum, a conch, two fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), two darts or lances, an umbrella, a *makara-tōraṇa* and the sun and the moon.

The inscription consists of fifty-three lines. It is, generally speaking, in a good state of preservation. The second side of the third plate and the first side of the fourth plate, are, however, partly corroded, and a few letters are either wholly or partly effaced.

The plates were found somewhere in the **Ganjām** District and are now deposited in the **Madras Museum.** The text was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhāratī*, which is not accessible to me. I edit them from excellent ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **alphabet** is northern Nāgarī of the same kind as is used in four other plates[3] of Vajrahasta. The final form of *m* occurs in *mahīm* (l. 36) where, in addition to the sign of the *virāma*, the top-stroke of the letter is omitted. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *avdakān* (l. 17) and

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[1] All the three epithets of Nārāyaṇa occur in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, X, 21.

Sapta-sām-ōpagītaṁ tvāṁ sapt-ārṇava-jalēśayam |
sapt-ārchir-mukham=āchakhyuḥ sapta-lōk-aika-saṁśrayam ||

[2] See introductory remarks.

[3] (*a*) The Naḍagām plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183) ; (*b*) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Saka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94) ; (*c*) The Chicacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (*d*) Narasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI. p. 147).

vāraṇān (l. 41). The letter *ñ* in conjuncts *ñch* and *ñchh* is placed after *ch* and *chh* and is not connected with it (cf., *e.g.*, *lāñchhana* in l. 8, and *pañchabhiḥ* in l. 13). The *anusvāra* is denoted by a circle after the consonant, and very often a *virāma* is added underneath.

There are several superfluous signs of interpunctuation in the grant (cf. ll. 47, 51, 52), the most glaring instance being that in line 2, where the sign is used between two words of the same compound, *dākshiṇya* and *satya*.

As regards **orthography**, the class nasal is used before surds, the only exception being *saṁkhyāṁ* (l. 33). The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in *varsha* (l. 16), and *paursha* (l. 53), but cf. *varshshāṇi* in ll. 26-27. In doubling *bh*, the form *bhbh* is used instead of *bbh*. In one case alone, *t* seems to be doubled before *r* (*puttraḥ*, l. 51), though it is doubtful whether the letter really denotes *ttra*. There are several cases of interchange of sibilants. Thus *s* is used for *ś* in *samit-āri* (l. 24), *mahīsaḥ* (l. 26), and for *sh* in *Āsāḍha* (l. 50); *ś* is used for *s* in *śalila* (l. 3), *āśīnē* (l. 42), and *sh* for *s* in *shutaḥ* (l. 12). As in the other plates[1] of Vajrahasta, we have *prakshyālita* (l. 3) instead of *prakshālita*, and *samujvala* (ll. 8, 25) instead of *samujjvala*. It is difficult to distinguish between medial *i* and *ē*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains twelve verses, the remainder being in prose.

The inscription is one of king **Vajrahasta** (III, or, according to another reckoning, V) of the Gāṅga dynasty, the son of **Kāmārṇava** and **Vinayamahādēvī**. Six other copper-plate grants of this king are known, of which four have been edited and published in well-known journals[1]. Of the remaining two, the Triplicane Grant, dated in the Śaka year 982, is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25 (p. 7, No. 5) with a summary of its contents. The remaining one, the Boddapāḍu Grant, is described by Prof. Subba Rao[2], but no reference is given. It was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhāratī* (Vol II, No. 5[3]). In the following remarks I shall confine myself to the four published copper-plate grants of the king known to me.

The introductory portion of the present grant, which covers the first forty-two lines and six letters of the forty-third line, is an exact repetition of what we find in the other four plates[4]. It contains, in addition to the opening stereotyped panegyrical passage, the genealogical account of the family, to which we shall refer later.

The next portion beginning with *Kaliṅga-nagarāt* in l. 43, and ending with *viditam=astu bhavatāṁ* in l. 46, also occurs in the first three grants mentioned in footnote 1, with this difference, that whereas in the present grant, and the Madras Museum plates, the name of the king is written as *Śrīmad-Anantavarmmā Vajrahasta-dēvaḥ*, it is simply "*Śrīmad-Vajrahasta-dēvaḥ*" in the other two.

The remaining portion, which actually records the grant, is, of course, different, though the usual legal phrases, which occur in ll. 47-49, are common to all. Thus, with the exception of the name of the village in l. 47, the first forty-nine lines of the present inscription contain nothing new[5]. It must be noted, however, that the present grant contains, comparatively speaking, fewer mistakes than the others.

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[1] (*a*) The Naḍagām plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183); (*b*) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94); (*c*) The Chicacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (*d*) Narasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI, p. 147).

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-205.

[3] This has been noticed also in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26 (No. 1 of Appendix A). But by mistake the name of the dynasty is given as Eastern Chālukya instead of Eastern Gāṅga.

[4] A few minor changes are introduced in Narasapatam plates.

[5] Hence I do not give any translation of the text, for which cf. above, Vol. IV, pp. 192-93 and Vol. XI, pp. 152-53.

From the concluding four lines of the inscription we learn that the village mentioned in l. 47, *viz.*, **Navagrāma** in (the district of) **Varāhavartanī** was granted by the king, in the **Śaka year 991,** on Monday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha, to **Gōkana-nāyaka,** son of Bhīmana-nāyaka and his wife Prōlakavā, and the grandson of Mallapa-nāyaka. The donee is said to be *Vēsyā(śyā)-vaṁśōdbhava, i.e.,* descended from a courtesan. The word *vēsyā* is possibly a mistake for *Vaiśya,* but I may point out that grants to courtesans, who were royal favourites, were not unknown in those days[1]. The word *paursha* in the last line I am unable to explain, but it is possibly a mistake for *paurusha.* In that case, the royal grant was a recognition of the donee's devotion and valour extending over a long period.

The **date** of the grant has been calculated to correspond to 9th June, 1068 A.D., taking the Śaka year as current.

Of the **localities** mentioned, the village **Navagrāma** is to be identified with the present **Naogām** in Tekkali *tāluk* of the Ganjām District. As to **Varāhavartanī**, which must have been in the neighbourhood of Chicacole, and **Kaliṅganagara,** usually identified with Mukhaliṅgam, I have already discussed their identification while editing the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, on p. 65 above.

Lastly, there is the title, 'Lord of **Tri-Kaliṅga**', applied to Vajrahasta. Tri-Kaliṅga is usually interpreted as the whole of Kaliṅga in its widest extent[2]. Thus Prof. R. Subba Rao, on the strength of the above title of Vajrahasta, infers that "he was also the paramount sovereign of Tri-Kaliṅga country which extended from the river Ganges in the North to the river Godāvarī in the South"[3]. Apart from well-known historical facts which militate against this view, I may point out that it is impossible to accept this meaning of the term Tri-Kaliṅga, at least for the period to which the present grant belongs. A perusal of the records of the Eastern Chālukyas throws very interesting light on this point. We learn from the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma[4] I (888-918 A.D.), and the Pithāpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva[5], dated Śaka-*samvat* 1124, that the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-888 A.D.) took 'by force the gold of the Gāṅga kings of Kaliṅga', and 'received elephants as tribute from the Kaliṅga king'. The Masulipatam plates of Amma[6] I (918-925 A.D.) tell us that king Vijayāditya IV (918 A.D.) ruled the 'Vēṅgīmaṇḍala, joined with Tri-Kaliṅga forest' (*Trikaliṁgg-āṭavi-yuktam*). According to the Kolavennu grant[7] of Chālukya—Bhīma II, king Vikramāditya II (who ruled some time after 925 A.D.) ruled over Vēṅgī and Tri-Kaliṅga. Ammarāja II (945-970 A.D.) is also stated to have at first ruled over the Vēṅgī country with Tri-Kaliṅga[8], but later left the parental throne and ruled in Kaliṅga for fourteen years (956-970 A.D.). Dānārṇava, too, ruled in Kaliṅga for three years, after the loss of Vēṅgī[9].

These extracts show that in the Eastern Chālukya records of the tenth and subsequent centuries, Tri-Kaliṅga is distinguished from Kaliṅga and is obviously regarded as a place of less

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[1] [Apparently *vēsyā* in the present record is an error in writing for *Vaiśya* to which caste the Nāyakas in this part are known to have belonged. Cf. *An. Rep. on Epigraphy,* 1918-19, C. P. No. 5.—Ed.]

[2] Cunningham—*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 594. Fleet, above, Vol. III, p. 327. Recently Mr. B. C. Majumdar and Mr. B. Misra have interpreted Tri-Kaliṅga as denoting the three countries 'Kaliṅga, Kōṅgōda, and Utkala' (*Orissa in the Making,* p. 187; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 145).

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

[4] *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy,* 1914, p. 84.

[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 240.

[6] Above, Vol. V, p. 131.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff.

[8] Ārumbāka pl. of Bādapa, above, Vol. XIX, p. 137.

[9] Maṅgallu Grant, *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy,* 1917, p. 132; also cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

importance than Kaliṅga. In any case, it is impossible to take Tri-Kaliṅga in these records in anything like the sense in which Prof. Subba Rao has taken it. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Haihayas, the Chandēllas, and the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kōśala also assumed the title *Tri-Kaliṅg-ādhipati.*

Mr. G. Ramadas has suggested that Tri-Kaliṅga denotes the highland to the west of the Mahēndra hills of Ganjām, from the upper course of the Mahānadī to about the source of the Lāṅguliyā river[1]. He was apparently unaware of the references to Tri-Kaliṅga and Kaliṅga in the Chālukya records cited above. But there is no doubt that they generally support his view, though we may have to extend the boundaries of the region further south. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit, that we cannot take Tri-Kaliṅga in the present record to denote the whole of Kaliṅga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga.

The genealogy of the Gāṅga family, as given in this and the four other inscriptions[2] referred to above, was shown in a tabular form by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti, while editing the Naḍagām plates. The same scholar also drew attention to the fact that it differs substantially from the genealogical account given in the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1040[3]. The latter is also repeated in the Korni copper-plate grant[4] of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1034. Curiously enough, the other copper-plate grants[5] of the same king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga corroborate the genealogical account given in the plates of Vajrahasta, including the present grant.

This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on these discrepancies. It is only necessary to point out that the genealogy given in the present grant and the other plates of Vajrahasta III appears to have far more historical value than the more elaborate genealogical account in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated respectively in 1034 and 1040 Śaka. The former looks like one based on family records, while the latter is undoubtedly an artificially concocted pedigree, reaching back to the creator of the universe.

The grant, like the other plates of Vajrahasta III, gives the exact time of the coronation of the king (ll. 33-35). This has been calculated to correspond to 3rd May, 1038 A.D., 8 h. 27 m. P. M.[6]

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[7] svasti [||*] Śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshi-

2 ṇya |[8] -satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām=Ātrē-

3 ya-gōtrāṇāṁ vimala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-śalila[9]-prakshyālita-[10]ka-

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 547 ff; Vol. XV, pp. 635 ff.

[2] See f. n. 1 on p.68. The Triplicane Grant also gives the same genealogy (*Ann. Rep. on S. Ind. Ep.*, 1924-25, p. 78).

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

[5] (*a*) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1003 Ś. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 161); (*b*) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1057 Ś. (*Ibid.*, p. 172) and (*c*) Korni Grant, dated 1003 Ś. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 39).

[6] Above, Vol. IV, p. 185. Prof. S. Rao gives the date of Vajrahasta, once as 1037-1070 A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 276; Vol. VI, p. 208), and again as 1038-1069 A.D. (*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 212).

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] This sign of interpunctuation is unnecessary.

[9] Read *salila.*

[10] Read *prakshalita.*

4 li-kāla-kalmasha-mashīṇāṁ mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pra-
5 tishṭhatasya[1] sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvani[2]-nirmmā-
6 ṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka-chūḍā-maṇēr=bhbhagavatō[3] Gōkarṇṇa-svāminaḥ pra-
7 sādāt=samāsādit-aika-śaṅkha-bhērī-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-
8 hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛishabha-lāñchhana-samujvala[4]-samasta-sāmrājya-ma-

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 himnām=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samupalavdha[5]-vijaya-lakshmī-samāli-
10 ṅgit-ōtuṅga[6]-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ **Tri-Kaliṅga**-mahībhujāṁ **Ga-**[7]
11 **ṅgānām**=anvayam=alaṅkarishṇōr=vVishṇōr=iva vikram-ākrānta-dharā-ma-
12 ṇḍalasya **Guṇamahārṇṇava**-ksha(ma)hārājasya shutaḥ[8] ||o|| Pūrvvaṁ bhū-
13 patibhi[r]=vvibhajya vasudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktvā[9] bhūri-
14 parākramō bhuja-valāt[10]=tām=ēka ēva svayaṁ [|*] ēkīkṛitya vijitya
15 śatru-nivahāna[11] śrī-**Vajrahastaś**=chatuśchatvāriṁśatam=atyudāra-charitaḥ
16 sarvvām=arakshīt=samāḥ|| [|*][12] Tasya tanayō **Guṇḍama**-rājā[13] varsha-trayam=apālaya-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 d=mahīṁ || (|) tad-anujaḥ **Kāmārṇṇavadēvaḥ** pañcha-triṁśatam=avdakān[14] || Ta-
18 sy=ānujō **Vinayādityas**=samās=tisraḥ || Tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj=jātō jagatī-
19 kalpa-bhūruhaḥ || (|) yō=rājad=rājita-chchhāyō **Vajrhastō**=vanīpatiḥ || [2*][15] Praś-chyōda(ta)-
20 n-mada-gandha-luvdha[16]-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān=gajānn(n)=artthibhyas=samadāt=sa-
21 hasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇī[ḥ|*] saḥ[17] śrīmān=**Aniyaṅkabhīma**-nṛi-
22 patir=gGaṅg-ānvay-ōtaṁsakaḥ[18] pañchatriṁśatam-avdakān[19]=samabhuna-
23 k=pithvīṁ[20] stutaḥ pārtthivaiḥ || [3*][21] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ sura-rāja-sūnunā samas-samastā-
24 ṁ samit[22]-āri-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] sma pāti **Kāmārṇṇava**-bhūpatir=bhbhuvaṁ[23] samṛid-dhimān arddha-
25 samāṁ samujvalaḥ[24] || [4*][25] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō[26] chittajanm-ōpamānō guṇa-

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[1] Read *pratishṭhitasya*.
[2] Read *bhuvana*.
[3] Read *bbhagavatō*.
[4] Read *samujjvala*.
[5] Read *samupalabdha*.
[6] Read *-ōttuṅga*.
[7] Read *Gā°*.
[8] Read *sutaḥ*.
[9] Read *bhuktā*.
[10] Read *-balāt*.
[11] Read *nivahān*.
[12] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
[13] Read *-rājō*.
[14] Read *abdakān*. [This also appears to be a verse in faulty *Āryā* metre, though none of the published editions seems to have noticed it.—Ed.]
[15] Metre : *Ślōka*.
[16] Read *lubdha*.
[17] Read *sa*.
[18] Read *gGāṅg-ānvay-ōttaṁsakaḥ*.
[19] Read *abdakān*.
[20] Read *prithvīṁ*.
[21] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[22] Read *śamit°*.
[23] Read *bbhuvaṁ*.
[24] Read *samujjvalaḥ*.
[25] Metre : Vaṁśastha.
[26] Read *-janmā*.

Third Plate ; First Side.

26 nidhir=anavadyō **Guṇḍam**-ākhyō mahīsaḥ[1] [|*] sakalam=ida[m=arakshat=]trīṇi va-
27 rshshāṇi dhātrī-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjjit-ārāti-chakraḥ || [5*][2] Tatō dvai-
28 māturas=tasya **Madhukāmārṇṇavō** nṛipaḥ | avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdā-
29 m[3]=ēkārṇṇa[4]viṁśatiṁ ||o|| [6*][5] Atha Vajrahasta-nṛipatēr=agra-sutād=akhila-gu-
30 ṇi-jan-āgraṇyaḥ [|*] Kāmārṇṇavāt=kavīndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-
31 śubha-kīrttēḥ ||[7*][6] Śiya[7] iva **Vaidumv**[8]-ānvaya-payaḥ-payōnidhi-samu-
32 bhbh(dbha)vāyāś=cha[|*] yaḥ samajani **Vinayamahādēvyāḥ** Śrī-**Vajrahasta** iti tana-
33 yaḥ ||[8*][9] Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṁ yāti Śāk-āvda[10]-saṁghē Dinakṛiti Vṛishabha-
34 sthē Rōhiṇī-bhē sulagnē [|*] Dhanudhi[11] cha sita-pakshē Sūryya-vārē tṛitīyāṁ[12]-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

35 yuji sakala-dharitraṁ[13] rakshituṁ yō=bhishiktaḥ ||[9*][14] Nyāyyēna yatra samam=ā-
36 charituṁ tri-varggē[15] mārggēṇa rakshati mahīm mahita-pratāpē [|*] nirvvyā-
37 dhayaś=cha niraghāś=cha nirāpadaś=cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhū-
38 timarttyaḥ[16] ||[10*][17] Vyāptē Gaṅga[18]-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē
39 śaśi-padyōt[19]-āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ[20]-prahlāda-sa-
40 mpādinā [|*] saindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-paṭalai[ḥ*] kumbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēshv=āli-
41 mpanti punaḥ pūnaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān || [11*][21] Anurāgēṇa
42 guṇinō[22] yasya vakshō-mukh-āvjayōḥ[23] [|*] āśinē[24] Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anu-

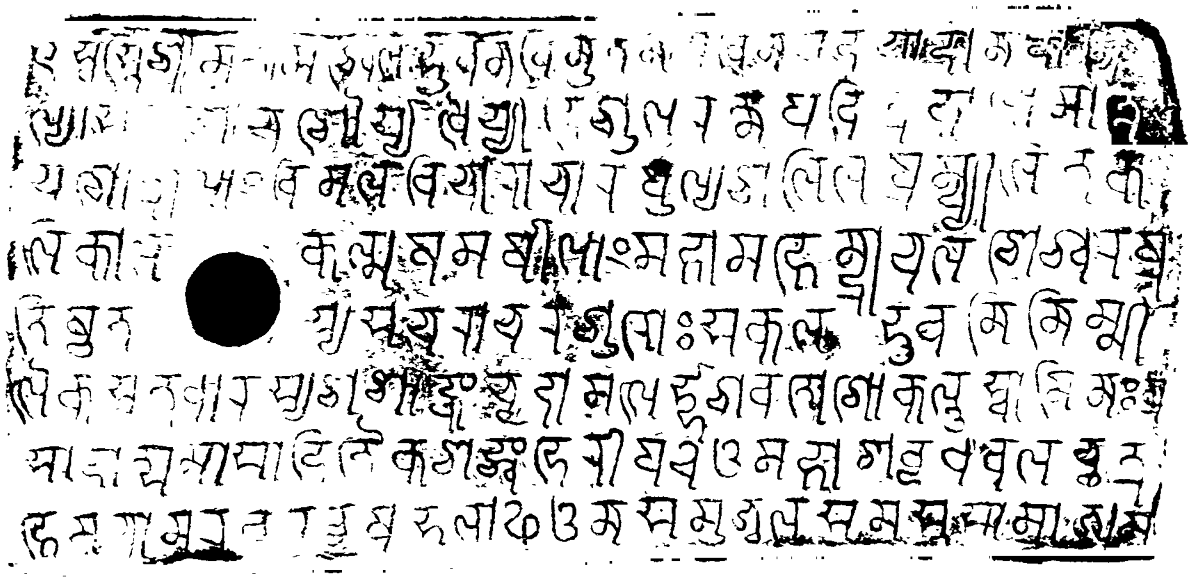
Fourth Plate ; First Side.

43 kūlē virājataḥ ||o|| [12*][25] **Kaliṅganagarāt**=parama-māhēśvara-parama-
44 bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-**Tri-Kaliṅg**-ādhipati-śrīmad-**Anantava-**
45 **rmmā Vajrahasta**-[dē]vaḥ kuśalī samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=sa-
46 māhūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatāṁ || [Viditam=a-

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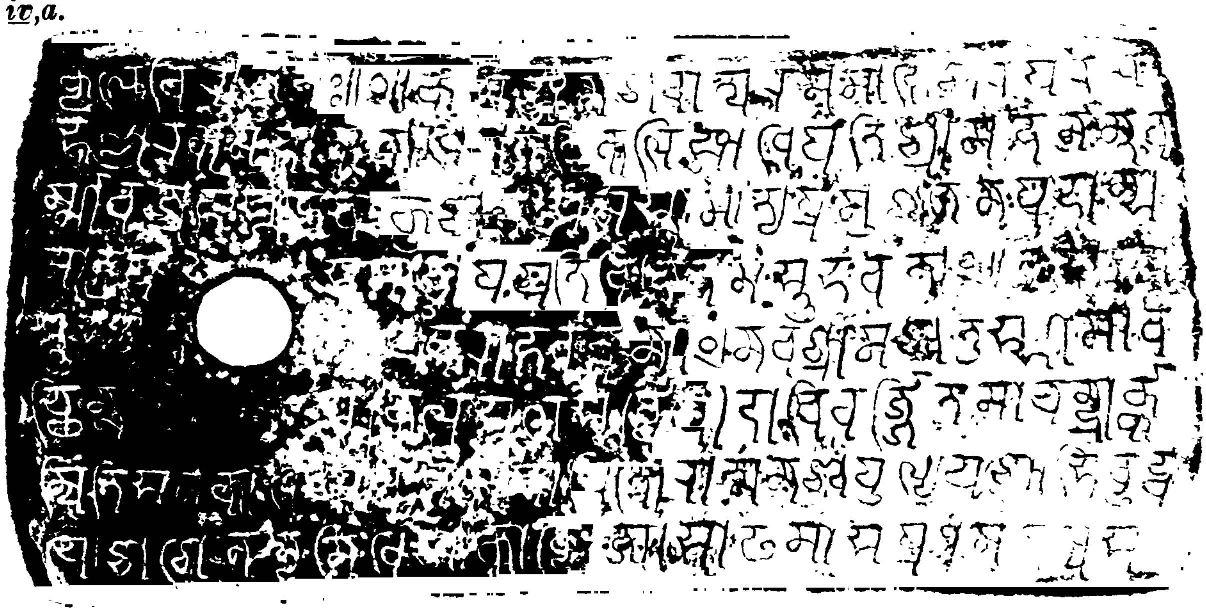
[1] Read *mahīśaḥ*.
[2] Metre : *Mālinī*.
[3] Read *abdān*.
[4] Read *ēkānna°*.
[5] Metre : *Ślōka*.
[6] Metre : *Gīti*.
[7] Read *Śriya*.
[8] Read *Vaidumb°*.
[9] Metre : *Gīti*.
[10] Read *Śāk-ābda-*.
[11] Read *Dhanushi*.
[12] Read *tritīyā-*.
[13] Read *dharitrīṁ*.
[14] Metre : *Mālinī*.
[15] Read *varggaṁ*.
[16] Read *matyaḥ*.
[17] Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.
[18] Read *Gāṅga*.
[19] Read *pradyōt-*.
[20] Read *bhuvana-*.
[21] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[22] There is a redundant medial *ē* sign before *g*.
[23] Read *-ābjayōḥ*.
[24] Read *āsīnē*.
[25] Metre : *Ślōka*.

i.



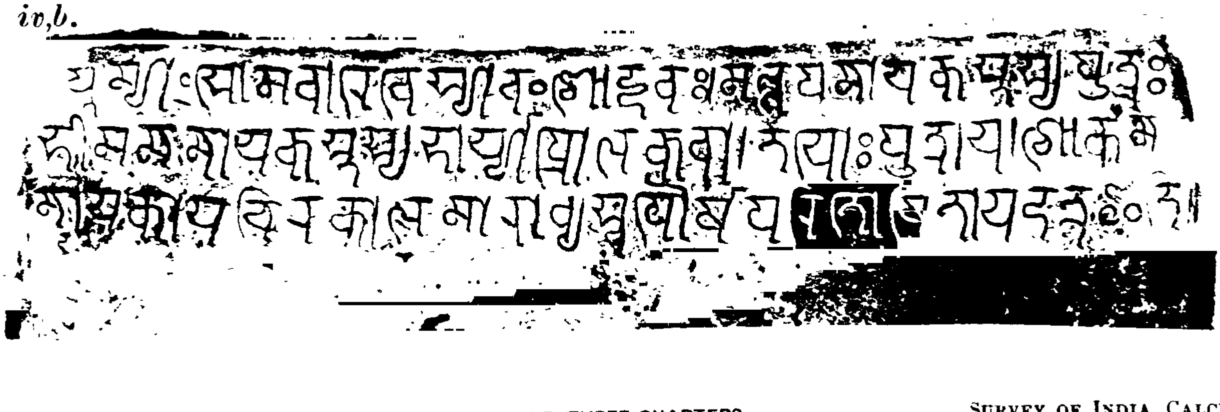
2, 4, 6, 8

iv,a.



44, 46, 48, 50

iv,b.



52

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. NO. 3977 E'36—275.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

47 stu bhava][1] . . . . . [2]Varāhavarttanyāṁ | Navagrāmaś=chatus-sīm-āva-

48 chchhinnas=sa-jala-sthalas=sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjitam=ā-chandr-ārkka-

49 kshiti-sama-kālaṁ [yāvan][3]=mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddha-

50 yē | śaśi-nanda-nidhi-[śā]k-āvdē[4] | Āsāḍha[5]-māsa-prathama-paksha-sa-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

51 ptamyāṁ Sōma-vārē vēsyā[6]-vaṁś-ōdbhavaḥ | Mallapa-nāyakas=tasya puttraḥ

52 Bhīmana-nāyakas=tasya bhāryyā Prōlakavā | tayōḥ putrāya | Gōkana[7]-

53 nāyakāya chira-kālam=ārādhya sva-paursha-paritōshitāya datta iti ||

No. 12.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN : THE YEAR 308.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Ootacamund.

The charter under examination is one of the nine sets of copper-plates that were acquired, in the year 1935, by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through Mr. Satyanarayan Rajguru of Parlakimedi, District Ganjām. Regarding its find-spot no definite information is available. Mr. Rajguru, however, informs me that a cultivator, while digging a field in a village of the Badakhimedi Estate of Ganjām, came upon an earthen pot containing some ten sets of copper-plates of which the present record is one. Ink-impressions of these plates were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Majumdar with whose permission I edit them here.

These are **three copper-plates,** each measuring $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3''$. They were strung on a ring, about 3 inches in diameter, fixed to a circular **seal.** The seal, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter, is intact and bears the figures in high relief of a seated bull, facing the proper left, a crescent and a star above it and a blown lotus below. The plates weigh 112 *tolas*, while the ring and the seal together weigh 14 *tolas*. The plates have flat rims. The writing on them has undergone a slight damage, especially on the obverse of the second plate. There are 38 lines of writing in all, the first and the last faces bearing 7 each and the remaining three 8 each. All the three plates are inscribed on both the sides, the charter ending on the obverse of the third plate. On the reverse of this last appear two different writings, one upon the other, but neither seems to be relevant to the present grant. The three lines of writing on the lower portion, the first consisting of four *aksharas* only and the

[1] The syllables within the brackets are indistinct. Probably the engraver, through mistake, repeated the phrase *Viditamastu bhavatāṁ*, and then tried to cancel it by rubbing off the letters.

[2] The portion of the plate before this letter is very damaged, and there might have been two or three letters. The last one, immediately preceding *Va*, seems to be *tra*. There might be the word *atra*.

[3] These three letters are very indistinct, as this portion of the plate is very damaged.

[4] The letter *śā* is very indistinct. Read *-Śāk-ābdē*.

[5] Read *Ashāḍha*.

[6] Read *vēśyā* or *Vaiśya*.

[7] There is a dot over *ka*, but I doubt whether it was intended for *anusvāra*, as this is usually represented in this plate by a circle to the right of the consonant.

other two of nine each, in clearer and bigger letters, were evidently engraved later without first completely smoothing the surface, for it shows traces of a previous engraving a considerable part of which can still be read. It presents the same text as found in ll. 27-32 of our inscription. It also betrays the same hand to which the incision of the present charter is due. Probably, the engraver, while incising the record on the plates, omitted the text contained in the ll. 24-26. But later, when he had engraved the subsequent six lines, he discovered his mistake. Thereupon he rejected that plate and carved afresh on the other one, beginning with what he had omitted. The rejected engraving was left as it was. The later addition of the three lines of writing in bigger characters, though quite clear, does not yield any coherent sense to me.

The **alphabet** belongs to a Northern variety and resembles closely that of the other known records of the king, **Dēvēndravarman.** The writing is cursive and is rather carelessly done. It does not look uniform. There are even instances where two independent syllables have been written with one flowing stroke, *cf.* °*śali* of *kuśali*, l. 14, and °*śati* of *samadiśati*, l. 16. In these as well as in certain other cases, the letter *ś* does not show the central bar which is shown clearly elsewhere, *e.g.*, in *śaśāṁka*, l. 5. Several letters exhibit each more than one form, *cf.* *g* in *-dagarān=*, l. 3, *-garī*, l. 4, *bhagavatō*, l. 6, and *Gāṅg-*, l. 8 ; *j* in *vijaya*°, l. 2, *-janita-*, ll. 9-10, *-jaya-*, l. 10, *t* in °rtu-, l. 1, *-pratishṭhi*°, l. 4, °*gata-* l. 8, *-tilakō*, l. 9, -janita-, ll. 9-10, and *samavētāṁ*, l. 15 ; *d* in *samadiśati*, *viditam=*, l. 16, and *-ādibhiḥ*, l. 26 ; *n* in *-ānu*°, l. 1, and *-janita-*, ll. 9-10 ; *r* in *sa-char-āchara-*, l. 1 ; *l* in *Kalaṅga*, l. 2, and °*mala-kula-tilakō*, l. 9 ; *ś* in *śaśāṁka-*, l. 5, *-śavda-*, l. 10, and *-daṇḍapāśik-*, l. 26 ; *s* in *sa-char-āchara-*, l. 4, *sa*[*ka*]*la-*, ll. 4-5, and *-saghaṭṭa-*, l. 9 , etc. Moreover, only in one instance, *m* has its Nāgarī form, whereas in all the other cases it has been represented by its ancient form. Both of them may be compared in *Śrīsāmantēna* and *pravarddhamāna* in the last line, *i.e.*, l. 38. It may further be noticed that, except in one or two cases, the medial long *ī* has throughout been represented by the sign of the medial short *i*, the exceptions being °*tkī*°, l. 37, and *śrī-*, l. 38. In like manner the signs of medial *u* and *ū* are not distinguished, that of the former representing the both.

The record is composed in **Sanskrit** prose, except that three verses occur in ll. 28-36. It offers only a few noteworthy points of **orthography.** The consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled; see for example *sarvvartu-*, l. 1, *-nirmaṇ-*, l. 5, *-Rājēndravarma-*, l. 13, *Yajurvēda-*, l. 18, *Gōvindaśarmaṇē*, l. 19, and *-kīrttay*[*ā*], l. 35. In most cases *v* is used for *b*, like in *-śavda-*, l. 10. *Anusvāra* is used instead of the class nasal, in *śaśāṁka-*, l. 5, *-kalaṁkā*, l. 8, *-āṁbu-* l. 33, etc., as well as for the final *n*, *cf.* *samavētāṁ*, l. 15, and *jānapadāṁ*, l. 16. In certain instances an *akshara* or *visarga* has been wrongly left out, *e g.*, in ll. 2, 6 and 8. A few more mistakes of spelling, possibly attributable to the engraver, will be noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a village called **Purujvanā** (?) in Bukudravaka or Bukudravakōṇa, in Lōhadhaṅgara, by the **Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarman,** son of the *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman, to one **Gōvindaśarman,** son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in **Uttara-Rāḍhā,** a member of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and a follower of the Yajurvēda and the Kaṭha-*charaṇa*. The name of the donee's native place could not be clearly made out. The name of the donated village which may be read as *Purushṭhanā* or *Purujvanā* occurs in l. 21, but the subsequent details are not clear, as that part of the inscription is badly disfigured.

What is of chief importance in this record is its **date** which is the **year 308.** Although it is indicated only by decimal figures, yet there can be no uncertainty or ambiguity about its reading. This mention of date throws, as we shall presently see, a decisive light on the date, which up till now rests on a mere surmise, of another grant of the same ruler

Besides the present one, three more records are known of the same Dēvēndravarman, namely (1) Bangalore Plates,[1] (2) Chicacole Plates[2] and (3) Tekkali Plates.[3] The first of these, like the present one, has been issued from **Kaliṅganagara,** but it contains no date beyond mentioning an *ayana-saṁkrānti* on which occasion the village Sidhatā of the Varāhavartanī-*vishaya* is stated to have been granted to an individual " in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramēśvara." The Chicacole grant, it is reported, " records the gift of the village Viriṇṭika in the Pushkariṇī-*vishaya* to four brothers."[4] It is undated, and it has been issued from Kaliṅganagara. The Tekkali Plates have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch. This record has likewise been issued from Kaliṅganagara and it is dated. The wording of the date is, however, doubtful.[5] The editor has supposed it to be the year 310. This supposition now becomes most acceptable in the light of the present record, as has been pointed out above. The year refers itself to the Gaṅga era the initial date of which has been much discussed, but not yet been quite settled. Recently Mr. R. Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. According to his calculation, the Gaṅga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A. D. 802 and A. D. 804,[6] which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may, moreover, be borne out by the palaeographical evidence.

The name Dēvēndravarman has been borne by several Gaṅga kings. That of our record stands, in the genealogical order, as Dēvēndravarman IV.[7] That the self-same person figures as the grantor in all the four, dated and undated, records described above, is evident from two main considerations : firstly in all the instances he is mentioned as the son of Rājēndravarman, and secondly all the four charters have evidently been engraved by one and the same person. Moreover, except for the Bangalore grant which does not mention the composer's name, the re-

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, Bn 140, and Plates ; *see* also the Introduction, p. 9 (text on p. 33 of the section called *Text of the Inscriptions in Roman characters*, and translation on pp. 26 f. of the section called *Translations of the Inscriptions*). It is stated that there is the figure of an ' elephant on the seal '. Possibly the figure of a bull has been mistaken here for that of an elephant. Moreover, the editor assigns the plates roughly to A.D. 700, of course without the knowledge of the dated records of this Dēvēndravarman.

[2] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1918-19, Appendix A, No. 7. These plates have been published first in Telugu by R. Subba Rao in the *Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu Commemoration Volume*, pp. 294 f. and later in English by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao jointly in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-313, and Plates.

[4] According to the editors, while the name of the village is *Viriṇika*, it was granted "to Hētilōka, son of Vilachi" (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 193). It may be pointed out that the text given by the editors is obviously inaccurate in several places. Their account, therefore, may not entirely be depended upon. At the same time, it may be admitted that the writing on the plates is not very clear.

[5] The reading is *śata-mayē daś-ōttarē*. The first compound is suggested to be a clerical error for *śata-trayē* ; *cf.* above, Vol. XVIII, p. 312, and *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98.

[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 196-97. See also *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1931-32, p. 45, where the origin of the Eastern Gaṅga era has been discussed, and almost the same conclusion has been reached.

[7] This is according to R. Subba Rao, whereas according to some other views, he is Dēvēndravarman III, see *e.g.*, R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234.

maining three have likewise been composed by an identical individual. Both the composer and the engraver bear titles, as is shown below :—

Plates.	Composer.	Engraver.
Bangalore	*Nil.*	Śrī-Khaṇḍivili.
Chicacole	Sarvvachandra-Śrīsāmanta .	Śrīsāmanta-Khaṇḍimala.
Tekkali	Rahasya[1]-Śrīsāmanta Sarvvachandra.	Akshaśālin-Śrīsāmanta-Khaṇḍimala.
Indian Museum	Rahasya Śarvachandra . .	Akshaśālin-Khaṇḍimala-Śrīsāmanta.

Notwithstanding the variant readings presented and in spite of the omission of titles in certain cases, we may safely assume that the **composer** and the **engraver,** in each case, were respectively *Rahasya Śrīsāmanta* Sarvvachandra and *Akshaśālin Śrīsāmanta* Khaṇḍimala.

The official titles *Rahasya* and *Akshaśālin* are met with also in several other Gaṅga records.[2] They have been rendered by Dr. Hultzsch respectively as 'private secretary' and 'keeper of records'.[3] The latter term perhaps simply denotes 'an engraver'.

Among the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kaliṅganagara** has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam, a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjām District, while **Uttara-Rāḍhā** is that part of Bengal which includes a portion of the district of Murshidābād. I am unable to identify the other places occurring in the record.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Ōm[5] Svasty= Amarapur-ānukāriṇaḥ sarvv-artu-
2 sukha-ramaṇi(ṇī)yā[d*]=vijayavatā(taḥ) **Kala(li)ṅga-**
3 **da(na)garān**=Mahēnda(ndr-ā)chala (l-ā)-mala-śikhara-
4 prati[6]shṭhida(ta)sya sa-char-āchara-gurē(ō)[ḥ*] sa-
5 [ka[7]]la-[bh]uvana-nirma(rmā)ṇ-aika[8]-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāṁka-
6 chu(chū)ḍāmaṇē[r*]=[bha]gava[tō[9]] Gō[9]karṇṇa[10]-svāminaś=cha-
7 raṇa-[ka]mala-

First Plate ; Second Side.

8 yugala-pa(pra)ṇa(ṇā)ma(mā)[d*]=v[i]gata-kali-kala[ṁ]kā(kō) **Gāṅg-ā-**
9 mala-kula-tilakō=nēka-samara-sa[ṁ*]-ghaṭṭa-jani-
10 ta-jaya-śavda(bdaḥ) pratāp-ā[va]nata-samasta-sāma-
11 [n*]ta-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā[9]-mañjari(rī)-puñja-rañji-

[1] This reading is due to restoration.

[2] *See*, for instance, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145.

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 21.

[4] From the impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] This *ti* looks more like *ni*.

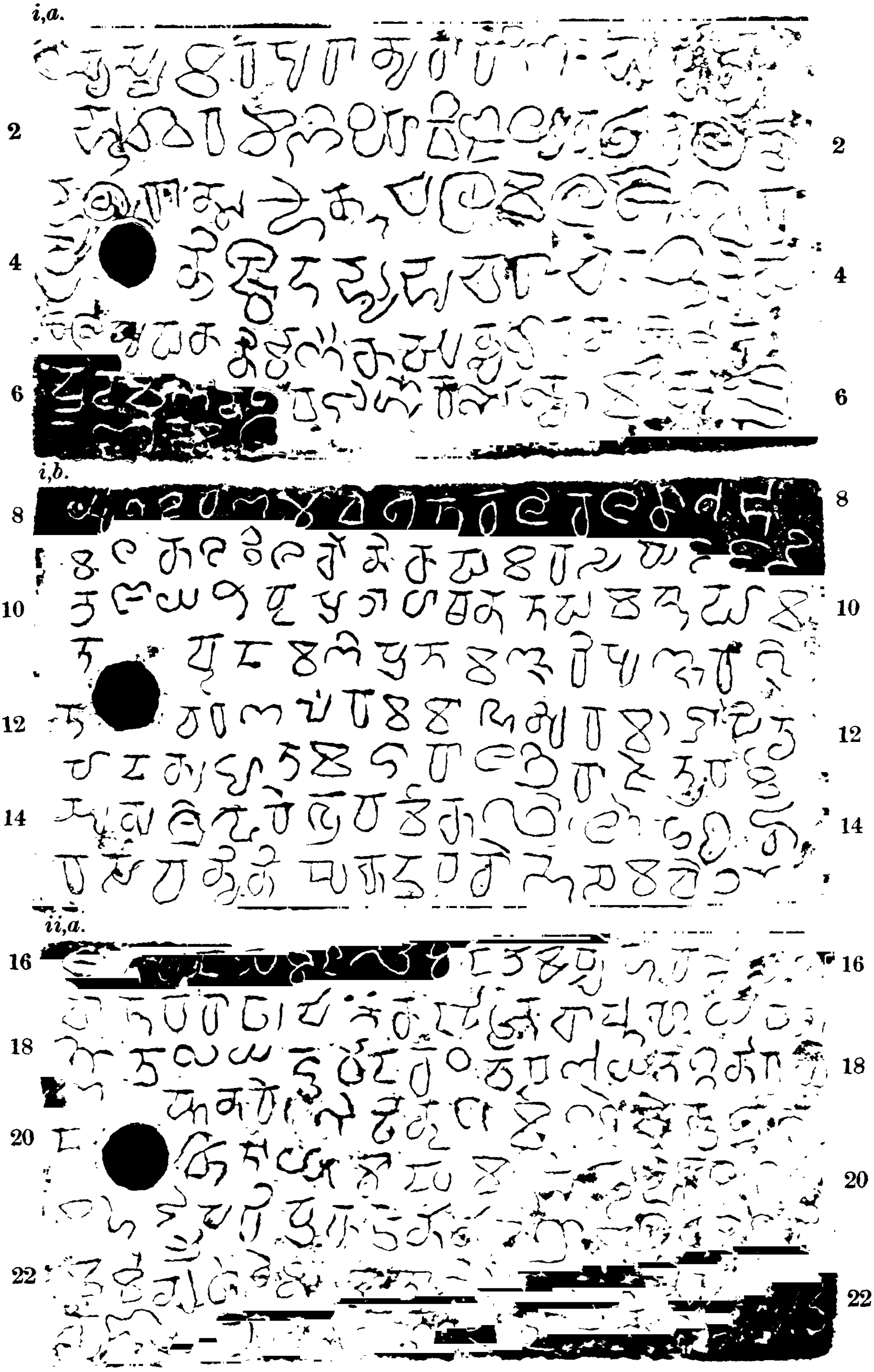
[7] This letter has a peculiar form. It no doubt stands for *ka*. In *-āvanata-*, l. 10, *va* has an almost like shape, but in that case only the central dash is superfluous.

[8] The right-hand curve attached to the *ka* is superfluous here. Usually it represents medial *u* in this inscription ; see, for example, in *kuśali*, l. 14.

[9] The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

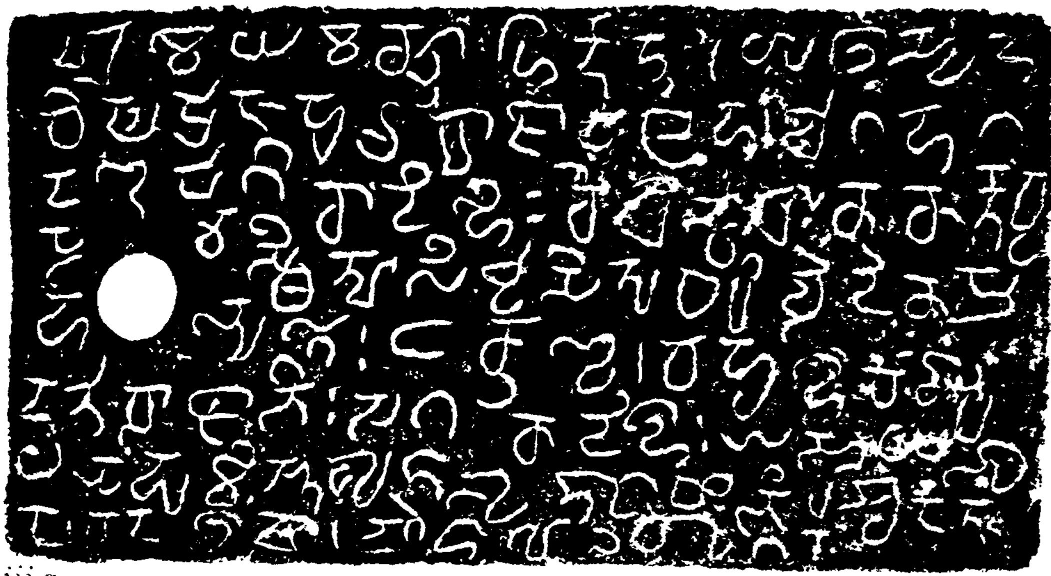
[10] The doubling of the consonant is doubtful here.

INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN: THE YEAR 308.

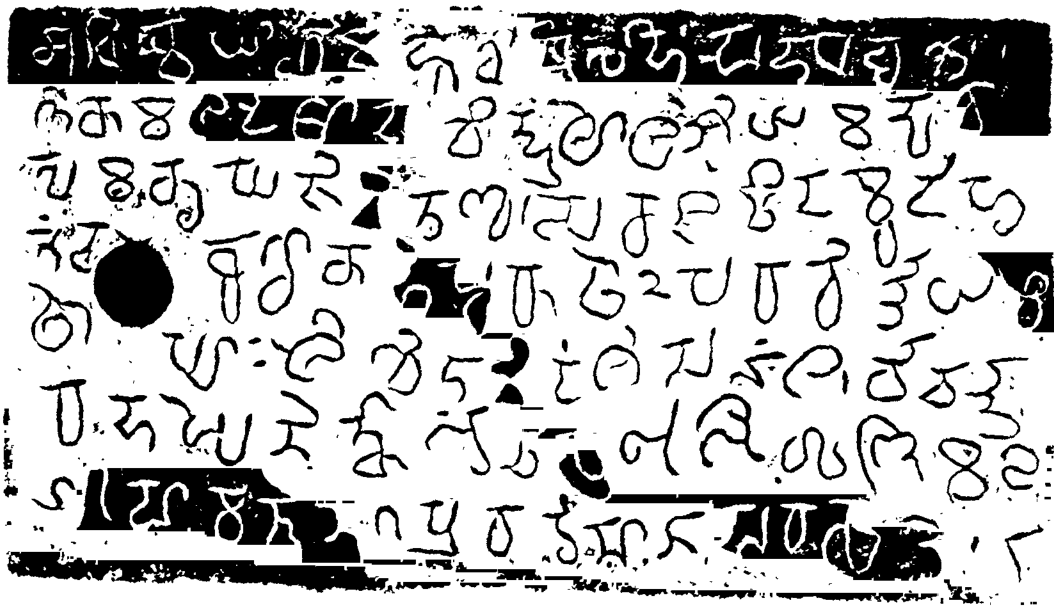


N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii,b.



iii,a.



Seal.



12 ta-charaṇa[ḥ*][1] parama-māhēśvara(rō) mātā-pitṛi-
13 pād-ānudhyāta(tō) Mahārāja-śri(śrī)-**Rājēndravarma-**
14 su(sū)nu[ḥ*] **śri(śrī)-Dēvēndravarma(rmā)** kuśali(lī) |[2] **Lōhadhaṅga-**
15 **ra**-saṁva(ba)ndhini **Bukudravakē** sa[3] samavēt[4][ā]ṁ(n)

Second Plate ; First Side.

16 jānapadāṁ(n) sama(mā)diśati viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ yathā ?]
17 ch=**Ōttara-Rāḍhā** |[2] Pā[ṭa[5]]ka[bōjya[6] ?]-vāstavyāya Vatsa-
18 gōtrāya Yajur-vēda-kaṭha-charaṇāya bhaṭṭa-Nāra(rā)ya-
19 ṇa-su(sū)navē |[2] **Gōvindaśarmaṇē** . . . .
20 ba(pa)ṇḍitāya **Māgha-māsē** . . . .
21 ma . . . pari **Purushṭha**(*or* **jva**)**ṇā-nāma-grāma**[s=tri-dharma . .
22 mam-ānuvō(bō)[dhēnal][mā]tā-pi[tr]ō[r=ātma]naś=cha pu[ṇy]-ābhi-
23 vṛid[dh]ayē śāsa[7] . . . . chandr-ā[8] . . . . .

Second Plate ; Second Side.

24 gra(grā)mē(mō)=yam=asmābhir=datta[ḥ] | yatō[4]=sya bha-
25 vish[4]yad-rāja-pu(pū)rva-rājā(ja)-va[l*]-labha |[2]-chāṭa-bhaṭa-
26 daṇḍapāśik-ādibhiḥ kē(kai)[ś]=chid=vā(bā)dhā na kartavy[ā] [||*]
27 pūrva[9]-sthityā si(sī)mā sētu-parichē[10](chchhē)dē-na pra-
28 bhasyatēḥ[11] uktañ=cha | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasu[dh]ā
29 da[t*]tā rājabhiḥ Sagar[12]-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya
30 yadā[13] bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam)[14] [||*] [1*][15] Sva-datāṁ(ttāṁ)
31 para-datāṁ(ttāṁ)vā |[2] yō harēta vasuṁdharaṁ(rāṁ) [|*]

[1] A dash and a dot above are superfluously added to the left-hand vertical stroke of the *pa*. That they may have stood for an *upadhmānīya* is highly improbable. Besides, the right-hand vertical stroke of the *pa* is abnormally long.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] This syllable seems to be redundant. Mr. N. L. Rao reads *Bukudravakōṇē* in which case there will be no superfluous syllable.

[4] The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

[5] The reading *ṭa* is tenable, only if the dash and the two dots above it are regarded superfluous.

[6] The reading is very uncertain. Moreover, in case of the suggested reading, the form of *j* would be Nāgarī.

[7] Read probably *śāsanēna*.

[8] The corresponding phrase in the Tekkali Plates is *chandr-āditya-paryantaṁ*.

[9] Perhaps we have to read this syllable as *pu* and correct it into *pū*, but the vowel sign here is quite different from that in the *pu* of the *-purva-*, l. 25.

[10] There is a curve below the *ch*, but it can hardly represent the required *chh* after the *ch*.

[11] Read perhaps *prabhāshyatē*. The *visarga* after this word must originally have been intended to be a *daṇḍa*.

[12] The syllable *rā* here resembles the *ka* as seen in *-aika-*, l. 5.

[13] The right-hand portion of the *ya* looks separated from it and affixed to the next letter.

[14] There is a sign after *phalaṁ*, perhaps meant to be the required double *daṇḍa*.

[15] Metre *Anushṭubh*.

Third Plate; First Side.

32 sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛim[ir]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē [||*] [2*][1] I-[2]

33 ti[3] kamala-dal[3]-āmbu-vindu-lōla(lā)ṁ śriyam=anuchi-

34 [n*]tya manusha[3](shya)-ji(jī)vitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛi-

35 taṁ cha vudhvā(buddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttay[ō] vi-

36 lō[3]-pyāḥ [||*] [3*][4] likhitam=idaṁ śāsanaṁ **Śarvachandrā(ndrā)-**

37 **rahasyēn=ē(ō)tkīrṇaṁ** ch=**āksha[3]śāli-khaṇḍimala-**

38 **Śrīsāmantēna ga[5] pravarddhamāna-saṁvachha[6] 308**

No. 13.—BADAKHIMEDI COPPER-PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN.

BY P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM.

These plates were found in Badakhimedi Estate in Ganjām and acquired for the Indian Museum, Archæological Section, in 1935-36 through Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi.

The **plates** are **three** in number of which the first and the third are engraved on one side only and the second on both sides. The size of the plates is 7½″ in length by 4″ in breadth. They were strung on a ring having a diameter of 3½ inches and thickness of ½ inch. The ends of the ring are secured in a circular **seal** (1¼″ diam.) which bears in relief the figure of a recumbent bull.

The inscription which is in a good state of preservation consists of 38 lines of writing. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The record is **not dated** but on palaeographical grounds it may be placed in the 12th century A. D. The **language** is Sanskrit, but the text is full of errors and contains a number of vernacular forms. Excepting the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the only point that deserves notice is that in many cases sibilants have been used promiscuously.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant by the P. M. P. **Indravarmadēva**, son of Pṛithivivarmadēva, of the village called **Tanardā** in Hallanyara-*vishaya* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* **Durgakhaṇḍi**, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana and belonging to the Chhāndōga-*charaṇa*, the Rāṇāyanīya-*śākhā*, the Vātsya *gōtra*, the Aurva-Bhṛigu-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-Jamadagni *pravara*, and *anupravara*. The grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse from the royal residence of **Śvēt(ta)ka**.

Indravarman of this grant appears to be different from Indravarman mentioned in the Purle[7] plates; the father of the former was Pṛithivivarman whereas the father of the latter was Dānārṇava. This Indravarman cannot also be identified with Indravarman I of the Achyutapuram[8] and

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[1] Metre *Anushṭubh*.

[2] Two dots placed next to each other and a dash or a curve below constitute the usual sign for initial *i* in this script. In the present instance, however, only the two dots are visible. It looks probable that the scribe did put a dash beneath, but that the engraver mistakenly mixed it with the letter *chi* further below in the next line.

[3] The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

[4] Metre *Pushpitāgrā*.

[5] This *ga* possibly stands for *Gaṅgavaṁśa* as is found in the Tekkali Plates. Evidently the scribe intended to conclude the charter on this very face of the plate and was, through want of space, obliged to employ the abbreviation.

[6] Read *saṁvatsarē*.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 362.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 128 f.

the Parlakimedi[1] plates on palaeographical grounds. The former appears to be the son of Prithivivarman who issued a Ganjām grant[2] which like the present record was also issued from Śvēt(ta)ka, written by the *Saṁdhivigrahin Śrī-Sāmanta*, and engraved by Svayambhu. The name of this Indravarman is known from our plates for the first time. He is described as *Kōkalāvalapura-paṭṭaṇavinirgata* (ll. 7-8). Prithivivarman, father of Indravarman, also calls himself *Kōlāula-purapaṭṭaṇaka i.e.*, belonging to the city of Kōlāulapura. Generally the Eastern Gaṅga kings have the title *Kōlāhalapuravarēśvara* (Lord of the city of Kōlāhala). The terms Kōkalāvalapura, Kōlāhalapura and Kōlāulapura seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Mr. L. Rice with Kolār in the Mysore State. Indravarman bears the title of *Nandagirinātha*, or the Lord of Nandagiri, which has been identified with the well-known fortified hill to the west of Kolār District, Mysore, now called Nandidroog.[3] It may be noted that both the above titles were also adopted by some of the Western Chālukya[4] and Western Gaṅga[5] kings.

The inscription was written by the *Saṁdhivigrahin* who also bears the designation *Śrī-Sāmanta* but his name seems to have been omitted. It was engraved by the *Śrēshṭhin* the *Śrī-Sāmanta* Svayambhu of the brazier class, son of Nṛipa, and registered by the Vaishṇavī Śrī-Gōsvāminī Śrī-Mahādēvī by which the chief queen may have been referred to.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[6] svasti (|*) Śvēt(ta)k-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataḥ sacharāchara-gurōḥ |[7] sa(śa)-

2 kala-sansāṁṅka[8]-śēkhara-dharasya |[7] sthity-utpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa[9]-hē-

3 tōr=Mahēndrāścha(cha)la-si(śi)khara-nivāśi(si)naḥ śrīmaḥ(ma)daḥ(d)-Gōkarna(ṇē)sva(śva)ra-bha-

4 ṭṭārakasya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhanāt(d=a)vāpta-puṇya(ṇya)nichaya(yaḥ) ||[7] śakkti(kti)-traya-praka-

5 rish-ānuraṇjit-a(ā)sēśa[10]-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*] śva(sva)-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-sa-

6 kala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājē(jyaḥ) |[7] parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu-

7 dhyātō |[7] Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] [7] śrī-Nandagirinātha[ḥ*] Kōkalāvala-

8 pura-paṭṭaṇa-vinirgata-kāmvalya-varayaghōsa-mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-pa-

9 ramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-**Indravarmadēva**[**ḥ**]* kusa(śa)lī śrī-**Prithi-**

10 **vivarmadēva-sutaḥ** Hallanyara-vishaē(yē) yathākāl-ādhyāsi-mahāsā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

11 manpa(nta)-śrīsāmanta-rājanaka-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-utpa[11]-daṇḍanā-

12 yakaḥ(ka)-vishayapati-[grā]mapati(tīn) anya(nyāṁ)ś=cha chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-vallabha-jā

13 ti(tī)yā[n*] rāṭrakuṭa-kuṭumvināṁ[12] svāmavājika[13] sāmanta-janapadānā(dān) sa-

14 mādiśati viditam=astu bhavatā |[14] etad-vishaya-samvandha-[15]grāmō=yaṁ **Tana-**

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 198 f.

[3] *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 359.

[4] Kielhorn's *List of S. I. Inscr.*, Nos. 168, 170a.

[5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 95, 124, 125, 130, 132 and 133.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[8] Read *śaśāṅka*.

[9] *Kāraṇa* has been omitted in the Sāmantavarma inscription. Above, Vol. XV, p. 277.

[10] Read *-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśēsha*.

[11] Read *-ōparika*.

[12] Read *rāshṭrakūṭa-kuṭumbinaḥ*.

[13] Read *sāmavāyikān*.

[14] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary. Read °*tām=ētad-*.

[15] Read *sambaddha*.

15 **rdā** nāma sa-jala-sthal-āranya[1] chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpalla(la)kshitañ(taś)=cha |[2]
16 Chhāndōga-charaṇāyaḥ(ya) [2] Rārāṇī[3]-sā(śā)khāya |[2] Vāchha(Vatsa)-gōtrāya |[2] pā(pa)ñcha-
17 pravarāya || Aūrvva(Aurvva)-Bhri(Bhṛi)gu-Chyavana-A(Ā)pnavāna-Jāmadagnī(ni)|| tatha iva (tath=aiva)
18 anupravarā[ḥ*] pañcha || bhāṭaputra-Duga(rga)khaṇḍi[nē*] ||[2] bhaṭṭa-Vō(Bō)dhana-sutaḥ(tāya) ihi
19 va (ih=aiva) su(sū)rya-grahaṇē |[2] datā[4] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha |[2] punya(ṇya)-pravṛidhaē(ddhayē) |[2] salī(li)-
20 [la*]-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇa[5] |[2] chandr-ārka-sthiti |[2] -sama-kāla[ṁ*] a-kari(rī)kṛitya |[2] pratipā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

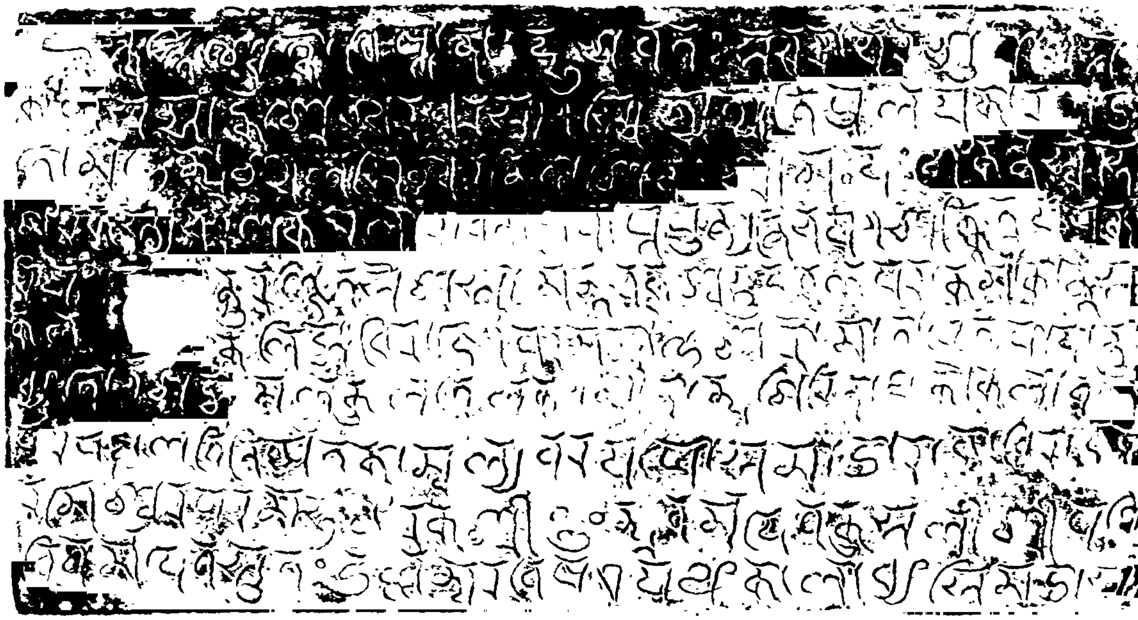
21 [6]pāditō=smābhir=yataṁ[7] [2] sā(śā)sana-darasanāt dharma-gaūravāḥt-tasmādaḥ-dgau-
22 ravā cha[8] na kēna-chipta(t=pa)ripanthinā bhavitavya[ṁ*] tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-śāstrē [|*][9]Va-
23 hubhir=vasudhā datā rājānai Sagar-ādhibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya ta-
24 dā phalaṁ [||*] Mā bhumi phala-saṅkā va para-dat=ēti pārthiva [10] Haratē harayatē
25 bhumi manda-vudhi tamā-vṛita[|*] sa vadhdhō Vāruṇai pāsai tirya-yō-
26 ṇyāñ=cha gachhati|| Sva-datāṁ-para-datām=vā yō harēti vasundharā | sha
27 vishṭhāyā kṛimir=bhutvā pitribhiḥ saha pachatē || Hi[ra*]nyam=ēkaṁ gōmē-
28 kañ=cha |[2] rbhum-ēkaṁ chatur-āṅgulaṁ [|*] haraṅ=narakaṁm=āyāti yāvad=āhu-
29 ti-samplava || Sashṭhim=varisa satāni svagraṁ mōdati bhumija ||( )[16]

Third Plate.

30 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā[cha*]tāny=e[va*] narakaṁ vṛijēt || sva-dānāt-phalaṁ kuryā
31 paradatt-ānupālanaṁ [||*] [11]ubhau tō punya-karmāṇau niyatō svarga-gā-
32 minau || Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vindu-lōlā[ṁ] śrīyam=anu-
33 chintyā manusya-jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ vudhā
34 na hi purusai para-kīrtayō vilōpyā|| likhitam=idaṁ sa-
35 ndhivigrahi-śrī-sāmaṁtēna || utkīrnañ=cha[12] sā(śā)sanaṁ kaṁsārā-kulaputraka-
36 śrēshṭi(shṭhi)-śrī-sāmanta-Svayaṁbhunā Napa-suttēnna[13] | lāñchhitañ=cha parama-
37 vaishṇavi-[14]śrī-Gōsvāmini(nī) śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā || uny-āksharam=adidhikāksha-
38 ram=vā[15] tat sarvva[ṁ] pramāṇam=itiḥ(ti) || ह ||[16]

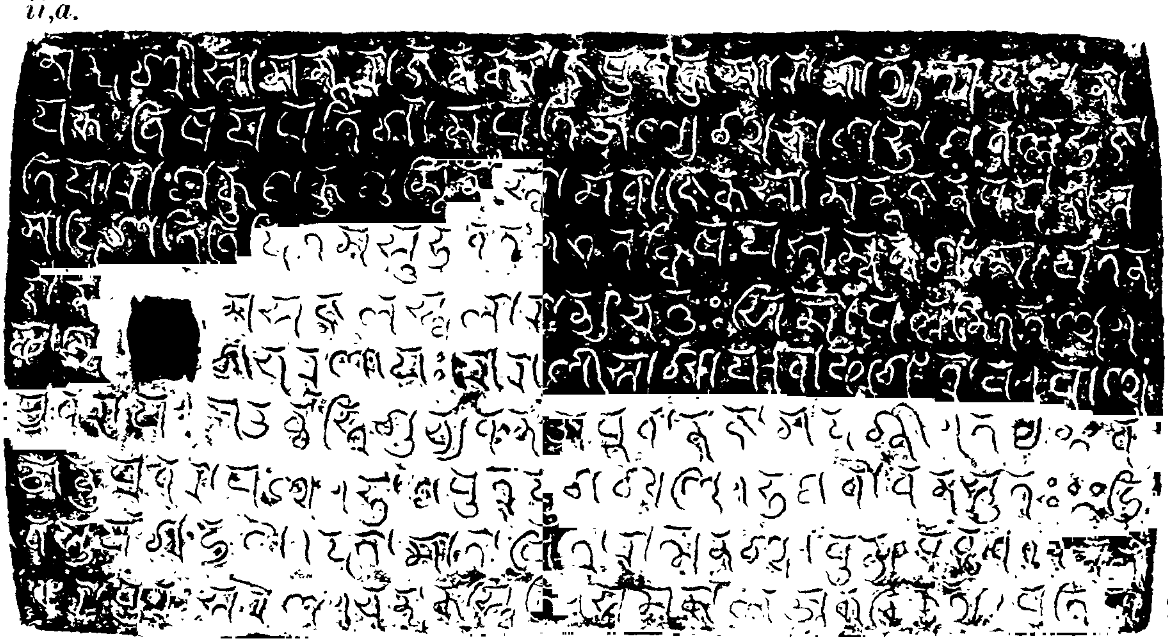
[1] Read *-āraṇyaś=*.
[2] *Danda* unnecessary.
[3] Read *Rāṇāyanīya-*.
[4] Probably intended for *dattvā* which is superfluous.
[5] Read *puraḥsaraṁ*.
[6] This *pā* is superfluous.
[7] Read *yataḥ*.
[8] Read *-darśanād dharmma-gauravād asmad-gauravāch=cha*.
[9] Reading of these verses is hopelessly incorrect. Since they are well known no correction is made.
[10] The second half of this verse is found in ll. 30-31.
[11] The first half of this verse has been omitted.
[12] Read *utkīrnañ cha*.
[13] Read *Nripa-sutēna*.
[14] Read *vaishṇavī*.
[15] Read *ūn-āksharam=adhik-āksharaṁ vā*.
[16] There is a symbol after this.

i.



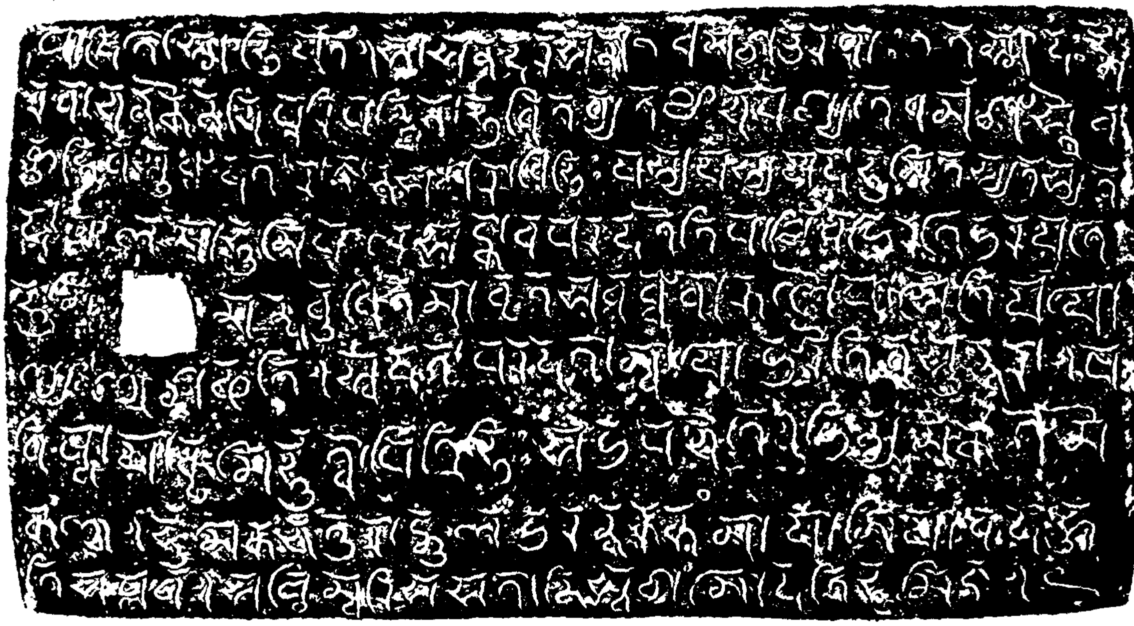
2 4 6 8 10

ii,a.

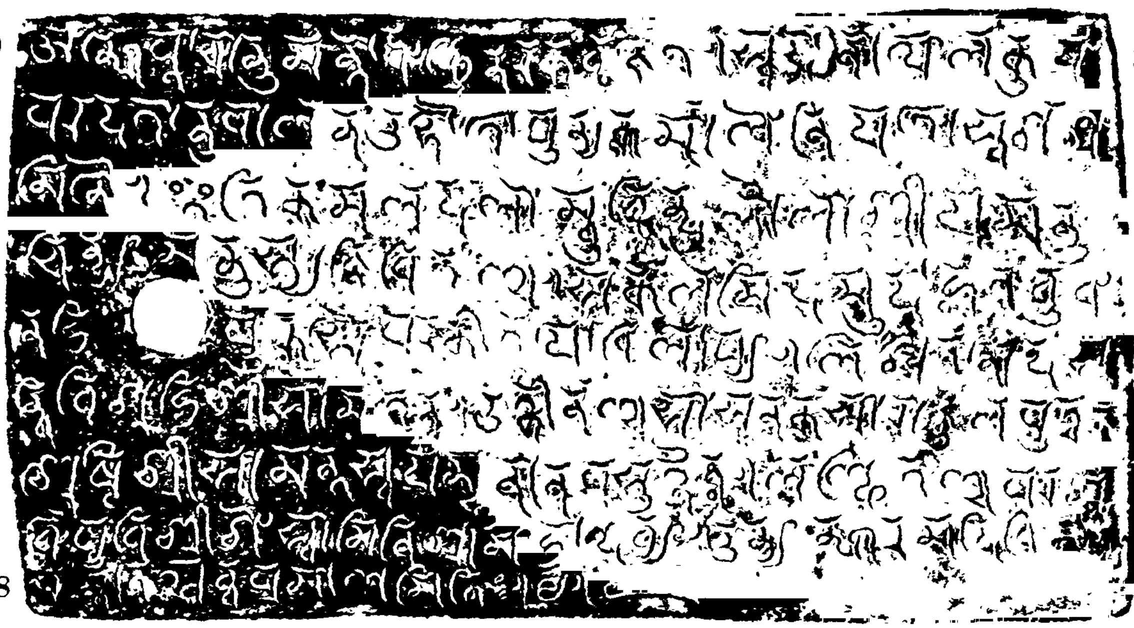


12 14 16 18 20

ii.b.



iii.



No. 14.—PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

Paṭṭan is a substantial village with a population of about 1,500 souls in the Multāi *tahsil* of the Betul District, Central Provinces. It lies about 10 miles south of Multāi, on the Multāi-Amrāoti road. Tradition says that the original village was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muhommadan saint Sulaiman Shah.[1] Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of onyx and coins are found, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. The present plates were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. Mr. Rajaram Jain, Head Master of the local Vernacular Middle School, first brought them to notice in the beginning of the next year. Finding himself unable to decipher the record, he made fairly accurate eye-copies of it, one of which reached the hands of Mr. M. A. Suboor, of the Central Museum, Nāgpur. The latter took immediate steps to acquire the plates for the Museum and thoroughly cleaned them when they were received. They are now deposited in the Museum. I edit them here as desired by Mr. Suboor.

They are **five copper-plates** of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6·9″ by 4″ and is about ·1″ in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1·9″ from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole ½″ in diameter for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum, the ring had been straightened, and its **seal,** which is a round disc, 3″ in diameter, separated from it. The usual band, to which the seal must have been rivetted, is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 *tolas* and that of the seal 8½ *tolas*.

Some of the plates have cracked at the edges. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. The letters were deeply cut. Some of them show through on the reverse, especially in the case of the first and last plates which are somewhat thinner than the rest. Many letters in the right half of l. 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. The record consists of 47 lines. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines incised on it. The seal contains the usual Vākāṭaka **legend** in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those of the Tirōḍi plates.[2] They include the signs for the initial short *i* in l. 27, long *ī* in l. 46 and for the initial short *u* in l. 28. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *ī* is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case by a curve turned in the opposite direction, cf. *Bhāgīratthy-*, l. 7, and in another by a dot in the circle, cf. *Śrī-Pravara-sēnasya*, l. 19 ; the *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are added at the foot of the letters *m* and *kh* ; see °*m-Āptōryyām-Ōkthya*, l. 1, *Aśvamēdha-*, ll. 2-3 and *Varadākhēṭa-*, l. 20 ; the medial *ō* is cursive in *Lōhaṇagar-*, l. 20 ; the medial *au* is everywhere bipartite ; see *Gautamīputra-*, ll. 8-9 ; the subscript forms of *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished, while those of *j* and *b* have no notch on the left ; see *utpannasya*, l. 18, and *suvarṇṇa-*, l. 45 ; *-ārjjava-*, l. 10, and *-āyur-bbala*, l. 27 ; a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal line at the top (see *Pravara-purāt*, l. 1, *dattam*, l. 23, etc.). The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll. 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and

[1] *Betul District Gazetteer*, p. 256.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

in l. 3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is marked by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives, etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of orthography, we find *suṇōḥ* everywhere written for *sūnōḥ* (see ll. 4, 9, 15 and 16), *Bhāraśiwāṇām* for *Bhāraśivānām* in l. 8, *atyantya* for *atyanta*, ll. 4 and 10; *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *Prithivī*°, l. 14, and *vice versâ* in *kṛiyābhis-*, l. 35; similarly *li* is used for the vowel *ḷi* in *-klipt-ōpakliptaḥ* in l. 33; the dental *n* is used for the lingual *ṇ* in *kāruṇya-*, l. 10 and *puṇy-*, l. 38; the *anusvāra* before a sibilant is incorrectly changed to the dental nasal in *ansa-*, l. 5, and to the guttural in *vaṅśā*°, l. 6 and *saptāviṅśē*, l. 43. Other instances of orthographical mistakes are furnished by *-datyā*, l. 28 *dhīmatra*, l. 11, *agrāhāra*, l. 30, *vēshṭi*, l. 32, etc. In many cases rules of euphony have not been followed or have been violated; see for instance *-niyuktāḥ ājñā-*, l. 24, *guṇai samupētasya*, l. 12, *-ayaṇayamāna svalpām*, l. 36, etc. For mistakes of declension, see *samrāṭ* for *samrājaḥ* in l. 3, *pūrvvāyā* for *pūrvvayā* in l. 25, etc.; and for those of conjugation, notice *kārayita* for *kārayēt*, l. 36 and *kuryyāmaḥ* for *kuryyāma*, l. 37. Attention may also be drawn here to the verbal derivatives *vijñāpyēna* for *vijñaptyā*[1] in l. 23 and *kārāvaka* for *kāraka* in ll. 46-47, and the nominal derivative *rājakya* for *rājakīya*, l. 22. The writer has violated the elementary rule of concord in *sutāyāḥ Prabhāvatiguptāyām*, l. 17 and in *ēshā....pratisrishṭaḥ*, ll. 26-29, and of compounding in *mūrdhn-ābhishiktānān-*, l. 7. His carelessness is responsible for the repetition of *pātra-gata-bhaktitva* in ll. 11-12. As regards the orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that the consonant preceding *r* and *y* is doubled in *parākkrama*, l. 6, *sarvvāddhyaksha*, l. 24, etc.; and that following *r* is similarly doubled in *varddhamāna*, l. 13, *dharmma*, l. 12, etc.

Like several other Vākāṭaka records, the present plates contain the word *drishṭa*[2] in the beginning. They were issued by the *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty from **Pravarapura**.[3] His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The present plates record the royal grant of 400 *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure[4] in the village of **Aśvatthakhēṭaka** for the maintenance of a *sattra* or charitable hall in honour of the footprints of **Mahāpurusha** (Vishṇu).[5] The village was situated on the road to **Varadākhēṭa** in the division (*bhāga*) of **Lōhanagara**. The gift was made at the request of **Nārāyaṇarāja**. The charter was written on the **seventh day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the twenty-seventh (regnal) year.** The scribe was **Kālidāsa** who was serving under the *Sēnāpati* **Kātyāyana**. The record was engraved[6] by the goldsmith **Iśvaradatta**

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[1] The Chammak plates use the word correctly, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

[2] In the present record its masculine form *drishṭaḥ* is used, whereas everywhere else its neuter form *drishṭam* is met with.

[3] Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *vaijayikē dharmmasthānē*, 'at the victorious office of justice', occurs in it as it does in similar other Vākāṭaka grants, cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

[4] *Rājakya-mānēna*, l. 22, like *rāja-mānēna* in the Karnūl plates of the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 240) denotes a royal measure as distinguished from local measures which were called '*vishaya-māna*' as in the Saṅkhēḍā plates (first set) of Dadda II (above, Vol. V, p. 39). The second set of the Saṅkhēḍā plates of the same king mentions a *brihan-māna* 'larger measure' (*Ibid.*).

[5] For a similar grant of a slightly later period see the *Pōḍāgaḍ* inscription, above, Vol. XXI, p. 156. For *Mahāpurusha* or *Mahāpūrusha* meaning Vishṇu see the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*—II, l. 10; V. 15, 4 and 6; 17, 16-17, VIII, 5, 32, etc.

[6] With *khātaṁ* 'engraved' cf. *kshatam* in the Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman, above, Vol. XIX, p. 103.

who was a servant (*santaka*)[1] of Kauṇḍarāja. It is stated at the end that Pitāmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.[2]

Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty-third, furnished by his Dudiā[3] and Tirōḍi[4] plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years. Kauṇḍarāja, whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter, is evidently identical with Kōṇḍarāja,[5] the son of Śatrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made.

The mention of Kālidāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The date of the latter has been for more than a century the subject of controversy, and various theories have been advanced, attempting to fix it in periods ranging from the first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Of these the theory which places him in the Gupta age and makes him a contemporary of Chandragupta (II)-Vikramāditya is gradually gaining ground and receiving general acceptance. But nothing short of a contemporary inscriptional record mentioning the poet's name would remove the doubts of sceptics in this matter. The earliest epigraphical mention of this name, so far known, was that in the Aihoḷe *praśasti* of Pulakēsin II, Śaka 556 (=A.D. 634).[6] This is, therefore, the first time that the name Kālidāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kālidāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant; but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the recently published Tirōḍi plates of this very Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhikrita*) himself.[7] The Añjanavatī grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was written by his Minister for peace and war.[8] So there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the writer of the present plates was identical with Kālidāsa, the great Sanskrit poet. Recent researches have, again, shown that Kālidāsa was for some time at least connected with the Vākāṭaka court. From certain passages in the *Kuntalēśvaradautya*,[9] a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[10] of Rājaśēkhara, the *Śṛingāraprakāśa*[11] and the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[12] of Bhōja, and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*[13] of Kshēmēndra, it has been conjectured with great probability that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Vikramāditya to the

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[1] *Santaka* which is connected with the Pāli word *santika* meaning 'proximity, presence' occurs elsewhere as a technical territorial term (see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 118, 120 and 132). It is used in Vākāṭaka grants in the sense of a subordinate officer or a servant.

[2] Cf. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 99 note 3. The word *Kārāvaka* used here corresponds to *Kārāpaka* which occurs elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the Eklingjī Stone Inscription, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, p. 3.

[7] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

[8] Above p. 18; also *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 99, note 3.

[9] The name occurs as *Kuntēśvaradautya* in the *Auchityavichāracharchā* of Kshēmēndra (Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., p. 139), but it is there probably a mistake for *Kuntalēśvaradautya*.

[10] Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Second edition, pp. 60-61.

[11] *Śṛingāraprakāśa*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Introd., p. xxii.

[12] Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., p. 168.

[13] *Kāvyamālā, Guchchha I*, Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., pp. 139-40.

court of a Kuntalēśa (lord of Kuntala).[1] He stayed there for some time and when he returned, he reported to his patron that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya). This lord of Kuntala is probably none other than the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II; for it was during his reign that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vākāṭaka court.[2] It seems that the Vākāṭaka princes had assumed the title of Kuntalēśa since the conquest of Kuntala by Pṛithivīshēṇa I.[3] It may be noted in this connection that the author of the *Sētubandha*, who is none other than this Pravarasēna II, is called Kuntalēśa in the Sanskrit work *Bharatacharita*.[4] According to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Sētubandha*,[5] Kālidāsa composed the Prākṛit work for Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya. This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha. The idea of writing the *Mēghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to his mind at Rāmtek near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta*) which, we know, was a holy place visited by the Vākāṭakas.[6] It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record. There is, thus, *primâ facie*, nothing against, and much in favour of, the identification of the scribe of the present grant with the illustrious Sanskrit poet.

But a close examination of the present record shows that **this view is untenable.** The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, and not the engraver, must have been responsible. On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language. He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes[7] and his works contain fewer instances of solecism[8] than those of his predecessors and successors. It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record. Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and contemporary of, and not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets. We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākāṭakas. Thus we know of Namidāsa a *Sēnāpati*, Chamidāsa the Chief Minister, as well as Chakradāsa and Gōladāsa the scribes of the Poona and Dudiā plates respectively.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant **Varadākhēṭa** is probably Warūḍ in the Morsi *tālukā* of the Amraoti District, about 12 miles due south of Paṭṭan. **Lōhaṇagara,** the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lōṇī about 9 miles south-west of Warūḍ. The name of the village **Aśvattha-khēṭaka**, in which the donated land was situated,

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[1] For a full discussion on the subject see A. Rangaswami Sarasvati 'Further glimpses into Gupta Literary History' *Quart. J. Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 93 ff; K. S. Aiyangar *Vākāṭakas and their Place in Indian History*, pp. 40 f.; V. V. Mirashi, *Kālidāsa* (Marāṭhī), pp. 37 ff.; N. Lakshminarayan Rao, 'The Gupta contemporary of Kākusthavarman, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 f.; K. S. Ramaswami Sastri 'King Pravarasēna and Kālidāsa', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 99 ff.

[2] Note for instance that in both the Poona and Ṛiddhapur plates of the Vākāṭaka Dowager Queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the genealogy of the Guptas, and not that of the Vākāṭakas is given in the beginning.

[3] See the inscription in the Ajanta Cave XVI, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

[4] जलाशयस्यान्तरगाढमार्गमलब्धवन्तं गिरि चौर्यवृत्त्या ।

लोकेष्वलं कान्तमपूर्वसेतुं बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः || Canto I. v. 4. Trivandrum Skt. Series.

[5] Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., p. 3; see also the colophon of the last chapter, *ibid.*, p. 497.

[6] The Ṛiddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 58 ff.) were issued from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri.

[7] *Kumārasambhava*, Canto I, verse 27,

See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 214.

can no longer be traced; its site seems to be occupied by the modern village of Paṭṭan. It may be noted in this connection that it lies on the way from Multāi to Warūḍ (ancient Varadākhēṭa), and thus, answers to the description of its situation in the present plates.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 दृष्ट:[1] [।*] स्वस्ति ॥ प्रवरपुरात्[2] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषो-

2 डश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्व-

3 मेधयाजिन: विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[3] वाकाटका-

4 नाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(सू)नो: सु(सू)नोरत्यन्त्य(न्त)स्वामिम-

5 हाभैरवभक्तस्य अन्स[4]भारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशि-

6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङ्गा[5]नाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 गीरत्थ्या(थ्य)मलजलमूर्द्धा(र्द्धा)भिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाता-

8 नाम्भारशी(शि)वा[6]नाम्महाराजश्रीभवनाग[दौ][7]ह्वित्रस्य गौतमीपु-

9 त्रपुत्रस्य[8] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नोर-

10 त्यन्त्य(न्त)माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुन्य(ण्य)शौर्य्यविक्रमन-

11 यविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभ[क्तित्व][9]पात्रगतभ-

12 क्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणै[:*] समुपेतस्य

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-

14 त्र(त्रि)ण: युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिविषे-[10]

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[1] Read दृष्टम् as in other Vākāṭaka grants.

[2] Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[3] The letter ट् is clear on the original plate. Read सम्राज:.

[4] Read अंस-.

[5] Read वंशा°.

[6] The box at the top of the letter *vā* is not completely incised.

[7] The right curve at the top is not sufficiently raised for want of space.

[8] All the other Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175. The reading in the present grant shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य onwards qualify रुद्रसेनस्य.

[9] This expression is unnecessarily repeated.

[10] Read पृथिविषेणस्य.

15 नस्य सु(सू)नोर्म्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे॓ऽ(प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमु-
16 दयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरु[1]द्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नो-
17 म्म(र्म्म)हाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया[2] प्रभाव[ति]गुप्ता-
18 यामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो॓ऽ(प्रसादधृतिकार्त्त[3]युगस्य वाकाटकाना-

Third Plate; First Side.

19 म्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ॥
20 लोहणगराभागे वरदाखेटमार्गे अश्वत्थ(त्थ)खेटके
21 सब्राह्मणपुरोगो ग्रामो वक्तव्य: [।*] अत्र ग्रामे रा-
22 जकयमानेन[4] भूमेर्न्निवर्त्तनशतानि[5] चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
23 दमूलसत्रोपयोज्यं[6] नारायणराजविज्ञप्त्येन[7] दत्तम्[6] [।*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

24 यतोस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्व्वाध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ता: आज्ञासञ्चा-
25 रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छ[8]त्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वा(र्व्वं)याज्ञया-
26 ज्ञापयितव्या: [।*] विदितमस्तु व(वो) यथे(थै)षास्माभिरात्म-
27 नो धर्म्मायुर्व्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहिता-
28 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्यां(त्त्या) उदक-
29 पूर्व्वम्प्रतिसृष्ट:[9] [।] अथास्योचितामपूर्व्वरा[जा]नु[मतां] चातु-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

30 र्व्व्यं(र्व्वै)द्याग्रा(ग्र)हारमर्य्यादान्वितराम:[10] [।*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभट-

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[1] The medial *u* sign is faintly seen on the plate.

[2] Read सुतायां.

[3] So in the Seoni and Chammak plates. Read प्रसादधृतकार्त्तयुगस्य.

[4] Read राजकीयमानेन.

[5] The engraver has cancelled a wrongly incised stroke on the left of *tā*.

[6] Read *-yōjyāni* and *dattāni*.

[7] It is better to read विज्ञप्त्या.

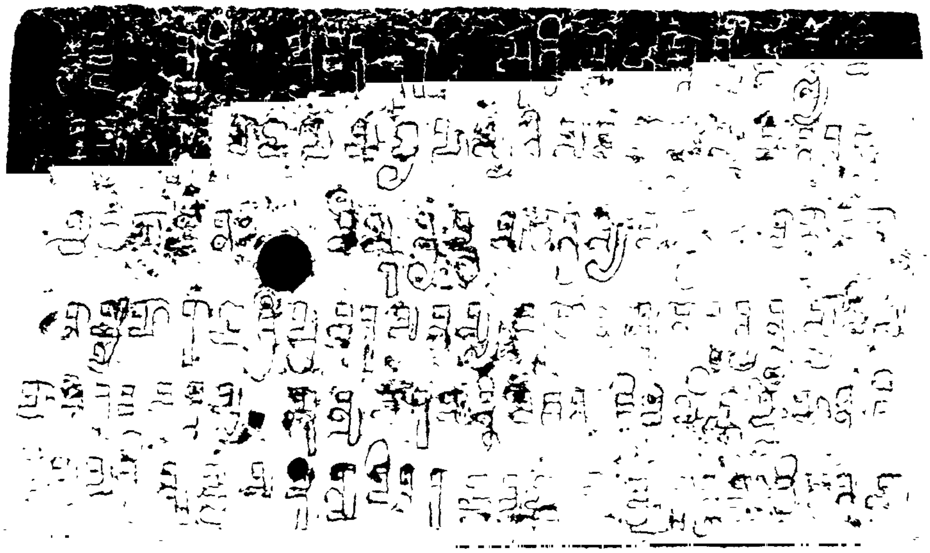
[8] The engraver first incised the subscript letter as *cha* and then tried to convert it into *chha* by adding a vertical stroke in the middle of the rectangle. Contrast the proper form of *chha* in l. 42.

[9] The feminine form एषा in l. 26 seems to qualify some word like भूमि:. प्रतिसृष्टा is, therefore, required here. The writer has, however, used the masculine form throughout, as he has blindly copied the usual draft for the grant of a village (ग्राम:). [The intended reference here may be to the *agrahāra* mentioned in l. 30 in which case *ēsh=āsmābhiḥ* should be corrected into *ēshō=smābhiḥ*. Apparently the 400 *nivartanas* of land constituted the *agrahāra* granted to the temple and an expression like *agrahārīkṛitya* has been omitted before *dattam* in l. 23. As such an *agrahāra* would be mainly inhabited by Brahmins, the objections raised by Prof. Mirashi in this note and the next do not seem to be justified.—Ed.]

[10] Read मर्य्यादां वितराम: । The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmaṇas versed in the four lores. See also ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तस्य in ll. 36-37 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of the gift of a whole village.

Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II.

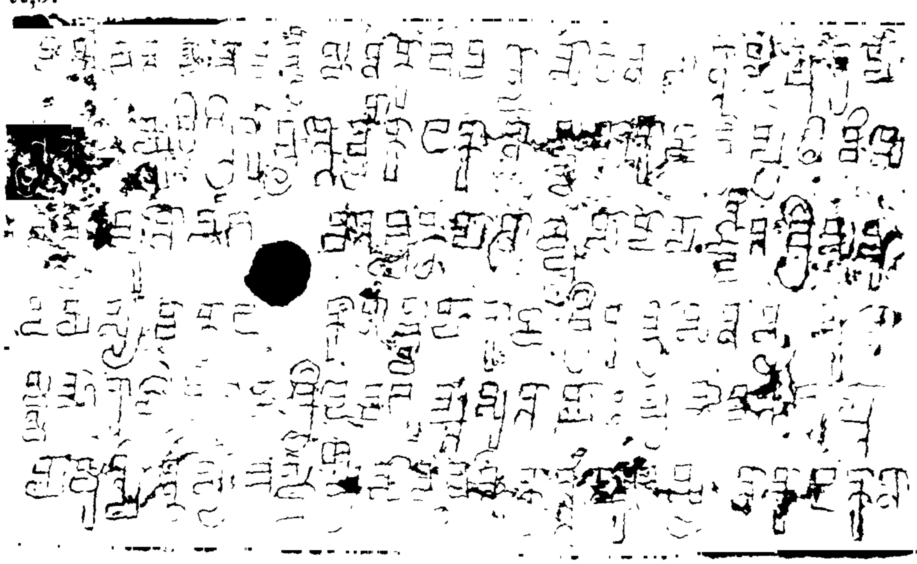
i.



ii,a.

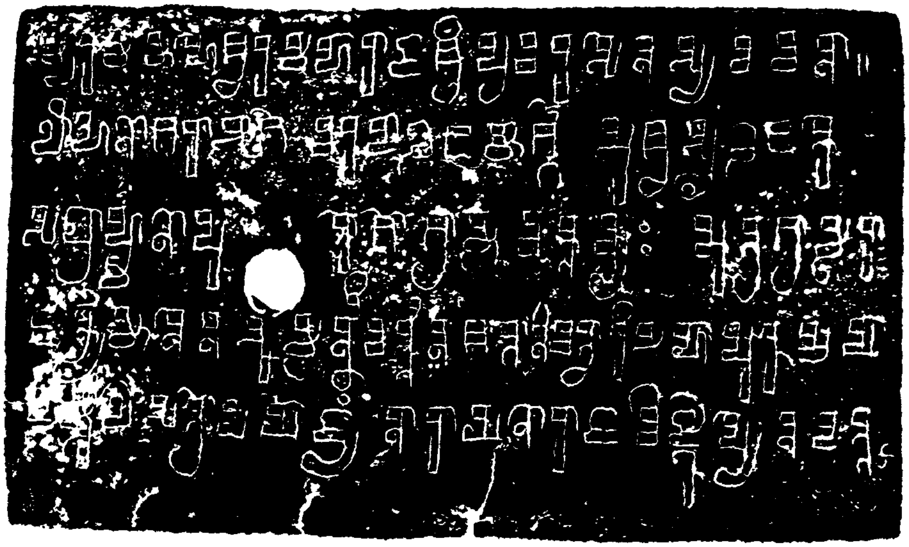


ii,b.

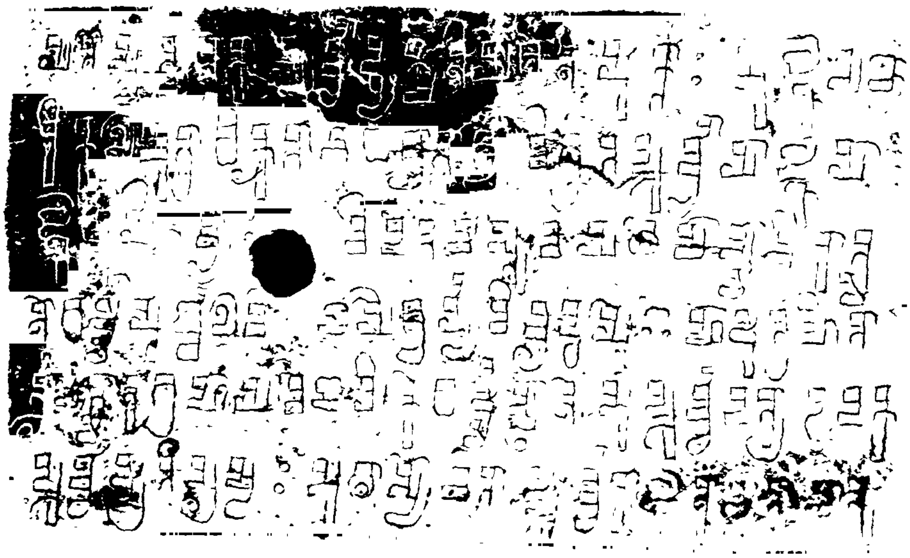


N. P. Chakravarti — Scale: Seven-tenths — Survey of India, Calcutta

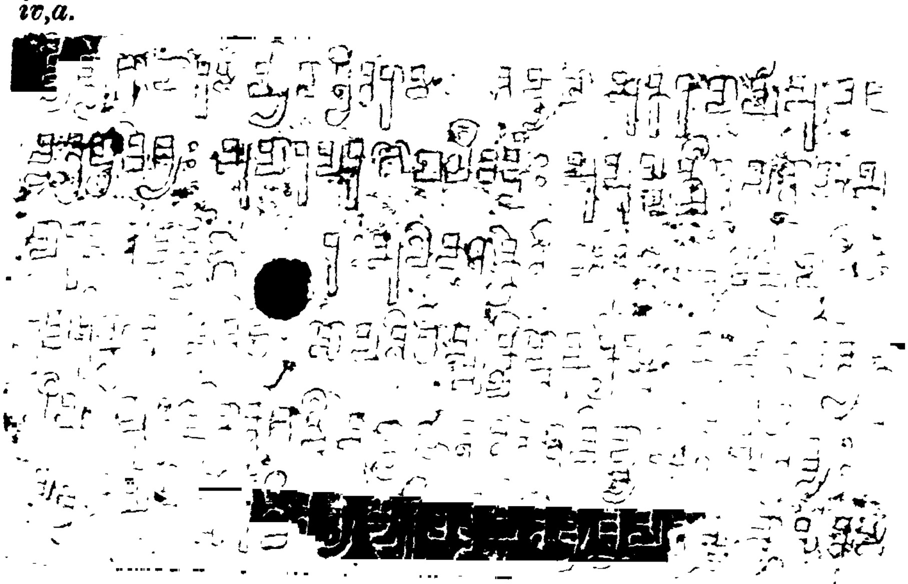
iii,a.



iii,b.



iv,a.



31 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य: अपारंपरगोबलिवर्द्द: अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[:*] अ-

32 पा(चा)रा[1]सनचर्म्माङ्गा(ङ्गा)र: अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनक: सर्व्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीहा-

33 रपरिहृत[:*] सनिधि: सोपनिधिस्सक्लि(क्लृ)प्तोपक्लि(क्लृ)प्त: आचन्द्रादित्यका-

34 लीय: पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य:

35 सर्व्वक्र(क्रि)याभिस्स(स्सं)रक्षितव्यᳵपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] य[श्चा]स्मच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

36 गणयमान[:*] स्वल्पामपि परिबाधां कुर्य्यात्कारयीत वा[2] तस्य ब्राह्म-

37 णैर्व्विदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रहं कुर्य्याम:(म) [।*] अस्मिंश्च[3] धर्म्माधिक-

38 [र*]णे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन[4]कृतपुन्या(ण्या)

39 नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं[5]न कीर्त्तयाम:[*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ

40 प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ [।*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां व्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]

41 गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत[म्][6] ॥[१*]

Fifth Plate.

42 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता

43 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥[7] [२*] सांव्वत्सरे[8] सप्तविङ्शे[9]

44 कार्त्तिकबहुलपक्षसप्तम्याम्[10] सेना तिकात्यायन-

45 सन्तकेन लिखित(तं) कालि[11]दासेन [।*] [कौण्डराजसुन्तकेन सुव][12]र्ण्ण-

46 कार[13] ईश्वरदत्तेन खातं ॥ अस्य शासनस्य कारा-

47 वकौ मित्रप्रभत्तरौ ॥

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[1] As the stroke for medial $\bar{a}$ at the side of *r* was not quite clear, the engraver seems to have added another at the top.

[2] Read *kārayēd=vā*.

[3] Read अस्मिंश्च.

[4] Read परिपालनं कृत-.

[5] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Read *vasēt* [।*] *iti* ॥ Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[8] Read संवत्सरे.

[9] Read सप्तविंशे.

[10] Read सप्तम्यां.

[11] What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle for medial *i* is probably due to a fault in the plate

[12] The letters in the brackets and those in the next two lines can be read with certainty on the original plate.

[13] Read सुवर्ण्णकारेश्वर°.

The Seal.

1 वाकाटकस्न(ल)ल(ला)मस्य

2 क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रियः [।*]

3 राज्ञ≍प्रवरसेनस्य

4 शासनं रिपुशासनं(नम्) [॥*]

No. 15.—TANDIVADA GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA: 46TH YEAR.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of **four copper plates** received by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M. A., Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in the year 1917. They are included in Appendix A of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, as C. P. No. 6 of 1916-17 and described in a slip attached to the impression as follows: " These are four copper-plates oblong in shape and bearing a ring hole of about ½" in diameter at about $\frac{9}{10}$" from the proper right margin. They have writing on six faces in all, the first and the last plates being blank on the outer faces. All the engraved faces have very slightly perceptible rims. The plates have an average thickness of about $\frac{1}{10}$" and measure about 6¼" in breadth and a little over 2" in height. It is much to be regretted that the seal of this record, the dynasty of which is not known, is missing."

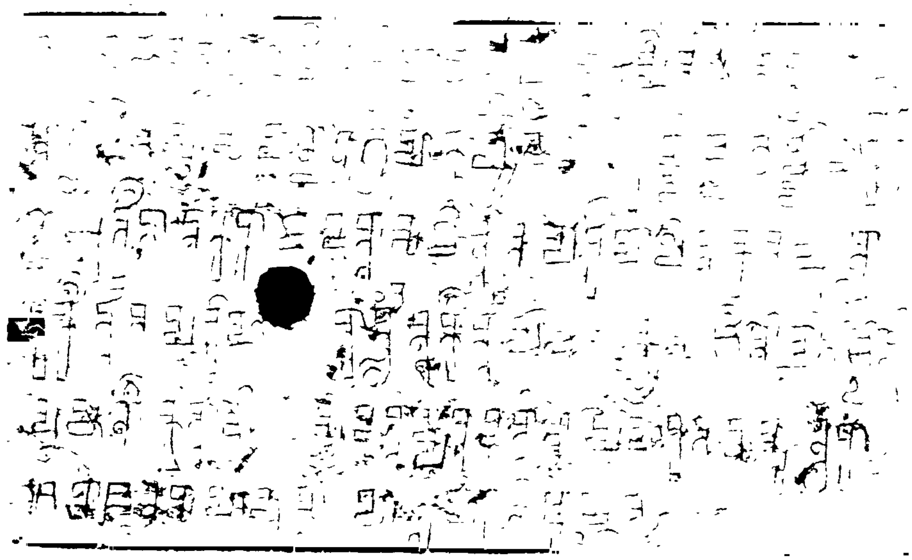
The **alphabet** is of an early Southern type. It resembles the characters of the Chikkulla plates[1] of Vikramēndravarman, the Pulōṁbūru grant[2] of Mādhavavarman, the Kopparam plates[3] of Pulikēsin II and the Gōdāvarī plates[4] of Pṛithvīmūla. The letters of the British Museum plates[5] of Chārudēvī and the Īpūr plates[6] of Dēvavarman's son Mādhavavarman are angular in shape and more antique than those of the present inscription. The Pulibūmra grant[7] and the Peddavēgi plates,[8] both belonging to the Eastern Chāḷukya king Jayasiṁha I., appear to be written in more developed characters. Thus the alphabet of the present inscription may be said to belong to the period between the dates of these two sets of inscriptions, *i.e.*, to **the beginning of the 7th century A.D.** The letters *t* and *n* are not distinguished here by a loop as both have a similar shape except that the right curve of *t* is continued on the left side at the bottom. The medial long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside curl at the top as in *Prithivī-Mahārāja* (l. 8) and *Prithivīśarmmaṇaḥ* (l. 14). The initial *a* is used thrice (ll. 11, 19 & 24) and *ā* in two places (ll. 23 & 28). **Orthography** is generally free from errors. The **language** is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the three verses at the end.

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 193.
[2] *M. E. R.*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 7; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114.
[5] Above. Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 258.

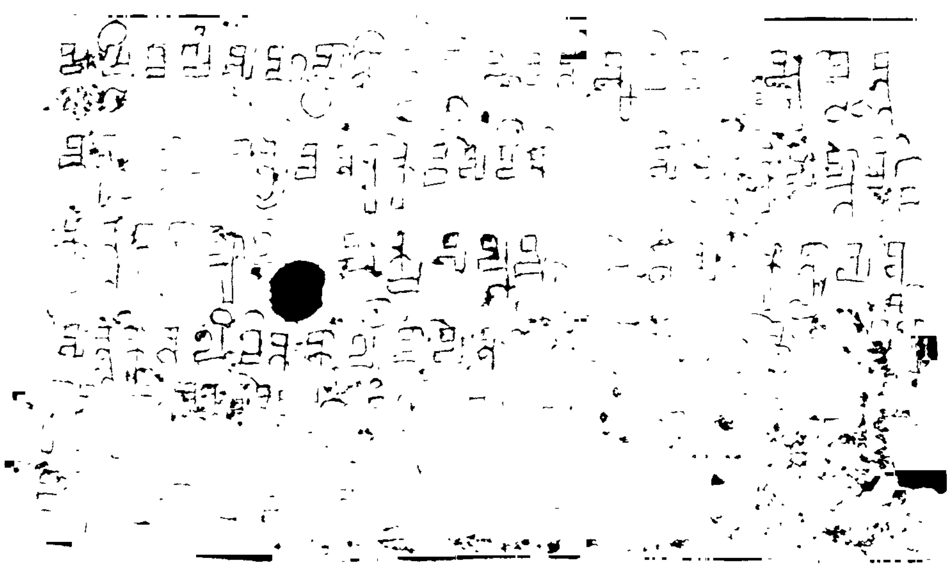
iv,b.

36 38 40

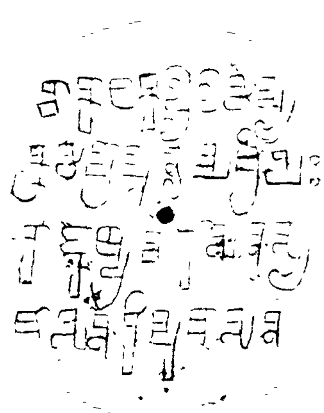


v.

42 44 46



Seal.



The **object** of the record is to register a grant of the *agrahāra* village **Tāṇḍivāḍa** in **Pāguṇāra**-*vishaya* made from **Pishṭapura** by **Pṛithivī-Mahārāja** of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* who bore the *biruda* Śrīrama,[1] son of **Vikramēndra** and grandson of **Mahārāja Raṇadurjjaya**, to **Bhavaśarman** of the Kāmakāyana-*gōtra*, who was the son of Pṛithivīśarman and grandson of Vishṇuśarman and was a resident of **Kōṇḍamañchi**, on the **full-moon day of Kārttika in the 46th year** of his reign. The *Ājñapti* of the grant was **Rāmaleṇṛurāja.** The donor is extolled as meditating on the feet of his parents, a *parama-brahmaṇya* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *sāmantas*. His father Vikramēndra is not given the regal title *Mahārāja*, which perhaps indicates that he did not rule at all or his rule was very short and uneventful. The donee is described as a scholar well-versed in the Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Nyāya, Upanishad and Yōga and in 'three thousand sciences' (त्रिसहस्रविद्या) and as the author of twenty commentaries (*vyākhyāna*). His father, Pṛithivīśarman, had mastered the three thousand sciences and could expound and comment on them and his grandfather, Vishṇuśarman, had studied the Śruti and Smṛiti and performed the *Agnishṭōma* and other sacrifices.

There is no clue in the record to find out the exact period when Pṛithivī-Mahārāja lived. The language, phraseology and the 'formal elements'[2] of the inscription are strictly official and unostentatious and remind us of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava kings, the plates of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, etc. As stated above, the alphabet belongs to about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since it is known from the Aihoḷe inscription[3] and the Timmāpuram plates[4] that Pishṭapura passed to the Eastern Chālukyas after its conquest by Pulikēsin II and remained in their hands since then, the present record must be assigned to a period prior to that event. A clear understanding of the political situation in the East Coast before the time of Pulikēsin (II)'s expedition will help us to determine the most approximate time when Pṛithivī-Mahārāja might have lived.

The earliest epigraphical reference to Pishṭapura is found in the Allahābād Pillar inscription[5] of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) which shows that the city was held by Mahēndra[6] at the time of the Gupta king's southern expedition. The Rāgōlu plates[7] which may belong palæographically to the 5th century A.D., were issued from Pishṭapura which was evidently the capital of the Kaliṅga king Vāsishṭhīputra Śaktivarman who calls himself "an ornament of the Māṭhara family". The Kiṇḍōppa grant of Anantavarman 'Lord of Kaliṅga' who belonged to the

[1] See note 1, p. 90.

[2] Dr. O. Stein opines that the "formal elements" in inscriptions "serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking"; see the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 215 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 317.

[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.

[6] This Mahēndra has been conjectured to be a king of the Pallava family (*The Gōdāvarī Dist. Gazett.*, p. 18). This does not, however, seem likely, since (Pallava) Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī is mentioned separately in the same epigraph. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Pallava territory had extended in the north beyond Kammarāshṭra, the modern Guntur District, since the Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman was holding the Vēṅgī country (*i.e.*, the Kistna District) at this period. We know that the Chandalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu and the Ōmgōdu grants 1 and 2 mention Kammarāshṭra as the district under the control of the Pallavas. The towns of Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menamātura from where the Sanskrit charters were issued, were probably situated in this district (J. Dubreuil: *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 66). And Kudrahāra-*vishaya* of the Śālaṅkāyanas is identical with Gudrahāra of the later inscriptions, which comprised portions of the Kistna District.

[7] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 2 f. The alphabet is similar to that of the Kūḍagere plates of the early Kadamba king Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman. Compare also the Bṛihatprōshṭa inscription of Umāvarman and the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman which are assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. (*Ancient History of the Deccan* by J. Dubreuil, p. 94).

Vāsishtha-*kula* is also stated to have been issued from Vijaya-Pishṭapurādhishṭhāna.[1] After Anantavarman, Pishṭapura appears to have been a bone of contention between the kings of Kaliṅga and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Deṇḍalūru who had succeeded the Śālaṅkāyanas in the Kistna and a part of the Guntur Districts, and ultimately to have passed into the hands of the latter whom the Chālukyas of Bādāmi conquered in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Since, as stated above, the present charter belongs palæographically to this period, it is necessary to find out exactly when and in what capacity Pṛthivī-Mahārāja ruled at Pishṭapura during the Vishṇukuṇḍin supremacy in the east coast. This object cannot be accomplished, as is evident from the sequel, without a full discussion of the genealogy and chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings.

The most important document of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family is the Pulōmbūru grant of Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavavarman III issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the 48th year[2] of the king's reign. During the period of about seventy years in the sixth and the seventh centuries to which the record may be assigned on palæographic grounds, lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna occurred in the following years: (1) A.D. 593, February 21, Saturday; (2) A.D. 594, February 10, Wednesday; (3) A.D. 612, February 22, Tuesday; (4) A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday; (5) A.D. 639, February 23, Tuesday and (6) A.D. 658, February 23, Friday. Of these, on (1) and (3), the eclipse was not visible in India; (2) is too early for the 48th year of a king who was defeated, as shown below, in about A.D. 631, by Pulikēsin II or his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana; (5) and (6) are too late for the king who had been defeated with his territory annexed to the Chālukya dominions prior to them. Hence the date of the Pulōmbūru grant may be equated with A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday on which day the lunar eclipse was visible in India.[3] It is noteworthy that this grant furnishes a few synchronisms for determining the genealogy and chronolgy of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty. Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavavarman is described with the significant epithet *Trīvara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ* (l. 8) 'who delighted himself in playing with the maidens in the palace of Trīvara-nagara'[4], *i.e.*, the city founded[5] by Trīvara who has been identified in the sequel with Mahāśiva-Tīvaradēva of Mahākōsala. Secondly, Śivaśarman, the donee of this record, figures as the father of Rudraśarman who was the recipient of a gift in the Pulibūmra grant of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Jayasiṁha I. In addition to these, other historical and astronomical considerations gathered from the published charters of the family and contemporaneous history will help us considerably in the study of the family. These are: the archaic method of dating the inscriptions in seasons and fortnights; the Vākāṭaka-Vishṇukuṇḍin relationship in the time of Mādhavavarman I; an ancient work[6] on prosody called *Jānāśrayī Chhandōvichiti* written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Pulōmbūru record, which quotes a verse from the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi; and lastly, the Eastern Chāḷukya conquest of Kaliṅga which has an indirect bearing upon the subject. The cumulative evidence of all these points proves, as shown below, that the

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153.

[2] This regnal year is expressed by the numerical symbol  which appears to have been made up of  standing for 40, (see Kaye in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52 and Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, plate IX) and  which resembles the one in the Chikkulla plates (l. 26) for 8. Mr. D. C. Sircar, however, takes it to be a single symbol for 40 which lacks epigraphical support (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275, f. n. 2).

[3] Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India.*

[4] Scholars have attempted to identify this place with Tewar in Central India (above, Vol. XVII, p. 334). This is unlikely, since Tewar is known to ancient literature and epigraphy under the name of Tripurī or Tripura.

[5] Similar instances are not rare in inscriptions. Pravarapura was the city founded by Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna and Yayātinagara by Yayāti, otherwise known as Mahāśiva-gupta of the Sōmavaṁsī family.

[6] I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subramaniam for drawing my attention to this work.

Vishṇukuṇḍins ceased to be an independent ruling power by the middle of the 7th century A.D. and that Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavavarman was the last king and a later member of the family different from the homonymous king who was probably the originator of the dynasty.

Of the five copper-plate inscriptions belonging to this family, the Īpūr plates (set I)[1] bears a date in the seventh fortnight of the hot season (*gihma*) and the Īpūr plates (set II)[2] in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (*vāsa*). Similarly the Chikkulla plates[3] are dated in the eighth fortnight of the hot season (*gihma*). This dating presupposes the division of a year into three seasons of eight fortnights each, which is mentioned in the earliest extant works *Vēdāṅgajyōtisha* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The latest epigraphical instances giving similar dates belong to about the 6th century A.D.[4]

From the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates we get four generations of kings, *viz.*, Mādhavavarman I, his son Vikramēndravarman I, his son Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, his son Vikramēndravarman II. In both the records Mādhavavarman is described as a performer of one thousand *Agnishṭōma* and eleven *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. The Īpūr plates (set II) furnish us with the genealogy: Mādhavavarman I with the above epithets, his son Dēvavarman, his son Mādhavavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. On account of the common epithets and the relatively early script of the record, Mādhavavarman II may be supposed to be the grandson of Mādhavavarman I through his another son Dēvavarman. The Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant should be studied together. The former supplies the pedigree for two generations only, *viz.*, Gōvindavarman and his son Mādhavavarman, while the latter supplements it by adding Gōvindavarman's father Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarman.[5] In both the inscriptions, Mādhavavarman is given the additional adjunct *Trīvara-nagara*, etc.,[6] which distinguishes him from the homonymous king Mādhavavarman I, mentioned above.[7] Trīvara is evidently the Sanskritised form of Tīvara, a Sōmavaṁśī king of Mahākōsala who flourished about this period and who is the only king of that name known to Indian History. He is also mentioned under this Sanskritised name in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa and the Nivinā grants[8] of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarājadēva. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti who has edited the Nivinā grant is inclined to think that Tīvaradēva of Mahākōsala was a contemporary of Dharmarāja, grandson of Mādhavarāja II whom he has identified with Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta of the Ganjām plates dated in the Gupta Era 300 (A.D. 619-20).[9] The only known regnal year of Madhyamarāja, son of Mādhavarāja II, being twenty-six, Dharmarāja may have to be placed in the middle

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

[4] The Halsi plates of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 28). See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 337, f. n. 7 and Vol. IV, p. 195, f. n. 4.

[5] Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarman is presumably the Vikramēndravarman II of the Chikkulla plates.

[6] I find from the impressions of the Pulōmbūru grant, and of the Īpūr plates (set I) that the *i*-sign in *Trīvara* is distinctly long.

[7] This descriptive clause does not occur in connection with Mādhavavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmatīrtham and Īpūr (set II) plates. This is significant and I take that it is a *vyāvartaka dharma*, which differentiates him from his namesake though there are other adjectives common to both.

[8] Above, Vols. XIX, pp. 267ff. and XXI, pp. 34 ff.

[9] Above, Vol. XXI. p. 36.

of the 7th century A.D. and accordingly his opponent Tīvaradēva would belong to that period.[1] It is thus clear that Mādhavavarman of the Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant, who was a contemporary of Tīvara, must be considered to be one and the same person and that he was a later member of the family, in spite of the fact that he bore some of the epithets of Mādhavavarman I.[2] It is noteworthy that the alphabet employed in both the charters belongs roughly to the same period and from the examination of individual letters, it does not appear to differ much from that of the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates, whereas the script of the second set of the Īpūr plates is undoubtedly more archaic as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch.

Since Vikramēndravarman is described as an ornament of the Vishṇukuṇḍin and the Vākāṭaka families, his mother must have been a Vākāṭaka princess. According to Dr. Dubreuil, this Vākāṭaka princess was the daughter or the grand-daughter of Rudrasēna II whose son Pravarasēna II placed his relative Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhava (I) on the throne of Vēṅgī by uprooting the Śālaṅkīyanas in the 5th century A.D.[3] But neither Rudrasēna II nor his son Pravarasēna II is known to have conquered any of the territories in the East Coast. On the other hand Harishēṇa, the last Vākāṭaka king (*circa* 500 A.D.) is stated in the Ajaṇṭā inscription to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra, and it is very likely that he contracted some matrimonial alliance with Mādhava I and with his help defeated the kings of the East Coast as stated above.

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who has been identified with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithivīmūla,[4] was an opponent of Adhirāja Indra who may possibly be the same person as the donor of the Jirjiṅgi plates[5] dated in the year 39 of the Gaṅga era. If the view of some scholars[6] that the era was started in about A.D. 496 be correct, the date of this grant would be about A.D. 535. According to the Chikkulla plates Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated all the *dāyādas* in battle. We do not know of any *dāyādas* excepting the members of the collateral branch, *viz.*, Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II. Since, as shown below, the Vishṇukuṇḍins ceased

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[1] Fleet and Kielhorn have placed Tīvara in about the 8th century A.D. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 293; above, Vol. IV, p. 238). The Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription of Mahāśivagupta (above, Vol. XI, p. 184) is written in characters of about the 8th century A.D. Hence his grand-uncle Tīvara would belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D. More likely, he lived in the beginning of the 7th century. Tīvaradēva appears to have had a long reign, since there is a reference to Trīvara-nagara in the Īpūr plates (set I) dated in the 37th regnal year (*i.e.*, A.D. 610) of Mādhavavarman III whose 48th year has been equated with A.D. 621. This date would no doubt be too early for him if it is assumed with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sañjān plates of Amōghavarsha as the contemporary of Gōvinda III (A.D. 790-814) was the son of Nannayadēva and brother of Tīvaradēva of Mahākōsala. But for reasons stated above, he cannot be identified with the brother of Tīvaradēva.

[2] The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has expressed a similar opinion in *M. E. R.* for 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102. [But the description of Mādhavavarman in these two sets of plates as a 'performer of eleven *aśvamēdha* sacrifices and one thousand *kratus* or *agnishṭōmas*' seems to show that he may not be different from Mādhava I of the other Vishṇukuṇḍin charters. It may also be pointed out that, according to Dr. Hultzsch, the palæography of the Īpūr plates (first set) is earlier than those of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates (above, Vol. XVII, p. 334).—Ed.]

[3] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74. We know that the principality of Vēṅgī and Kudrahāra was held by the Śālaṅkāyanas up to the 5th century A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 28 ff.)

[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

[5] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237.

to be an independent ruling power before A.D. 631,[1] all the kings of the family must be accommodated in the interval of about 131 years (*circa* 500-631). According to our scheme of the genealogy there will be only six kings in the main line who can be very reasonably fitted in in this period. But if the kings Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are also to be included, there will be in all eight kings among whom the regnal years 10, 27, 48 and 47 are so far known for four kings. Granting that these are the last regnal years of the respective kings, the periods of their reign will cover at least 132 years which is in excess of the allotted interval and we will be driven to the contingency of eliminating the remaining four kings from the family. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II belonged to the collateral branch and held a small principality in the Vishṇukuṇḍin territory.

Vikramēndravarman II, the eldest son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, as stated in his Chikkulla plates, appears to have become king even as a child, which perhaps indicates that his father died young leaving his eldest son only a child and consequently his rule might not have extended beyond 27 years. The next king was Mahārāja Gōvindavarman who bore the *biruda* Vikramāśraya. Lastly his son Mādhavavarman III was the most powerful king of the family who bore the distinguished *biruda* Janāśraya-Mahārāja.

Mādhavavarman III, Janāśraya-Mahārāja, must have been the last crowned king of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty from whom the Eastern Chāḷukyas conquered portions of their eastern possessions. He must have lived some time after Bhāravi, the celebrated author of *Kirātārjunīya*. For, there is an ancient work on prosody called *Janāśrayī Chhandōvichiti*[2] which quotes the verse अथ वासवस्य वचनेन, etc., of Bhāravi[3] under the *Udgatā-prakaraṇa*. The work must have been named after Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, who is the only king of that name in the whole range of Indian History.[4] We know from the *Avantisundarīkathā* that poet Dāmōdara was introduced to the presence of prince Vishṇuvarddhana by Bhāravi.[5] Consequently Bhāravi must have lived in the Court of Vishṇuvarddhana who is no other than Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana, the younger brother of Pulikēsin II.[6] Since Ravikīrtti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 634, Bhāravi must have been well known as a great poet by A.D. 634. It is probable that he flourished about 600 A.D.[7] and Janāśraya-Mahārāja lived some time after that date. This date can be determined to some extent by the following synchronism. The king is stated in the Pulōṁbūru grant to have endowed the village Pulōṁbūru in Guddavādi-*vishaya* upon Śivaśarman, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of

[1] [In spite of the arguments of the author, it is not impossible that the Vishṇukuṇḍins were struggling hard to maintain their independence in some portion of their territory even after A.D. 631. The description of Indravarman in the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates as 'having gained victories in several *chāturdanta* battles' might also indicate the same state of affairs.—Ed.]

[2] The work is published partially in the *Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa* by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A.

[3] *Kirātārjunīya*, XII, 1.

[4] The opening verse in the work describes the king with the *biruda* Janāśraya, as having celebrated several sacrifices. This is in keeping with the account given in the Pulōṁbūru grant and the Īpūr plates (first set). See *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* 1925-26 to (1927-28, Madras), Introduction p. 1 and R. No. 5043. [From the information available at present it is not certain whether Janāśraya refers to a different ruler or is an abbreviation of Avani-Janāśraya which was a surname of the Gujarāt Chāḷukya king Pulakēśirāja.—Ed.]

[5] See the correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* in *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 169.

[6] As Vishṇuvarddhana is called merely *rāja-sūnu* in the *Avantisundarīkathā*, p. 6, it is probable that he had not yet become king.

[7] This date is rendered plausible by the fact that Dāmōdara, after staying with Vishṇuvarddhana for a short period, went to the court of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, whose last date in the Gaṅga chronology cannot be beyond A.D. 605.

Rudraśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra* and Taittirika-*śākhā*. The same village was granted by the Eastern Chāḷukya king Jayasiṁha I in his 15th regnal year (A.D. 648) to the *pūrvāgrahārika* Rudraśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra,* who was the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. It is evident that this Rudraśarman was the son of Śivaśarman, the donee of the Pulōṁbūru grant. The word *pūrvāgrahārika* indicates that he was in the enjoyment of the village for some time after his father, and that he had lost it during some troublous period, or his title to the village was contested and confirmed by a fresh order after the change of political power from the Vishṇukuṇḍins to the Eastern Chāḷukyas. This latter event took place probably some time before A.D. 631 when the Kopparam plates[1] of Pulikēsin II were issued. For, we learn from this copper-plate grant that Kammarāshṭra, which had been included in the Pallava and the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdoms formerly, formed part of the Chāḷukya country at the time. A study of the political history of the Kaliṅga kingdom at this period would help us in fixing the date more precisely. The Chīpurupalle grant[2] of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana records the gift of land by the king from his camp at Cheṛupūra in Pḷaki-*vishaya* to two Brahmans, Vishṇuśarman and Mādhavaśarman, sons of Durgaśarman, who belonged to the Gautama-*gōtra,* in his 18th regnal year, *i.e.,* A.D. 632. In the Achyutapuram plates[3] of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman bearing a date in the year 87 of the Gaṅga era, the donee is stated to be Durgaśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra.* This date may be equated with A.D. 581 provided the initial year of the Gaṅga era is accepted to be A.D. 496. It is very likely that the donees of the Chīpurapalle grant were the sons of the donee in the Gaṅga record.[4] If this is correct, the southern portion of the Kaliṅga country must have been conquered and annexed by the Chāḷukyas some time between A.D. 581 and 632. This period is brought into a narrower compass by the statement in the Aihoḷe inscription (A.D. 634) that kings of Kaliṅga and Kōsala submitted of their own accord, to the increasing power of Pulikēsin II (A.D. 610). It may be noted that the Varāhavartanī-*vishaya* of the Gaṅga grants was situated close to the Pḷaki-*vishaya* (or *rāshṭra*) and that the latter district had been a debatable ground between the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Gaṅgas for a long time. The Eastern Gaṅgas appear to have occupied it for some time after the date of the Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman (*cir.* 535). It is probably to wrest back this province that Mādhava III started on an expedition to the Eastern region (*prāgdik*) as recorded in his Pulōṁbūru grant, the result of which is, however, not known. The conquests of South Kaliṅga and the territory of the Vishṇukuṇḍins must possibly have been effected in one and the same campaign by Pulikēsin II. Since Tīvaradēva lived, as shown above, in the middle of the 7th century[5], it is possible that Mādhavavarman[6] of the Vishṇukuṇḍin

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

[3] Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

[4] [But it may be noted that while the two sons of Durgaśarman of the Chīpurupalle plates were followers of the Taittiriya-*charaṇa,* which is a branch of the Yajurvēda, Durgaśarman of the Achyutapuram plates was a Brāhmaṇa of the Chhandōga school which is a *śākhā* of the Sāmavēda.—Ed.]

[5] Prof. V. V. Mirashi postulates two Tīvaradēvas in the Sōmavaṁśī family and thinks that Trīvara who was a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhava was an earlier member and lived between A.D. 525-568 (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff). But among the Sōmavaṁśī kings there is only one Tīvaradēva known so far (above, Vol. XI, p. 187). And such an early date is not possible for Mādhava who must have been an immediate predecessor in time of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Jayasiṁsha I (*ibid*, p. 21, f. n. 3 and Bhandarkar's *Northern List*, p. 293, f n. 3).

[6] The Kōṇḍēḍḍa and Nivinā grants of Dharmarāja mention a certain Mādhava, who contemplated to oust the elderly relations (*jyēshṭhān bhāvān*) from the country, but being foiled in his attempt took shelter under Tīvaradēva and was ultimately defeated along with his master at the foot of the Vindhya hill. Since this Mādhava is supposed to be a prince of the Śailōdbhava family, he cannot be identified with the Vishṇukuṇḍin king of that name, though it happens that the latter had also contracted some political or matrimonial alliance with Tīvaradēva

family ruled for some time after A.D. 619, the date of the Ganjām plates, and was subsequently defeated by Pulikēsin II or Kubja-Vishṇu. As we have shown above that the date of the Pulōṁbūru grant would fall in A.D. 621, we may conclude that the **Chāḷukya conquest of the Vishṇukuṇḍins was accomplished between A.D. 621 and A.D. 631.**

With the facts set forth above, the genealogy[1] of the family with known regnal years and approximate dates for a few kings is given below for easy reference :

Mādhavavarman I (*circa* 500 A.D.).

- Vikramēndra I.
  - Indrabhaṭṭāraka (535 A.D.) (year 27).
    - Vikramēndra II (year 10).
      - Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarman.
        - Mādhavavarman III Janāśraya-Mahārāja (A.D. 621) (years 37, 48).
          - Prince Mañchaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka.
- Dēvavarman.
  - Mādhavavarman II (year 47).

The name of Vikramēndra, the father of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja of the present record may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Vishṇukuṇḍins among whom that name is found twice. It is not impossible that Pṛithivī-Mahārāja's father Vikramēndra was a subordinate of Vikramēndravarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Pulōṁbūru grant. This surmise finds support from the fact that Pishṭapura, the capital of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja, was situated within the limits of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dominions which comprised the country to the south of Kaliṅga up to the present Guntur district which was the northern limit of the

[1] Dr. Hultzsch's arrangement of the genealogy (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 and 337) comes into conflict with the pedigree given in the present record. According to him, Gōvindavarman's father would be Mādhavavarman, whereas his name is given as Vikramahēndra in the Pulōṁbūru grant. A recent writer on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 275 f.) thinks that Mādhava III of the Pulōṁbūru grant is identical with Mādhava I as both are stated to have performed eleven *Aśvamēdha* and one thousand *Agnishṭōma* sacrifices. He holds that the family rose to political power in A.D. 500 under Vikramahēndra, grandfather of Mādhava and continued to rule till the 8th century A.D. when it was completely overthrown by the Chāḷukyas. This view is not tenable. For, he has not taken into account the palæographic evidence of the charters while constructing the history of the family. According to him, Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōṁbūru grant would be earlier than the Īpūr plates (set II) whose script has been declared by Dr. Hultzsch to be more archaic than that of the other charters of the family (see also *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102). Further, he has not considered the important synchronism with the Mahākōsala king Tīvaradēva in the time of Mādhava (III) and the references contained in the *Jānāśrayī Chhandōvichiti* mentioned above. And we find from the records of Pulikēsin II, Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana, Jayasiṁha I., Tyāgadhēnu Indravarman and his successors that portions of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna and Guntur Districts, which comprised the Vishṇukuṇḍin territory, were held by the Chāḷukyas since the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. and it is impossible that the Vishṇukuṇḍins could have ruled as independent kings in that region after A.D. 631 when, according to the Kopparam and the Timmāpuram plates, the Eastern Chāḷukya rule had been fully established. [See note 1 on p. 93.—Ed.]

Pallava territory, as can be gathered from the situations of villages or divisions mentioned in the Rāmatīrtham, Chikkulla, and Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant and also from the stone inscription of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman at Vēlpūru in the Sattenapalle Taluk of the Guntur district. Simultaneously with the subjugation of the Vishṇukuṇḍins by Pulikēsin II and occupation of their territory by his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana, Pṛithivī-Mahārāja, the ruler of Pishṭapura, appears to have held out against the Chāḷukyan attack for a while and finally to have sustained a crushing defeat in the fight. For, we definitely know from the Timmāpuram plates that Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana was in possession of Pishṭapura which is mentioned as his secondary capital (*vāsaka*). It is, therefore, quite plausible that Pulikēsin II captured the fortress of Pishṭapura from the hands of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja who must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This period perfectly agrees with the palæographical evidence of the record.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription is the only early record that makes mention of **Raṇadurjaya** as a historical person. We know that many of the ruling families in the Eastern Deccan, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., trace their descent from Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya whose time and place in their genealogy are, however, not certain on account of the varying accounts given in their records. The Kākatīyas,[1] the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi[2] and Velanāṇḍu[3] Chiefs each claim for their ancestor Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya. The Garavapāḍu grant[4] of Gaṇapati mentions Prōla as a descendant of Raṇadurjaya-Durjaya who belonged to the Karikāl-*ānvaya*. The most important document of this later period, which gives a glimpse into the period of Raṇadurjaya, is the Tsandavōlu inscription[5] of Buddharāja which appears to embody a genuine historical tradition. It is stated in it that the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Buddharāja was the lion of the mountain, the Durjaya family—which shows that Durjaya was the originator of his family—and had for an ancestor one Buddhavarman who belonged to the fourth caste and was a servant of king Kubja-Vishṇu of the lunar race who conferred on him the country west of the hill, which contained 73 villages. Kubja-Vishṇu is, evidently, the brother of Pulikēsin II, who ruled from A.D. 615 to 633 in the Vēṅgī country. Buddhavarman's date, accordingly, falls in this period. Durjaya, who was his ancestor, must have lived some time before the 7th century A.D. Since Karikāla is said to be his lineal ancestor whose date has been approximately fixed to fall in the 5th century A.D.,[6] it is possible that Durjaya lived in the intermediate period and most probably in the 6th century A.D.; and his grandson **Pṛithivī-Mahārāja**, who had a long reign of at least 46 years, **must have begun to rule in the latter half of that century.**

The record does not disclose the name of the **dynasty** to which Pṛithivī-Mahārāja belonged. It only states that he belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Durjaya was a descendant of Karikāla-Chōḷa. The Chōḷa king Puṇyakumāra of the Cuddapah District belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and Karikāl-*ānvaya*.[7] The Chōḷa Satyāditya, son of Vikramāditya, was of the same *gōtra* and family.[8] The Chōḷas of Tanjore also are known to have

[1] Above, Vol. V, p. 142; *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 346 ff.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 692; above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 33 ff; the pedigree given in the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription is a jumble of confused traditions. It contains two Raṇadurjayas among the ancestors of Pṛithivīśvara.

[4] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

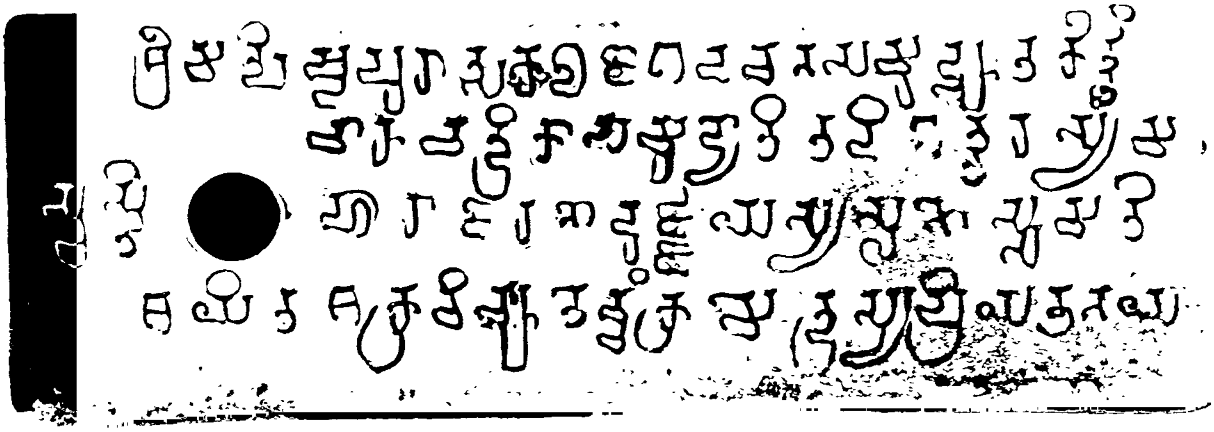
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 340.

[7] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345.

[8] *Ibid.*

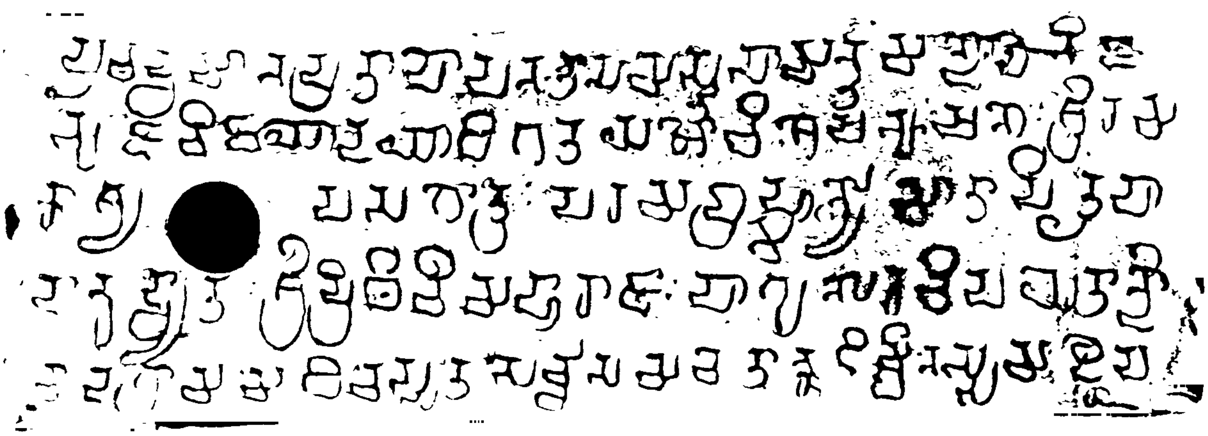
i.

2, 4



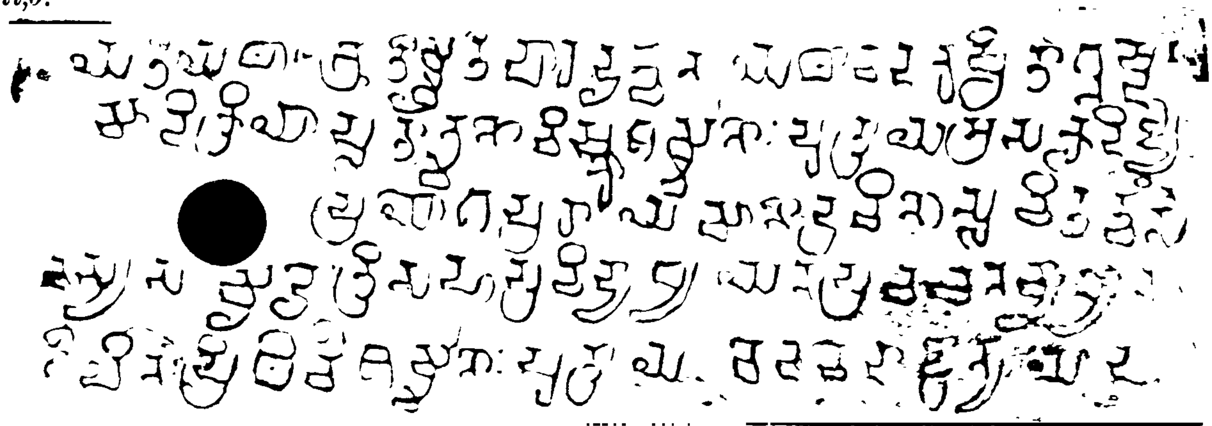
ii,a.

6, 8



ii,b.

10, 12, 14



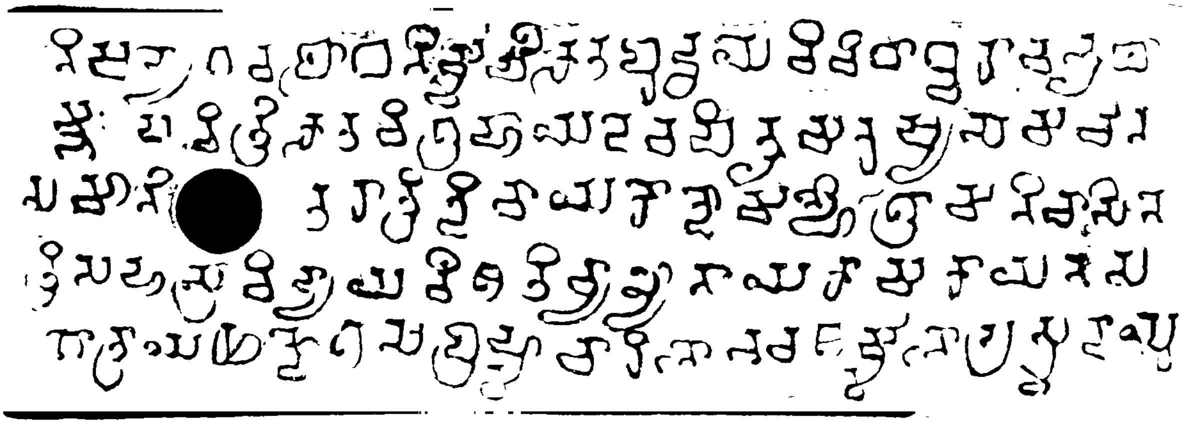
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

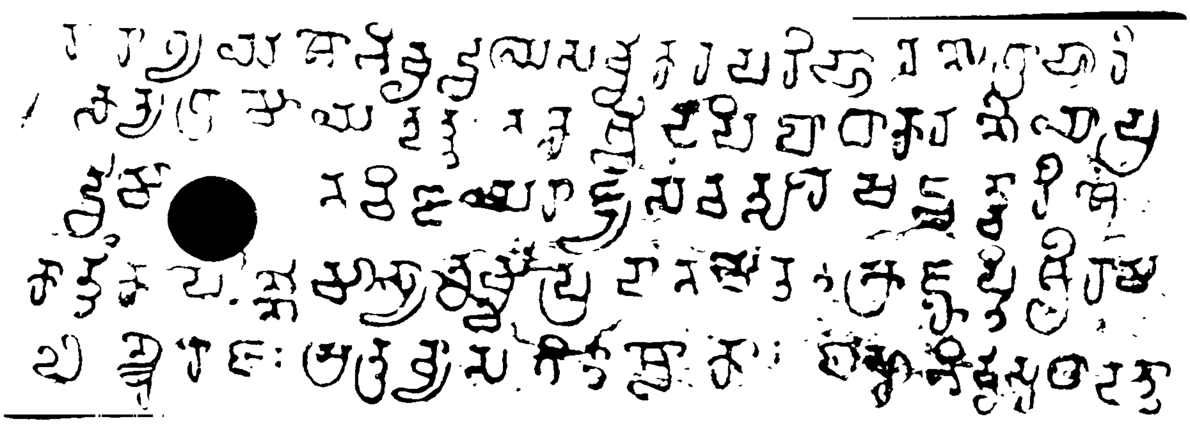
iii,a.

16 18



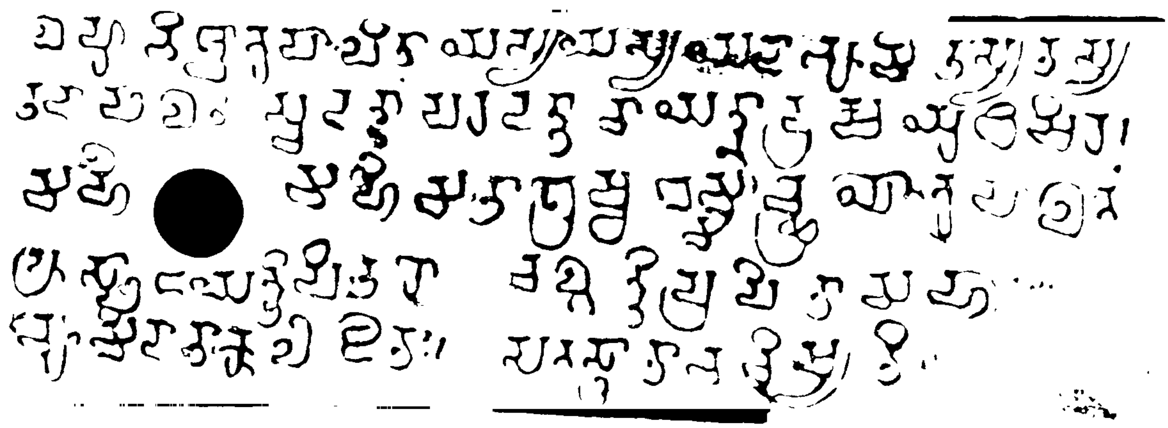
iii,b.

20 22 24



iv.

26 28



belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*.[1] It is therefore very likely that **Raṇadurjaya was a Chōḷa** and his ancestors had settled in the Eastern Deccan, like their brethren in the Rēnāṇḍu country, in some early period. It may be noted that Raṇadurjaya was a member of the fourth caste as can be gathered from the Tsandavōlu inscription referred to above.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Pishṭapura** is well known as the ancient name of Piṭhāpuram in the East Godavari District. **Pāguṇāra**-*vishaya* in which the village Tāṇḍivāḍa was situated is the same as Pāvunavāra-*vishaya* of the Vandaram plates[2] of Ammarāja II, Pāgunavara-*vishaya* occurring in a grant[3] of Bhīma II, and Pāguṇavara-*vishaya* of a record[4] of Vishṇuvarddhana V. This *vishaya* appears to have comprised the modern Tanuku Taluk of the Kistna District as can be seen from the stone inscriptions at Juttiga in that Taluk.[5] **Tāṇḍivāḍa** might be identical with Tāḍiparru in the Tanuku Taluk.[6] **Kōṇḍamañchi**, where the donee resided, I am not able to identify.

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति[8] [।*] श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरात्सकलजगदवनसमुद्भूतकीर्त्ति-

2 चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो[9](द्यो)तितदिगत्त(न्त)रस्य म-

3 हाराजरणदुर्ज्जयस्य सूनोस्समति-

4 शयितशक्तिविभूतेर्व्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतनय[:*]

Second Plate; First Side.

5 प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल(लो) निज-

6 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषण: श्रीरम[:*]

7 काश्यपसगोत्र: परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपा-

8 दानुद्ध्यात[:] श्रीप्रिथिवी[10]महाराज: पागुणारविषये ताण्डि-

9 वाडग्राममधिवस्सतसे(सतस्स)र्व्वसमवेतान्कुटि(टु)म्बिनस्स[मा]ज्ञाप-

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[1] See the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and the Kanyākumāri inscription and the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p. 40.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 133.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 6.

[5] Nos. 734 and 736 of 1920 of the *M. E. R.* for 1921.

[6] *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, p. 344.

[7] From an ink-impression.

[8] This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the third line of the text.

[9] [There is also a root *yut.bhāsanē*.—B. C. C.]

[10] Read °पृथिवी°

Second Plate ; Second Side.

10 यति यथा। श्रुतिस्मृ(स्मृ)तिपारदृश्वन: यथावदनुष्ठिताम्न(ग्नि)ष्टो-
11 मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्मण: पुत्राय[1] असकृदिज्या-
12 प्रयोगप्रयस्यमाणद्रविणसूचितर्त्विक्स-
13 दस्यसमृद्धे: त्रिसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचनव्याख्यान-
14 शीलिन: प्रिथिवो(पृथिवी)शर्मण: पुत्राय वेदवेदाङ्गन्याय(यो)प-

Third Plate ; First Side.

15 निषद्योग(गा)ववोधनिर्म्मलीकृतबुद्धये विविधाध्वरावभृथा-
16 म्भ:पवित्रीकृतविग्रहाय देवपितृमनुष्यसमर्चन-
17 समानीतरात्रिन्दिवाय कोण्डमञ्चिग्रामनिवासिने
18 त्रिसहस्रविद्याय विंशतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनस-
19 गोत्राय छ(च्छ)न्दोगसब्रह्मचारिणे भवशर्म्मणे अस्मदायु-

Third Plate ; Second Side

20 रारा(रो)ग्ययशोभिवृद्धये सर्व्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारी-
21 कृत्य ग्रामोयन्दत्त: न कैश्चिदपि बाधा करणीया [।*] प्र-
22 [व*]र्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे षट्चत्वारी(रिं)शे
23 कार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्यान्धर्म्मप्रदानमेतत् [।*] आज्ञप्ति[:[2]] श्रीराम-
24 लेण्ḍराज: [।*] अत्र व्यासगीता[:*] श्लोका: [।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता

Fourth Plate.

25 बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य
26 तदा फलम् [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिषि(ष्ठि)र ।
27 मही मह्रीमतां श्रेष्ठ धर्म्माच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं [॥*]
28 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गन्ति प्रपितामहा:[3] ॥(।)
29 भूमिदाता कुले जात: (।) स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥

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[1] Read पौत्राय.

[2] The *visarga* is faintly visible in the impression.

[3] Generally the reading of this *pāda* is *pravalganti pitāmahāḥ*.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8.) Hail! From the illustrious Pishṭapura, **Śrī Pṛithivī-Mahārāja**—who has meditated on the feet of his parents, who is extremely pious, who belongs to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra,* who has subdued the whole circle of the Sāmantas by his ever increasing prowess and has as his ornament the distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms, who is the lord of wealth[1]—dear son of **Vikramēndra** who had excelled Indra in prosperity, who was the son of *Mahārāja* **Raṇadurjaya** who had lighted the whole region of the quarters by the beautiful moonlight, the fame arising from the protection of the whole world,

(Ll. 8-10.) commands all the *kuṭumbins* assembled together, who are the residents of **Tāṇḍivāḍa** in **Pāguṇāra**-*vishaya,* that

(Ll. 10-21.) this village (*i.e.,* Tāṇḍivāḍa) has been made into an *agrahāra* and conferred, free of all imposts, for the increase of our life, health and fame, upon **Bhavaśarman**, who is a student of Chhandōga (*school*), belongs to the Kāmakāyana-*gōtra,* has studied three thousand sciences and (*written*) twenty commentaries, a resident of the village **Kōṇḍamañchi**, is spending days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitṛis* and mankind, whose body has been purified by the water of sacred ablution in various sacrifices, whose intellect has been clarified by the knowledge of the Vēdas,Vēdāṅgas, Nyāya, Upanishads and Yōga—son of Pṛithivīśarman whose habit it was to study, teach and comment on the three thousand sciences, and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*ritvij*) and assistants (*sadasya*) by the riches given away in sacrifices frequently performed (*by him*)—grandson of Vishṇuśarman whose mind had been purified by the due performance of *Agnishṭōma,* and other (*sacrifices*) and who had mastered the Śruti and Smṛiti.

(Ll. 21-24.) No one should create any obstruction (*to this*). In the **46th year** of the ever prosperous and victorious reign on **the full moon day of Kārttika**, this religious gift was made. **Śrī Rāmaleṇṛurāja** was the executor (*of the order*).

(Ll. 24-29.) Here are the *ślōkas* sung by Vyāsa. (Then follow three of the customary verses.)

No. 16.—A NOTE ON THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATE OF KHAMBHA II.

By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

On page 186 of part IV, of Volume XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica* Dr. Altekar has published an article on the Bhor State Museum Plates of Khambha II of the Chālukya dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1001. There is no facsimile of the original attached to the article, but as the editor of the Plates has remarked, the order in which the different parts of the grant occur, is topsy-turvy. Thus after specifying the date, the writer at once proceeds to the specification of the donor and the village granted without mentioning the donee. Then are mentioned certain dignitaries followed by some verses describing exploits of the dynasty of the donor. After the imprecatory verses, the grant closes with the bare names (without specification of *gōtras,* etc., of the donees) clearly as an after-thought. It is thus evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued

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[1] Śrīrama may also be taken as the *biruda* of the king. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu whom I consulted thinks that Rama-Kāśyapa might be one of the sub-divisions of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* in which case, the expression will have to be rendered 'who belonged to the illustrious Rama-Kāśyapa-*gōtra*'.

charter, and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in the Śaka year 1001 for reasons given below :—

In the first place it is very unlikely that an inscription dated in the 4th year of the powerful Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who had already started his own era (named the Chālukya-Vikrama Era) should be without any mention of this paramount sovereign. In fact the first line specifying the date appears to have been written in smaller characters than the other lines and may possibly have been inserted later. The most important reason why the inscription appears to me to have been written somewhere in the middle of the 12th Century is the mention of certain officers and queens in lines 12 to 15. The two queens mentioned in line 14, namely, Siriyā Dēvī and Dēvalā Dēvī appear to be identical with the queens Siriyā Dēvī and Dēvalā Dēvī of the Sinda King Chāvuṇḍa II referred to on page 111 of the Vol. XX of the *Epigraphia Indica.* It is interesting to see that one Muṁjaya Sāhaṇi also occurs in the Benachamatti inscription referred to above, while in the present inscription the same Muṁjēya appears to have been referred to as the minister (*amātya*) of the Mahārāṇī Siriyā Dēvī. There are at least two other Sāhaṇis (Prakrit form of Sādhanī, a counsellor). It is therefore incorrect to take with Dr. Altekar that Siriyā Dēvī was called Muñjēya Mahārāṇī because she was a daughter of Muñja. The intended reading of the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15 should be "*Rāṇī Mahalā Dēba(va)lāyā daṁḍanāyaka Siṁha*". There seems to have been some confusion here in the name of the queen. The name Mahādēvī being that of the step-mother of Chāvuṇḍa II himself, the writer probably confused it with the name Dēvalā, of one of his queens.

As regards the language, there appears to have been some mixture of words in Marāṭhī which again may indicate a later date. The word *varila* in line 9 and *kārukadēṇēṁ* in the same line are clearly Marāṭhī. The sense of the whole phrase from *sarvavāha°* is that all dues including the dues from artisans and oilmen were to be given to the donees. The phrase *aguṁthitapushpiṁ* (not *pushyiṁ*) *rājadarsa(rśa)naṁ* in lines 10 and 11 is explainable only in the light of the subsequent verse in lines 28 to 30 and means that an interview with the king should be with unstrung flowers, the stem *gunth* being a Marāṭhī adaptation from *grath* in Sanskrit. The propriety of such a reference is shown in lines 28 to 30 where it is mentioned that 'any future king of my family should be interviewed by you with flowers not strung (*into a garland*) and requested on my behalf that he should maintain his religion (*and continue this gift*)'. There are passages in Sanskrit literature[1], which support the existence of this custom of approaching a king with an offering of unstrung flowers.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the grant belongs to the middle of the 12th century A D. and was probably forged in the interest of the persons mentioned in the postscript of the grant. It is, however, not understood how the names of queens and ministers in places over 200 miles away are included. unless we suppose that the Sinda Queens had some private estates managed by their ministers in the locality of Bhor[2].

[1] Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Act IV, where Vidūshaka pretends to have been bitten by a snake, while spreading out his hand for a bunch of Aśōka flowers, as he wanted to see the queen with the customary flower offering.

[2] [There is certainly room for suspicion about the genuineness of the Bhor Museum Plates of Khambha. But a great difficulty in accepting the identification proposed here is that the name of the husband of the queens Siriyā Dēvī and Dēvalā Dēvī is expressly mentioned as Khambha in these plates. Neither the name nor the genealogy of this ruler has any similarity with that of the Sinda chief Chāvuṇḍa II. It seems unlikely, even considering the grant to be a forged one, that the forgers would make use of the names of the two Sinda queens alone. If they were aware of the names of the queens one would expect them to know the name and family of their husband as well, who was the governor of a number of districts.—Ed.]

No. 17.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Simla.

These plates were discovered on 20th June 1931 at the village **Gaonri** three miles to the north-east of Narwal (the Narhwal of the maps), the headquarters of an estate of the same name, eleven miles to the south-east of Ujjain, on the Ujjain-Dewas Road. They were discovered in the course of cutting the channel or sluice of a tank at the village, and found their way into the hands of the Raoji Saheb of Narwal Estate. Having come to learn of their existence from Pandit Surya Narayan Vyas of Bharati Bhavan, Ujjain, I approached the Raoji Saheb, who very kindly sent the plates to me for decipherment and publication.

The **plates,** which are **five** in number, consist of **two sets** of which three constitute one grant (marked **B**) and the other two another (marked **C**). The plates of the set **B** measure 15″ to 15½″ by 10½″ to 10¼″. Each of the plates is ⅛″ in thickness. The rims have been raised to protect the writing and there are two holes ½″ in diameter on one side through which rings were passed. The set **C** consists of two plates measuring 12½″ to 12¾″ in length and 9¾″ to 10″ in breadth, which have holes similar to those in the plates of the set **B** for passing the rings. The first set weighs 552 *tolas* and the second 218. The rings of the first set are still with the Raoji Saheb, but those of the second set were in a very fragmentary state of preservation when discovered and are stated to be made of iron, but it is likely that they were of copper. No seal appears to have been found with them. It appears that the labourers who found the plates considered them to be of iron and they thought of making blades of shovels out of them, but the Rao Saheb, having come to know of this, ordered them to be brought before him and had them cleaned with chemicals. On receiving them at the Indian Museum, I had them cleaned again, when I discovered the most interesting fact that the outer side of the first plate of the bigger set (marked **A**) was a **palimpsest** and contained regular lines of writing which in spite of the attempt made by the Paramāra engravers to obliterate it by rubbing were still quite legible. Much of this older inscription can be read from the original plate, and the inked impressions are sufficiently legible, in spite of the thinness of the letters. It shows an earlier record of the Rāshṭrakūṭas preceding the date of the Paramāra grant by 52 years. It has been seldom[1] found that one and the same copper-plate bears the inscription of two different kings, particularly as the injunctions which one ruler caused to be recorded and expected his successors to respect them could not with propriety be broken by himself in respect of the donations of previous rulers. In the present case, however, the occurrence of a fresh grant on an old copper-plate record after obliterating the writing can be explained by the state of warfare between the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom of the Deccan and the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. It seems probable that the Rāshṭrakūṭa charter was either snatched away from the possession of the donees or, being an office copy, seized from the Rāshṭrakūṭa treasury in course of the invasion of the Deccan[2]

[1] Dr. Fleet records a palimpsest in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff., but the cancelled grant is practically identical with the renewed grant, which was necessitated by some flaw in the original. [Similar instances are found in the Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha of the year 193 (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 126) and the copper-plate of the Eastern Chālukya ruler Māṅgi-Yuvarāja noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908, pt. ii, paragraphs 12-13. I can also give at least one example where the plates belonging to an earlier ruler were made use of by a later king of the same dynasty by obliterating the original record, *cf.* C. P. No. 6 of 1924-25 (*An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1924-25, pp. 78-79) of the time of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga which originally contained an earlier grant of his grandfather Vajrahasta. What necessitated the obliteration of the original grant or if it was at all issued is not known.—Ed.]

[2] This event must have occurred sometime about 973 A.D., as Dhanapāla mentions in his *Pāiyalachchhī*, that the work was written at Mānyakhēṭa when it was looted by the people of Mālwā.

by the Paramāra King Sīyaka and consigned to the Mālwā treasury along with other treasure and booty brought back from the campaign. Subsequently Sīyaka's son Vākpati-Muñja utilised the plates for engraving a fresh inscription after obliterating the Rāshṭrakūṭa record. It is thus that we can explain the find of a plate granting a village in the Deccan carried away about five hundred miles from the place of its origin.

The **characters** of the Paramāra grants (**B** and **C**) are Dēvanāgarī, regular for the period and locality of the inscription. There is little to record about the Rāshṭrakūṭa grant (**A**) as well. except that the **characters** are of the northern instead of the southern type to which most records of this dynasty are to be attributed. As regards **orthography,** no distinction has been observed between *va* and *ba* and *sa* is often confused with *śa.*

The Paramāra records (**B** and **C**) open each with two verses one in praise of Śiva and the other in that of Vishṇu. Then follows in prose the genealogy of **Vākpatirāja.** As in other records of Vākpati such as the Dharampuri[1] plates only three predecessors of his, *viz.* : **Kṛishṇarāja, Vairisiṁha** and **Sīyaka** are mentioned but not others known from other stone inscriptions. Vākpati is said to have **Amōghavarsha** as ' another name ' of his, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the Harsola grant[2] of his father Sīyaka the latter is probably to be credited with the epithet Akālavarsha. Then follows the specification of the villages granted, which in grant **B** is said to be **Vaṇikā** in the Āvaraka-*Bhōga* and Hūṇa-*Maṇḍala* ; while in grant **C** it is stated to be **Kaḍahichchhaka**[3] in the *Bhukti* of Maddhuka, in the east *Pathaka* of the Ujjayanī-*Vishaya* and the Avantī-*Maṇḍala.* The latter village can be easily identified, as its situation can be located with certainty, being to the east of Ujjain. The village Karcha or Kaḍacha three miles to the north of Narwal and a similar distance to the north-west of Gaonri can be confidently identified with Kaḍahichchhaka. The **Maddhuka**-*Bhukti* in which the village granted was situated may perhaps be identified with Mahū or Mhow, the well-known cantonment near Indore which would be about 40 miles from Narwal. As the **Hūṇa**-*Maṇḍala* of the first plate must evidently refer to the country ruled over by the Hūṇas[4] in Mālwā, it must be taken as the northern part of the Mālwā plateau. The queen Āvalladēvī of the Kalachūri King Karṇa is said to have been the daughter of a Hūṇa king. The **Āvaraka**-*Bhōga* may possibly have been identical with the country round the town of Agar, north-east of Ujjain, close to which there is a place called Awār. **Vaṇikā** is to be identified with the village of Benkā, 15 miles north-west of Awār. The place of the king's encampment is specified in the second set as **Pūrṇṇa**-*Pathaka,* which appears to have been situated on a river named Puṇyābhra, which I am unable to identify. The officer who conveyed the grant in the first set was Rudrāditya, who is also mentioned in the Ujjain plates of 1036 V.S.

The donees in the set **B** are stated to be 26 Brāhmaṇas who received portions of the village of Vaṇikā out of an aggregate of 78 parts. On an average, thus, each Brāhmaṇa received three parts, although two Brāhmaṇas seem to have received only one part each and as many as 9 of them two parts each. The Brāhmaṇas belonging to the *Ṛig-Vēda* seem to have received special preference, inasmuch as four of them received as many as 19 shares. The first-mentioned person is a Brāhmaṇa named Sarvānanda hailing from the village of Kaṇōpā[5] in the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 236.

[3] [See p. 112, note 1 below.—Ed.]

[4] The Hūṇas are said to have been defeated both by Sīyaka, the father of Vākpati (above, Vol. I, p. 223), and by Vākpati-Muñja himself (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 136).

[5] This place should be looked for in the modern Patna Division, particularly in the Shāhābād District of Bihār, its present equivalent being something like Kanpa or Kanwa.

country of Magadha who received as many as eight parts. It is worthy of note that the sole recipient of the second grant which is dated about five years later is the identical Sarvānanda. It is therefore likely that the Brāhmaṇa settled down in the village of which he was the sole proprietor and carried with him the charter which conferred on him the title of the second village as well as that of the other grant of which he was the senior partner. It is noteworthy that the provenance of the plates is within three miles from the second village, while its distance from the first is about 40 miles.

The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country to Mālwā where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donees seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, which (contrary to the current belief that there were no Brāhmaṇas left in Bengal in the 12th century A.D.) appears as a country where Brāhmaṇas studying different Vēdas were flourishing. Thus we find a Brāhmaṇa named Dōnāka, hailing from Vilvagavāsa falling within the southern Rāḍha country, who received as many as five shares. Another person is said to have migrated from **Kulāñchā**, which in the form of Kōlāñcha and Krōḍañcha occurs as the original place of Brāhmaṇas who received grants in Assam, North Bihār and Orissa. I propose to identify this with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal. Another locality mentioned in these plates is **Sāvathidēśa** or **Śāvathikā** which is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinājpur in Bengal. An inscription of Indrapāla,[1] a king of Assam, refers to this Sāvathi (which is apparently the same as Śrāvastī) and mentions the presence of a place called Vaigrāma in it. The identity of the latter has now been completely established by the find of a copper-plate of the Gupta period found at Baigrām at the north-west corner of the Bogra District, in which the place is mentioned as Vāyigrāma. There can be no doubt that Sāvathi, Śrāvastī or the Sāvathidēśa included the northern part of Bogra District. In the present case the two villages in this tract are **Dardurikā** and **Mitila**-*pāṭaka* which it is possible to identify with Dadra in Panchbibi Thana of the Bogra District and Mitail or Matialpārā both of which are in the Bogra District. Most of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the places from Bengal just referred to are stated to have belonged to the Chhandōga-*śākhā* (of the Sāma-Vēda), which is significant in view of the preponderance of the adherents of this Vēda among the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. **Madhyadēśa** which is roughly equivalent to the United Provinces is the original home of at least three of the donees but the place-name **Yaka** or **Ayaka** stated to be included within the Madhyadēśa cannot be identified. **Uttarakuladēśa** in which the village **Pauṇḍarika** was the home of a Brāhmaṇa must be some tract to the north of the Ganges. **Śravaṇabhadra,** stated to be the home of two Brāhmaṇas, also occurs in the plates of Bhōja found at Tilakwādā[2] near Baroda and must be some place in northern India, near Kanauj, as the family of Surāditya in the Tilakwādā plates is stated to have come from Kanauj. It is also mentioned as Sōṇabhadra in the Madhyadēśa in the Sarkhō[3] plates of the Kalachuri Ratnadēva III, being the original home of a family of Brāhmaṇas also of the Vatsa lineage. **Khēṭaka** is undoubtedly the modern Kherā in Gujarāt, while **Nāndipura** in the Lāṭa country is certainly the modern Nāndod on the Narmadā. **Khēḍāpālikā** and **Khaḍupallikā** may indicate a place-name like Khedāvala or Khedaulia, being perhaps the original place of the modern Khedāval Brāhmaṇas. Other places like **Kharjūrikā, Sōpura, Dapura, Ānōha, Avivā** and **Rājakīya**-*grāma* may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mālwā. The

[1] *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, p. 137.

[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, pp. 324 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.

name **Khajuriya** is very common around Ujjain. **Madhupālikā** may be same as Majhowli, a village-name common to U. P. There is thus a vast amount of information regarding the original places of Brāhmaṇas in the present plates which will be of great importance to the social history of this period.

The **date of the donation** of the grant **B** is mentioned as the **full-moon day of Kārttika in the (Vikrama) year 1038,** on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, which is equivalent to Sunday, the 16th October, A.D. 981. The **date on which the grant was actually written and conveyed** appears to be nearly nine months later, being mentioned as the **tenth day of the bright half of the second Āshāḍha of V. S. 1038.** Obviously the year is to be considered as Kārttikādi or Southern and the equivalent date accordingly is July 3, Tuesday, A.D. 982. as there was no intercalation in the month of Āshāḍha in Saṁvat 1038 according to the Northern reckoning. **The second grant (C) was made at the winter solstice** (*Udagayana*) **in the year 1043 V. S.** which fell on 22nd December, A. D. 986, while **the charter was issued on the thirteenth day of the dark (half) of the month of Māgha** which is equivalent to Friday, the 31st December, A.D. 986 taking the month to be *Pūrṇimānta*. The dates of these plates slightly advance our knowledge of the reigning period of Vākpatirāja for whom we already have 1031 and 1036 V.S. as the dates of his Dharampuri[1] and Ujjain[2] plates: but the tragic end of Vākpatirāja in the Chālukya capital must be dated several years later than the date of the second grant.

The plates are all engraved only on one side, the last plate in grant **B** containing on the back only the words *Vaṇikā-grāma-śāsanaṁ tāmrapatrāṇi cha tri(trī)ṇi* stating that the plates of the charter for the village Vaṇikā were three in number. On the first plate the **obliterated Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription (A)** consists of 22 lines. The inscription fortunately contains all the most important information about the record, although there must have been at least two more plates in the beginning, one giving the genealogy and possibly one more at the end containing the concluding portion and the imprecatory verses. The donor **Suvarṇavarshadēva** (Gōvinda IV) is stated to be the son of **Nityavarsha** (Indra III). The **date** of the grant is mentioned in detail as **Sunday the full-moon day of Māgha in the Śaka year 851 Vikṛita-saṁvatsara,** when the moon was in the constellation of Āślēshā and there was an eclipse of the moon. This date is identical in every particular with that of another Kannaḍa inscription of the same ruler, *viz.*, the Kalas[3] inscription and is equivalent to Sunday, the 17th January, A.D. 930, when there was an eclipse of the moon. The **inscription records** that on the great occasion of the lunar eclipse, the king after having made grants of land, learning, food, desire-fulfilling tree, medicine, etc., and having weighed himself (against precious commodities) ordered the donation of the village of **Payalīpattana** situated in the western boundary of Mānyakhēṭa or Malkhed the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital. The **object** of the donation was to establish a *sattra* or charitable feeding house where a thousand Brāhmaṇas belonging to different denominations were to be fed; thus 360 were the Karṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇas of Malkhed; 300 belonged to the Kaṇva-*śākhā*, 240 were Brāhmaṇas from Karahāṭaka (apparently those now known as Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇas in Mahārāshṭra); 72 were Brāhmaṇas of the *Chatuś-Charaṇa* or all the four *Charaṇas* and 28 Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as *Sahasra-sāmānya* or common to the thousand. The reference to the donations of this king in the phrase *prati....prayachchhatā* = 'daily giving away (to Brāhmaṇas, etc.) incessantly

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 160.
[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 329 ff.

charters of villages respected (by all) by the hundred' is borne out by his Cambay Plates[1] issued about four months later, when he granted 600 villages and 3 lacs of gold coins to Brāhmaṇas and 800 villages and 4 lacs of gold coins to temples. The arrangement of the donor is stated to be that the proceeds of the village granted were to be utilised for the feeding of a thousand Brāhmaṇas every day (apparently at Mānyakhēṭa). There is mention of some ceremonies on the *Akshaya-pūrṇamāsī*, which is probably the same day as the full moon of Māgha, the date of the present grant.[2] The boundaries of the village granted beginning from the east were the villages Karigrāma, Maṇḍavaka, Nandasura, Nandalagrāma, Nāsapura, Yamalagrāma, Vēllavaśa, Dhammaṇagrāma, Sēllavi and Kapitthakhēḍa. None of these localities I have yet been able to identify, but they are apparently to be looked for in the western part of the Deccan plateau.

Table of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja: V.S. 1038.

Serial No.	Name of Donee.	Father's name.	Original place.	Vēda and Śākhā.	Gōtra and Pravara.	Parts of village granted.
1	Sarvānanda	Dīkshita Lōkānanda.	Kaṇōpā in Magadha.	Ṛigvēda, Bahvṛicha.	Sāmkṛitya . 3	8
2	Mūlasthāna	Brahmapaṇḍita.	Ayaka in Madhyadēśa.	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Vāsishṭha . 3	3
3	Lōhiṇa	Īśvara	Kāvaḍa	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Gautama . 3	3
4	Chandrāditya	Pītavāsa	Chauramba	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Śāṇḍilya . 3	4
5	Śābara	Raṇāditya	Kulāñchā	Do.	Do. . 3	2
6	Agnihōtrin Lōhapa.	Vāsudēva	Avivā in Aśurēsa-*maṇḍala*.	Do.	Vatsa . 5	4
7	Dōnāka	Gōsaraṇa	Vilvagavāsa in Dakshiṇa Rāḍha.	Do.	Pārāśara . 5[3]	5
8	Anantāditya	Surāditya	Khaḍupalikā	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Maudgalya . 3	2
9	Vāmanasvāmin	Dīkshita Hari	Pauṇḍarika in Uttarakula.	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Gārgya . 5	3
10	Ātuka	Risiula	Umvarāchara	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Agastya . 3	1
11	Purushōttama	Līhā	? in Madhyadēśa	Do.	Maitrēya . 3	4
12	Gōvindasvāmin.	Dēvasvāmin	Madhupālikā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Kāśyapa . 3	3
13	Sihaṭa	Mitrānanda	Śravaṇabhadra	Ṛigvēda, Bahvṛicha.	Vatsa . 5	4
14	Śaṅkara	Dēvāditya	Dardurikā in Śāvathikā.	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Bhārgava . 3	2

[1] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 26 ff.

[2] [See p. 108, note 1 below.--Ed.]

[3] This is apparently a mistake for 3, as this *gōtra* is never found to have five *pravaras*.

Table of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja : V. S. 1038—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Donee.	Father's name.	Original place.	Vēda and Śākhā.	Gōtra and Pravara.	Parts of village granted.
15	Madhumathana	Achala . .	Mitilapāṭaka in Sāvathikādēśa.	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Parāśara . 3	2
16	Svayaṁtapa .	Śrīnivāsa .	Khēḍāpālikā .	Do. .	Mauni . 3	3
17	Nēnaiyaka .	Madhu . .	Khēṭaka . .	Ṛigvēda, Bahvṛicha.	Bhāradvāja . 3	4
18	Jāmaṭa . .	Vishṇu . .	Ānōha . .	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Bhārgava . 3	2
19	Dēdēka . .	Do. . .	Do. . . .	Do. .	Do. . 3	2
20	Āvasthika Śarvadēva.	Lōhaṭa .	Sōpura . .	Sāmavēda, Kauthuma.	Śāṇḍilya . 3	2
21	Varāha . .	Śrīdhara .	Kharjūrikā . .	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Māhula . 3	4
22	Āśāditya . .	Māhula .	Dapura . .	Ṛigvēda, Bahvṛicha	Vārāha . 3	3
23	Bhāila . .	Hari . .	? in Lāṭadēśa .	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Kāśyapa . 3	1
24	Dēvāditya .	Līlāditya .	Rājakīya . .	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga.	Vatsa . 5	2
25	Mumjāla . .	Īśvara . .	Nāndipura in Lāṭadēśa.	Yajurvēda, Vājimādhyandina.	Bhāradvāja 3	2
26	Amātta . .	Guṇākara .	Śravaṇabhadra .	Do. .	Vatsa . 5	3
					Total .	78

A.—Fragmentary grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Suvarṇavarsha (Gōvinda IV) : Śaka 851.

TEXT.

1 परमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यव[र्ष]देवपादानुद्ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमत्सुव-

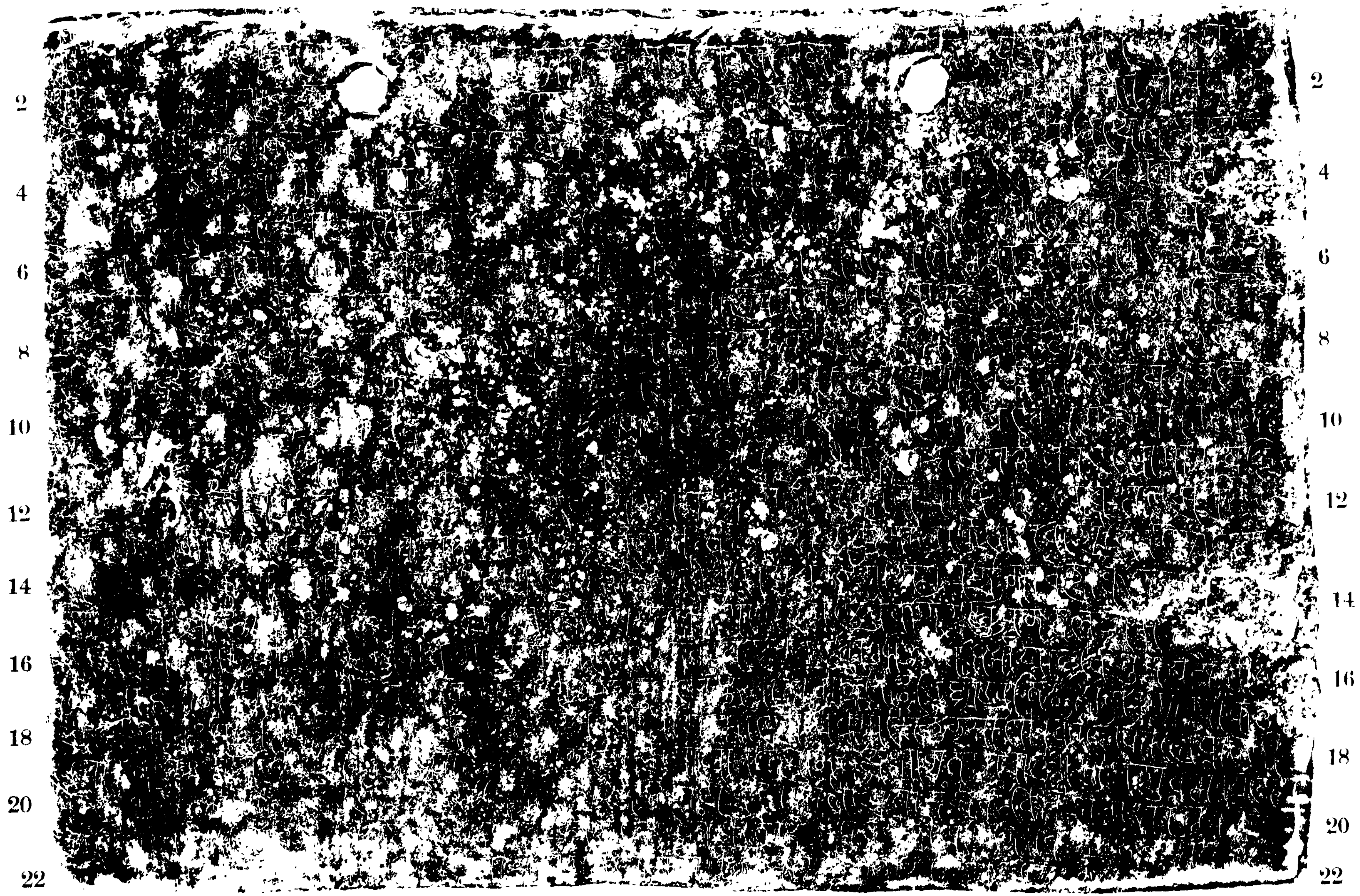
2 र्ण्णवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभ[श्री]मद्वल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव [यथा]सम्ब(म्ब)ध्य-
मानकान्राष्ट्रपति-

3 विषयपतिग्रामकूटमहत्तरायुक्तकोपयुक्तकाधिकारिकान्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं
यथा मा-

4 न्यखेटराजधानीस्थिरतरावस्थानेन मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये पूर्व्वलु-
[प्तान]-

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

A.—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SUVARNNAVARSHA (GOVINDA IV): SAKA 851.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 पि देवभोगाग्रहारान्प्रतिपालयता प्रतिदिनं च निरवधि नमस्यग्रामशासनानि
शतस:(श:) प्रयच्छ[ता]

6 मया शकनृपकालातीतसंव[त्सर]शतेष्वष्टस्वेकपंचाशदधिकेष्वंकतोपि सम्वत्सराणां
८५१ प्र-

7 वर्त्तमानविक्रतसम्वत्सरान्तर्ग्गतमाघपौर्ण्णमास्यां रवा आश्लेषानक्षत्रसं[स्था]ने शसि-
(शि)नि सो-

8 म[ग्रह]णमहापर्व्वणि पृथिवीदानविद्यादानाहारदानकल्पवृक्षना(दा)नभैषज्यदाना-
नानि(दानानि) दत्वा(त्त्वा)

9 तुलापुरुषाद[नु]त्तरता मया प्रथमं करोदकातिसर्ग्गेण सहस्रप्रमाणमहाजनाय
सत्वर्थ:(त्वार्थं)

10 ··[मान्य] खेट[कर्ण्णा]टकप्रमुखव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां श(ष)ष्ट्यधिकशतत्रयं वाजि-
कण्वप्रमुखव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां

11 शतत्रयं करहाटकप्रमुखव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां चत्वारिंशदधिकं शतद्वयं चतुश्चरणसा-
मान्यषष्टि-

12 वर्ग्गव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां द्विसप्तति: सहस्रसामान्यव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानामष्टाविंशतिरेवं
सहश्र(स्र)व्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

13 णेभ्य: श्रीमान्यखेटपश्चिमाघाटव्यवस्थितपयलीपत्तनं सवृक्षमालाकु[लं] सधान्यहिर-
ण्यादेयं

14 सदण्डदोश(ष)न्दशापराधं समस्तो[त्प]त्तिशुल्कोत्पत्तिसहितं पूर्व्वप्रसिद्धचतुस्सीम-
पर्यन्तमाचन्द्रार्क्क [क्षत्रप्रतिपाल]-

15 णीयां[1]श्चास्य पूर्व्वदिवसं[सा]दि(?) प्रा[ग्द]क्षिण्येन करिग्राम: मण्डवकनन्दसुर-
नन्दलग्रामश......

16 ना[स]पुर्यमलग्रामवेल्लवग्रधम्मणग्रामसेल्लविकपित्थखेडग्रामा: एवं श(स)र्व्वाघाट-
विशुद्धपर्यलीप-

17 त्तनं रा(स)हश्र(स्र)महाजनस्य कृषत: कर्षयतो भु(भुं)जतो भोजयतो वा न
कै:श्चि(कैश्चि)द्व्याघति:(घात:) भूय: व्या[?]न्याकर्त्त[व्या*][2]

18 व्र(ब्र)ह्मग्राम: [पुण्यविध्य]र्थकानि च भवन्ति ॥ स(रा)मवचनं ॥ सामान्योयं
धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले त्पा(पा)लनी-

19 यो भवद्भि:[।*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविन: पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: ॥
व्यवस्था चात्र ॥ श्रीमत्सुवर्ण्णवर्षदे-

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[1] The reading of the last five letters is doubtful.

[2] Probably the intended reading was *vyāghatē bhūtv=ānyathā karttavyā.*

20 वस्याक्षय[पूर्ण]मास्यां [देव]प्रीत्यर्थं[1][।*] सिद्धिरस्त्वित्येतेन श्रेयोर्थव्र(ब्र)ह्मशाला-
प्रसादं(दां)शकविस्तीर्ण्णवासां स्वर्च्चतो

21 [परिवर्ण्णितविशेष...] श(स)हस्रव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभोजनं प्रतिदिनं प्रवर्त्तनीयनिनि
(मिति) ॥ धर्म्माभिवृद्धये तेन

22 यत्र...वण मया...कीयस्य...स निन च...

B.—Plates of Vākpati-Muñja : V. S. 1038.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [॥*] याः स्फूर्ज्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूम्र[प्र*]भाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव(ब)द्धशशाङ्क-
कोटिघटिता याः सैङ्हि(सैंहि)केयोपमाः [।]* याश्चच(श्च)द्रिरिजा-

2 कपोललुलिता[:*] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः श्रेयान्सि-
(यांसि) पुष्णन्तु वः ॥ यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेदु(न्दु)ना न सुखितं यन्ना-

3 र्द्रितम्वारिधेर्व्वारा यन्न निजेन [ना]भिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतं [।*] यच्छेषा-
हिफणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्न्न चाश्वासितं तद्राधाविरहा-

4 तुरं मुररिपोर्व्वेल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
कृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टार-

5 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्ह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-

6 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पति-
राजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभ-

7 श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥ यथा हूणमंडले आवरकभोगसम्ब(म्ब)द्धपूर्व्व-
भोक्तृभिर्भुक्तभुक्तिक्रमेण यथासम्व(म्ब)[द्ध्य]मा-

8 न[:*] समस्ततलकैः सहित(ते) वणिकाग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषां(षा)न्व्रा-
(न्ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासि[पट्ट]किलजनप[दा]-

9 दींश्च वं(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथा अतीत(ता)ष्टतृंम(त्रिंश)दुत्तर-
साहस्रिकसम्व(संव)त्सरेस्मिन् कार्त्ति[क्यां सोम]ग्रहणपर्व्वणि-

10 स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्च्य सन्सा(संसा)रस्यासारतां
दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसु[धा][3]धिपत्यमापातमात्र-

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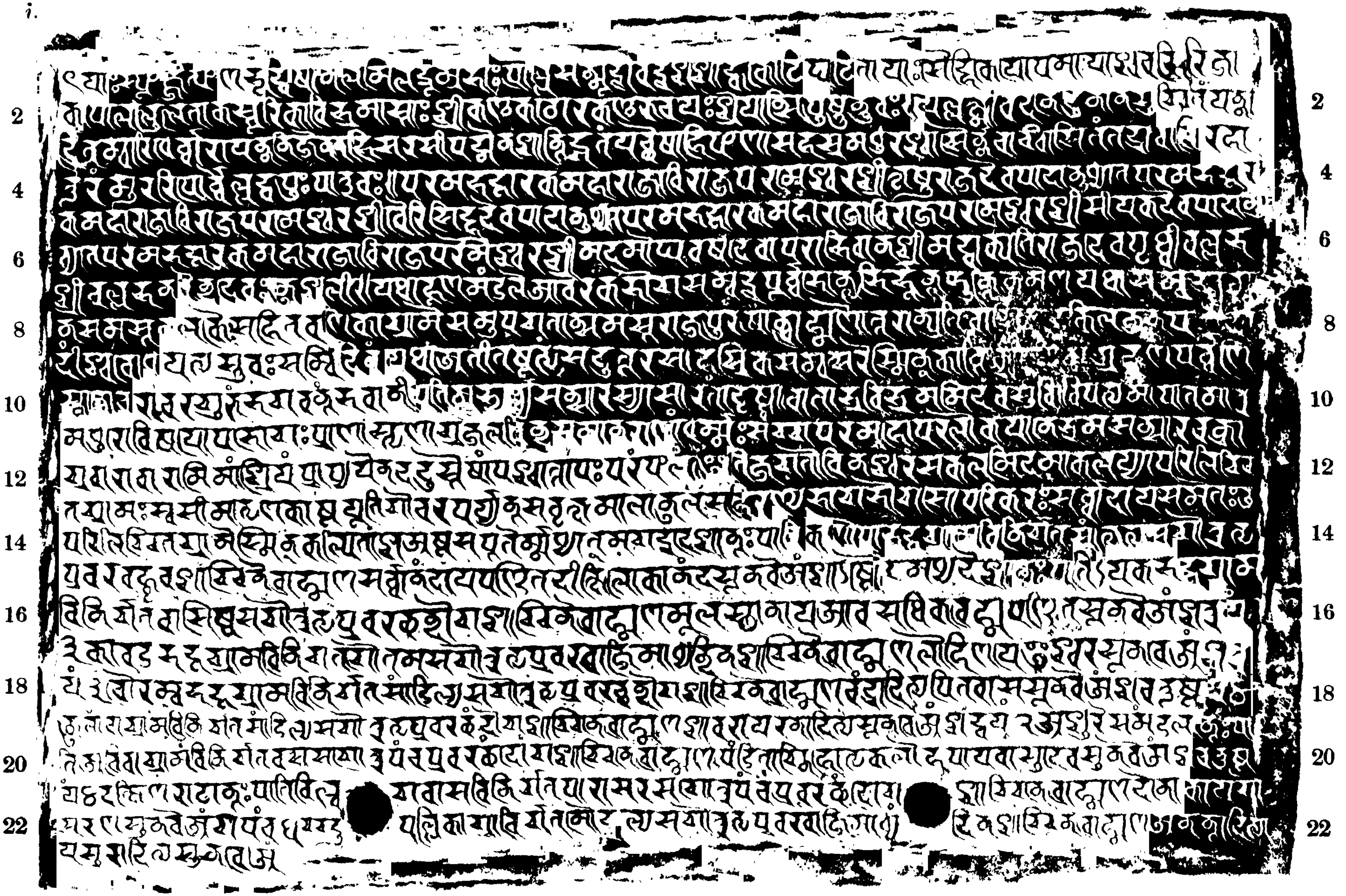
[1] [The reading appears to be=*ākshaya-punyam=astv=abhiprītyartham*.—Ed.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] First *dhi* was written, then the scribe put the *ā* sign without deleting the *ī* sign.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

B.—PLATES OF VAKPATI-MUNJA: V. S. 1038.

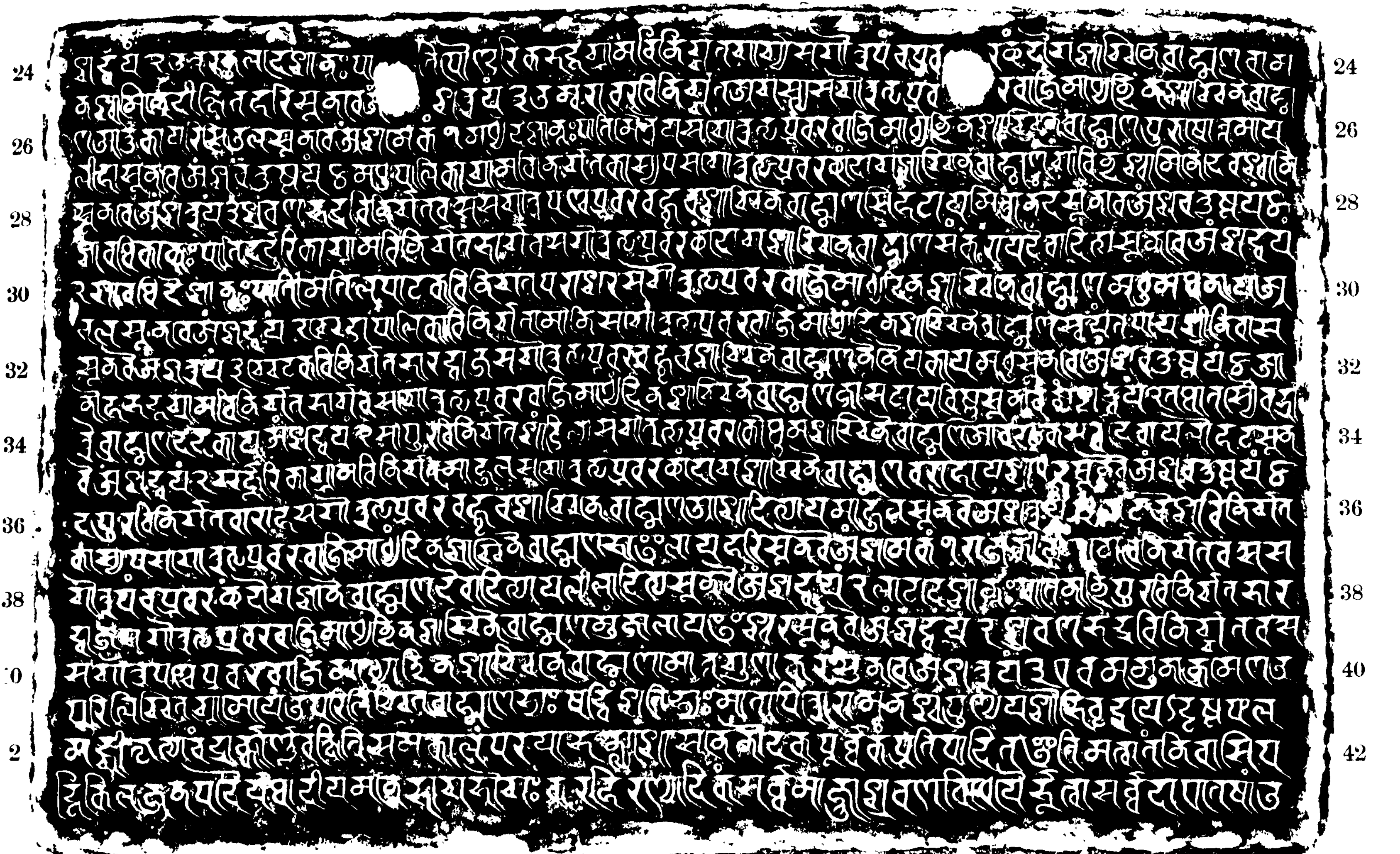


SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

ii.



11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [।*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविं(बिं)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने [॥*] भ्रमत्सन्सा(त्संसा)रचक्रा-

12 ग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं [।*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकलय्या(य्यो)परिलिखि-

13 तग्रामः स्वसीमातृणकाष्ट(ष्ठ)यूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्त(न्तः) सवृक्षमालाकुल(लः) स-हिरण्यभागभोग(गः) सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादायसमेतः उ-

14 परिलिखितग्रामेस्मिन् कल्पितांश अष्टसप्ततेर्मध्यात् मगद(ध)देशान्तःपातिकणो-पाभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतसांकृत्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-

15 प्रवरव(ब)ह्वृचशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसर्व्वानंदाय पण्डितदीक्षि[त*]लोकानंदसूनवे अंशाऽष्टौ[1] ८ मध्यदेशान्तःपातित्यकभट्टग्राम-

16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(च्छ)न्दोगशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूलस्थानाय आव-स्थिकव्र(ब्र)ह्मपण्डितसूनवे अंशत्रयं

17 ३ कावडभट्टग्रामविनिग(र्ग)तगौतमसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)-ह्मणलोहिणाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे अंशत्र-

18 यं ३ चौरम्व(म्ब)भट्टग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरच्छंदोगशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवामसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४

19 कुलांचाग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-शाव(ब)राय रना(णा)दित्यसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ अशुरिसमंडलान्तःपा-

20 ति अविवाग्रामविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपंचप्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिता-ग्निहोतृ(त्रि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)नवे अंशचतुष्ट-

21 यं ४ दक्षिणराढान्तःपातिविल्वगवामविनिर्गतपाराश(श)रसगोत्रपंचप्रवरछं(च्छं)दो-गशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदीनाकाय गो-

22 सरणसु(सू)नवे अंशपंच[2] ५ खडुपल्लिकाग्रा[म*]वि[नि*]र्गतमौद्गल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-प्रवरवाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणअनन्तादित्या-

23 य सुरादित्यसु(सू)नवे अं-

Second Plate.

24 शद्वयं २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःपातिपौण्डरिकभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतगार्ग्यसगोत्रपंचप्र-वरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-

25 नश्वा(स्वा)मिने दीक्षितहरिसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ उम्वराचरविनिर्गत अगस्त्यस-गोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

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[1] Read अंशाष्टकं.

[2] Read अंशपञ्चकं.

26 ण आतुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंशमेकं १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोत्र(त्रि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरुषोत्तमाय

27 लोहासूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकाग्रामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्य)पसगोत्र(त्रि)-
प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोमशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगोविन्दस्वा(स्वा)मिने देवस्वा(स्वा)मि-

28 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ श्रवणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरव(ब)ह्वृचशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणसिद्दटाय मित्रानंदसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४

29 शावथिकान्तःपातिदर्दुरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसं(शं)कराय देवादित्यसूनवे अंशद्वयं

30 २ सावथि[का*]देशान्तःपातिमितिलपाटकविनिग(र्ग)तपराशरसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरवा-
जिमाध्यंदिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमधुमथनाय अ-

31 चलसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतमौनिसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यं-
दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्वयंतपाय श्रीनिवास-

32 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ खेटकविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरव(ब)ह्वृचशाखिने
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणनैनैयकाय मधुसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ आ-

33 नोहभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्र(त्रि)पवरवाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजाम-
टाय विष्णुसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ तथा तस्यैव भ्रा-

34 त्रे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेदेकाय अंशद्वयं २ सोपुरविनिर्गतशांडिल्यसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरकौथु-
मशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआवस्थिकस(श)र्व्वदेवाय लोहटसून-

35 वे अंशद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतमाड्डुलसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४

36 दपुरविनिर्गतवाराहसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरव(ब)ह्वृचशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआशादित्याय
माड्डुलसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-

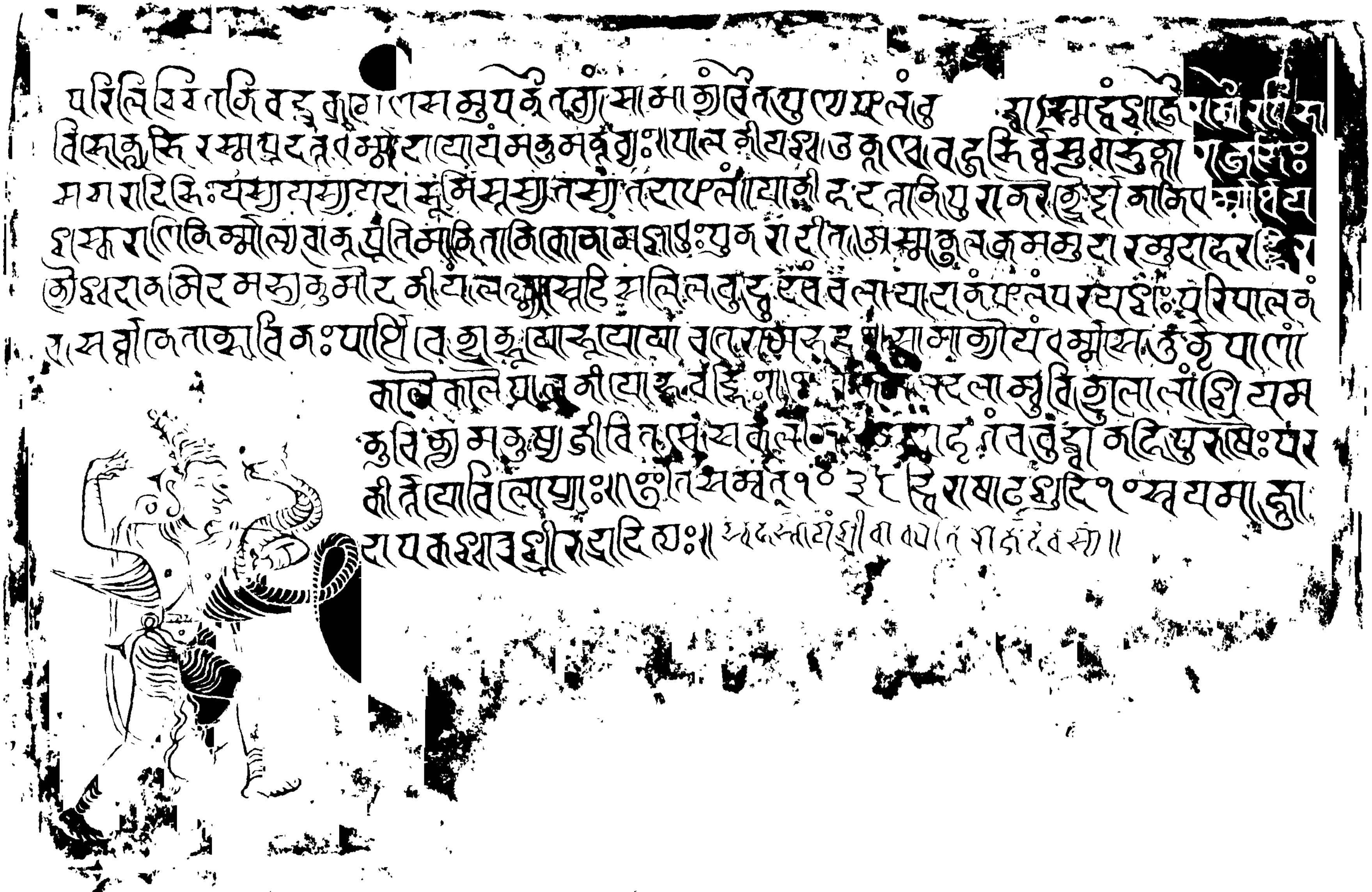
37 कास्य(श्य)पसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभाइलाय हरिसूनवे
अंशमेकं १ राज[कीयग्राम]विनिर्गतवत्स-

38 गोत्रपंचप्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशा[खि*]ने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेवादित्याय लीलादित्यसूनवे
अंशद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनान्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-

39 द्वाजसगोत्र(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमुंजालाय द्व(दु)र्ग्गेश्वरसूनवे
अंशद्वयं २ श्रवणभद्रविनिर्ग्गतवत्स-

40 सगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरवाजिमाध्या(ध्य)न्दिनशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणामात्त(त्य?)गुणाकरसु(सू)न-
वे अंशत्रयं ३ एवममुना क्रमेण उ-

iii



44 46 48 50 52

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41 परिलिखितग्रामोयं उपरिलिखितत्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्य: षट्टिं(ड्विं)शतिभ्य: मातापित्रोरात्म-
नश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽदृष्टफल-

42 मङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वकं प्रति-
पादित इति मत्वा तंनि(तन्नि)वासिप-

43 ट्टि(ट्ट)किलजनपदैर्य्यथादीयमानभागभोग:(ग)करहिरण्यादिकं सर्व्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधे-
यैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वदा एतेषां उ-

Third Plate.

44 परिलिखितनिव(ब)द्धक्रमेण समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(बु)[द्ध्वा]ऽस्म-
द्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भा-

45 विभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोयं(य)मनुमन्तव्य: ॥ पालनीयश्च । उक्तञ्च ।
व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि:

46 सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थय-

47 शस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा(सा)धु: पुन-
रा[द*]दीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रमसुदारसुदाहरद्भिर-

48 न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [।*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुद्(बुद्)दचंचलाया दानं
फलं परयश:परिपालनं

49 च ।[।*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविन: पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र:। सामान्योयं
धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां

50 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: ॥ इति कमलदलाम्वुवि(म्बुवि)न्दुलोलां
श्रियम-

51 नुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च वु(बु)द्ध्वा नहि पुरुषै:
पर-

52 कीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: ॥ इति सम्व(संव)त् १०३८ द्विराषाढ़शुदि १० स्वय-
माज्ञा-

53 दापकश्चात्र श्रीरुद्रादित्य: ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

C.—Plates of Vākpati(-Muñja) : V. S. 1043.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं[1][।*] या: स्फूर्ज्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूम(म्र)प्रभा: प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव(ब)द्धशशांककोटिघटिता या:

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

2 सैंहिकेयोपमा: । यास्वंचन्निरिजाकपोललुलिता: कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ता: श्रीकण्ठकठो-

3 रकण्ठरुचय: श्रेयांसि पुष्णन्तु व: ॥ यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखित(तं) यन्नार्द्रितं वारिधेर्व्वारा यन्न नि-

4 जेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्ति(न्तिं) गतं । यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्न्न चाश्वासि(सि)तं तद्राधाविरहा-

5 तुरं मुररिपोर्व्वल्लद्वपु: पातु व: ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेव-

6 पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्ह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-

7 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप-

8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेंद्रदेव:

9 कुशली ॥ अवन्तीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयनीविषयपूर्वपथकसम्भव(म्ब)ध्यमानमडुकभुक(क्तौ) कडहिच्छक-[1]

10 ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(बो)-

11 धयत्यस्तु व: सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथा । पूर्ण्णपथकावास्थितैरस्माभिस्त्रिचत्वारिस-(रिंश)सम्व(संव)त्सरसहस्रे[2] माघे मासि

12 उदगयनपर्व्वणि । पुण्याभ्रसरिति स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवत(न्त)मम्बि(म्बि)कापतिमभ्यर्च्य स(सं)सारस्यासा-

13 रतां दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोग: । प्राणास्तृणा-

14 ग्रजलवि(बि)दु(न्दु)समा नराणां धर्म: सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां

15 श्रियं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्ताप: परम्फलम् ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकल-

16 य्य । अयमुपरि समारोपितग्राम: । स्वसीमातृणगोचरगोयूतिपय(र्य)न्त: सवृक्षमालाकुल-

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[1] [The reading appears to be *Kaḍahisthaka*.—Ed.]

[2] Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके संवत्सरसहस्रे.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

C.—PLATES OF VAKPATI-MUNJA: V. S. 1043.

i.



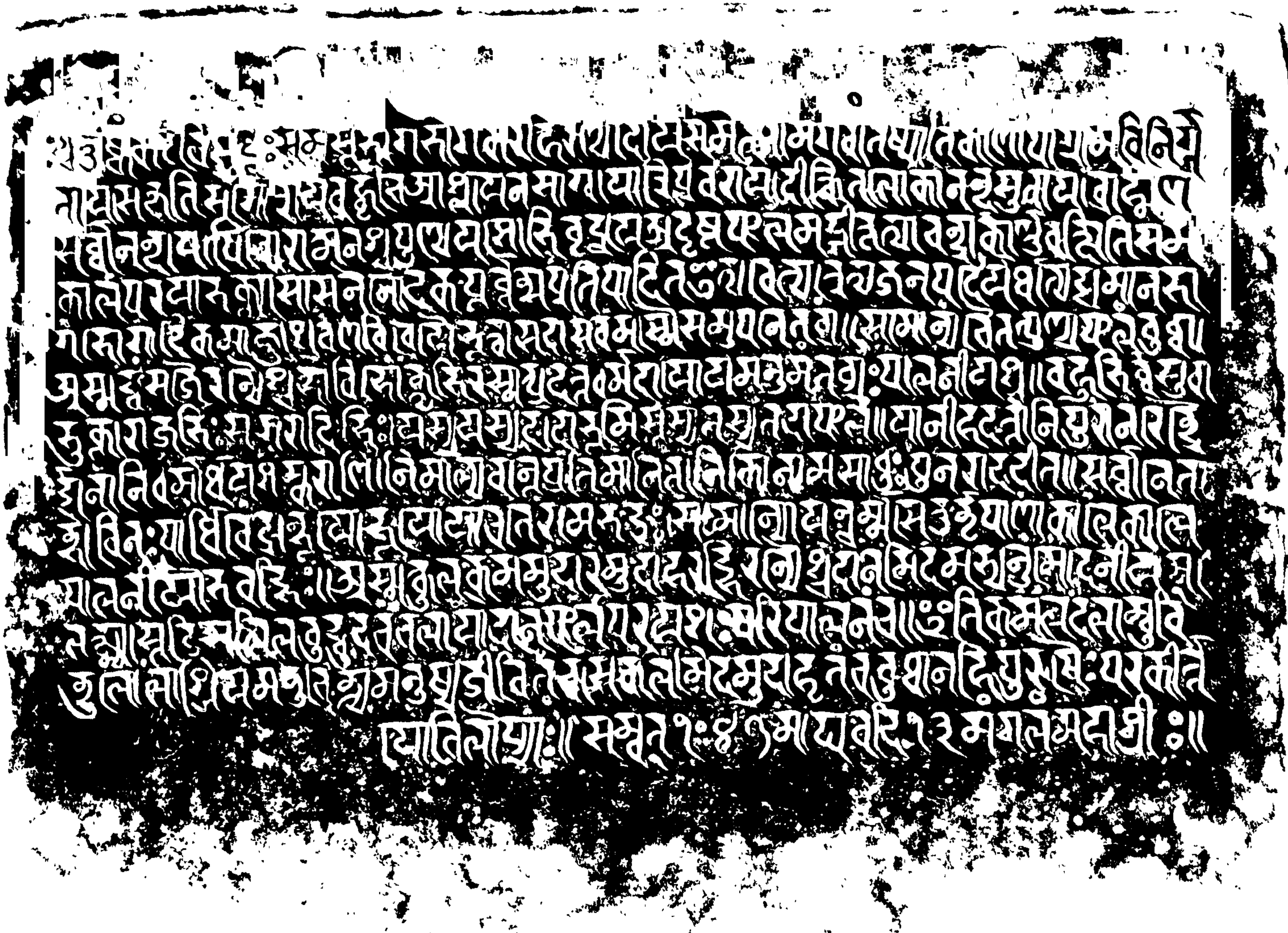
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI,

Reg. No. 3077 E'36 295

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.



18 20 22 24 26 28

Second Plate.

17 श्चतुष्कांकटवि[शु]ड: समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादायसमेत: ॥ मगधांत><पातिकणी-
पाग्रामविनिर्ग्ग-

18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिसगोत्राय व(ब)हृचे आश्ला(श्वला)यनसा(शा)खाय । त्रिप्रव-
राय । दोच्चितलोकानन्दसु[ता]य । व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-

19 सर्व्वानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्का-
र्ण्णवच्चितिसम-

20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्व्वम्स(र्व्वं सं)प्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्यात्रत्यज-
नपदैर्यथा(थो)त्पद्यमानभा-

21 गभोगादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैभू(र्भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) ।

22 अस्मद्वंस(श)जैरन्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्य: पालनीयश्च ॥
व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा

23 भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै-

24 र्द्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु:
पुनराददीत ॥ सर्व्वानेता-

25 न्भाविन: पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: । सामान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
काले काले

26 पालनीयो भवद्भि: ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोद-
नीयम् ।

27 लक्ष्म्यास्तड़ित्सलिलवुद्‌वु(बुद्बु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयश:परिपालनं च ॥
इति कमलदलाम्वुवि(म्बुबि)-

28 न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च वुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)
नहि पुरुषै: परकीर्त्त-

29 यो विलोप्या: ॥ सम्व(संव)त् १०४३ माघवदि १३ मंगलं महाश्री: ॥

No. 18.—MALLAR PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

Mallār is a large village with a population of over 2,000 souls, 16 miles south-east of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the Bilāspur District in the Central Provinces. It was an important place in former times as can be judged by the ruins of an old fort near by, with a moat all round and a number of old tanks on all sides. It still contains numerous ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist

and Jain sculptures. Several stone inscriptions have been found there, one of which has been removed to Bilāspur[1] and another has been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.[2] The place is called Mallāla in these inscriptions. Two more statue inscriptions have been recently discovered at Mallār, one of which is incised in early Brāhmī characters. The present plates were discovered underground near a temple between the village and the fort in August 1936. They were first brought to notice by Mr. P. L. Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Mahākōsala Historical Society, Bilāspur, through the courtesy of Mr. Sudha Ram, Malguzar of Mallār and a member of the Bilāspur Local Board, and have since been acquired by Mr. K. N. Nagarakatti, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

They are **three copper plates** of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Their surface was corroded in some places, but, fortunately, no letter has been lost. The plates have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor of the Nāgpur Museum, who has kindly supplied us with their ink-impressions. The letters were deeply engraved and show through in many places on the back of the first and the third plate. Each plate measures 8·4″ in length, 5″ in breadth and about ·1″ in thickness. The middle plate is somewhat thicker than the others. The rims of the plates were not raised, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1″ from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole ·6″ in diameter for the ring which connects it with the other plates of the set. The ends of this ring which is about ·4″ in thickness and 4·3″ in diameter are secured below a circular seal 3·5″ in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum. The surface of the **seal**, which is somewhat deeply counter-sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a *triśūla* in front. Behind the animal is what looks like a *kamaṇḍalu* with something placed on it. Below this comes the **legend** in two lines, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves one on either side. In form, fabric and disposition of the device and the legend, the seal of the present plates resembles those of the Rājim[3] and Balōdā[4] plates of Tīvaradēva and of the plates of ' the kings of Śarabhapura '[5]. The weight of three plates is 123½ *tolas* and that of the seal and the ring 82½ *tolas*.

The record consists of 28 lines, there being seven on each inscribed surface. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved. Their average size is ½″. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Tīvaradēva. These are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the plates of ' the kings of Śarabhapura ' and much more so than those of the plates of the Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasēna II[6] and Pṛithivishēṇa II.[7] The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *ī* is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form ; see *gītā-* l. 21 and *vaishṇavī* l. 22 ; the medial *au* is tripartite ; see *śauryya* ll. 2-3 ; the right vertical stroke of *ch* and *kh* is lengthened below the rectangle on the left ; see, *e.g.*, *chāturdiś-* l. 12, *chandr-* ll. 13-14, *su(pra)mukhān* ll. 7-8 ; the subscript *r* has in many places the same form as the vowel *ṛi* ; see *śri* and *pitṛi* both in l. 5 ; the

[1] Now deposited in the Town Hall of Bilāspur. See Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), No. 220.

[2] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1241. The Ratanpur inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II and Brahmadēva (*ibid.*, No. 1240) also seems to have originally come from Mallār: for l. 22 of it reads मल्लालेऽस्मिन्नवलधवलं धूर्ज्जटेर्द्धाम चक्रे ।

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLV.

[4] Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.

[5] See, *e.g.*, the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15ff.

[6] See, *e.g.*, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XXXV.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267ff.

final form of *t* occurs in ll. 19, 24 and 25 ; punctuation is denoted by a vertical line hooked at the top. The **language** is Sanskrit and with the exception of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end the whole record is in prose. Unlike the charters of Tīvaradēva[1] it contains no expressions in common with the formal portion of the grants of the 'kings of Śarabhapura.' The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has for instance used in many places the short for the long form of medial *i* (see, *e.g.*, *kshitiśa* and *mahaniya* in l. 1, *kuśali* in l. 5, etc.) and, in some places of medial *u* also (see *sunu*, l. 4, *suryya* l. 23, etc.) ; the *anusvāra*, *visarga* and final consonants are omitted in many cases ; see *sapādita-* l. 2, *mahābhyudaya* l. 3 and *purushā* l. 9 ; the unaspirated consonant is used for the aspirated one in—*palaṁ* and *vice versâ* in *abhishṭhaṁ* both in l. 20. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* before *v* in *paradattām=vā* l. 27 and to *ṅ* before a sibilant in *vaṅśa* l. 4, *Taraḍaṅśaka* l. 11 and *nṛiśaṅsāt* l. 19 ; cases of wrong *sandhi* occur in *anyāṅś=cha* l. 8, *uchchhrijya* l. 21 and *dānāt=srēyō* l. 28, etc. As regards **orthographical peculiarities** sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar we may notice that the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled in some cases, *e.g.*, *śauryya* ll. 2-3, *sarvva-* l. 8, *pittrō°* l. 14, *ch=āttra* l. 22, etc.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Mahā-Śivaguptarāja,** the son of the illustrious **Harshadēva**[2], who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the king's donation of the village **Kailāsapura** in the *bhōga* or subdivision of **Taraḍaṁśaka** to the community of venerable monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery at Taraḍaṁśaka, which had been constructed by Alakā, the wife of Kōradēva[3]. The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha at the request of the king's maternal uncle the illustrious **Bhāskaravarman.**

This Mahā-Śivaguptarāja, the son of Harshagupta, is evidently identical with the homonymous king, also known as Bālārjuna and mentioned in several stone inscriptions at Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura) in the Raipur District.[4] From one of these edited by R. B. Hiralal[5] we learn that his mother Vāsaṭā was a daughter of king Sūryavarman of the Varman dynasty of Magadha. As shown elsewhere,[6] this Sūryavarman is probably identical with the prince Sūryavarman, a son of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman, whose Harāhā stone inscription[7] is dated in (Mālava) Saṁvat 611 (A. D. 555). Bhāskaravarman who is called in the present plates the maternal uncle of Mahā-Śivagupta was, thus, a son of Sūryavarman. The name of Sūryavarman is omitted in the later Maukhari genealogy and it is therefore supposed that he must have predeceased his father[8] or if he came to the throne he left no male issue. The present inscription shows, however, that his son Bhāskaravarman lived to a fairly advanced age. Was Sūryavarman, then, a younger son of Īśānavarman who consequently never came to the throne ? Or if he succeeded his father as implied by his title *nṛipa* in the Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsaṭā, was his son Bhāskaravarman prevented from succeeding him in consequence of a war of succession ? These questions cannot yet be answered in the absence of sufficient evidence.

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[1] See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 5.

[2] The king is named Harshagupta in the legend on the seal.

[3] The text reads कोरदेवभोर्य्यालककारित-, but as this gives no satisfactory meaning, we propose to read कोरदेवभार्य्यालकाकारित.

[4] See Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 1654 and 1655. Also Hiralal's *List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Nos. 173 and 184.

[5] The Lakshmaṇa Temple Inscription, above, Vol. XI, pp. 184ff.

[6] See Ṭhakurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

From the Jaunpur[1] and Harāhā stone inscriptions we learn that the Maukhari kings Īśvaravarman and his son Īśānavarman raided the Āndhra country [2] and defeated the ruling king. As the country of Dakshiṇa Kōsala (modern Chhattīsgarh), where the early Sōmavaṁśī kings were ruling, is contiguous to the Āndhra country, it is not unlikely that the marriage of the Maukhari princess Vāsaṭā with king Harshagupta of Dakshiṇa Kōsala had a political significance. It may be noted in this connection that Udayana the earliest known king of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālañjara[3] records his construction of a temple of Vishṇu, evidently at Kālañjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of the then Maukhari Emperor and either he or his sons invaded Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattīsgarh during the campaigns of the Maukhari king Īśvaravarman against the Āndhra king who was probably a prince of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family. In any case we find Udayana's grandsons Nannadēva and Īśānadēva firmly established in Chhattīsgarh. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakhaṇēśvar at Kharōḍ in the Bilāspur District records Īśānadēva's gift of some villages evidently to the god enshrined in that temple.[4] Īśānadēva's nephew Tīvaradēva is known from two sets of plates found at Rājim in the Raipur District and Balōdā in the Phuljhar Zamindari in the old Sambalpur and present Raipur District, both the places being included in Chhattīsgarh. The villages mentioned in the Balōdā plates cannot be traced but those named in the Rājim plates can be identified in the vicinity of Rājim.[5] As stated before, Tīvaradēva's grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, the donor of the present plates, is known from several stone inscriptions at Sirpur. The find-spots of these inscriptions and the identification of the villages mentioned in them clearly show that these Sōmavaṁśī kings were at first ruling in the Western parts of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. It is not therefore unlikely that the Maukhari kings Īśvaravarman and Īśānavarman were helped in their southern campaigns by these Sōmavaṁśī princes of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. This also accounts for the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I's invasion and occupation of the capital of Trivara (*i.e.*, Tīvaradēva) as stated in his Pulōmbūru and Īpūr plates.[6] The political alliance between the Maukhari and Sōmavaṁśī houses seems to have been cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vāsaṭā and Harshagupta.

There is one more stone inscription of this dynasty which is said to have been found at Bhāndak outside the limits of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, *viz.*, the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin, now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.[7] But one cannot be certain about its find-spot ; for, as pointed out by R. B. Hiralal, no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Nāgpur Museum. Besides, this inscription is fragmentary. The extant portion unfortunately contains no place-name, otherwise it may have helped us in tracing its find-spot. We have therefore to rely on conjecture in this respect. In 1873 while Cunningham was at Bhāndak he was informed that " an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Rājā about 40, or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Saheb."[8] Cunningham

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 228ff.

[2] If the Śūlikas over whom Īśānavarman won a victory are identified with the Chōlas, the Maukhari king must have penetrated much further to the south.

[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and plate IX ; above Vol. IV, p. 257, note 4.

[4] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1651. In an inscription at Ārang, the name of Raṇakēsarin occurs (see Hiralal's *List*, No. 183), but it cannot be said if he is identical with Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin, or with the brother of Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 191.)

[5] The Rājim plates record the grant of Pimparipadraka in the Pēnṭhāma-*bhukti* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 295). These places have not yet been identified, but the former is certainly Piprōd, 3 miles north-west of Rājim and the latter may be Pōndh 6 miles north of Rājim.

[6] See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 19ff.

[7] Edited by Kielhorn in *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 617ff.

[8] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

conjectured that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin must have been the one removed by Mr. Wilkinson from Bhāndak on the following grounds: (1) It is a long slab just as described to him by the people of Bhāndak and it is of the very same fine-grained reddish stone as that of the Wijāsan hill at Bhāndak; (2) Dr. Stevenson, who has translated it, received a copy of it from Major Wilkinson who was a resident at the Nāgpur Court and (3) the inscription records that it was attached to the house of Sugata (Buddha) and therefore it probably belonged to Bhāndak which has ancient Buddhist caves. Cunningham's opinion was subsequently endorsed by R. B. Hiralal[1] and we find the stone inscription now relegated to Bhāndak.[2] None of the arguments, however, on which Cunningham's opinion was based appear to be convincing. Inscribed slabs of fine-grained reddish sandstone have been found in Chhattīsgarh also. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I.[3] and the Kosgain stone inscription of Vāharēndra,[4] which are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, are incised on such slabs. As for the statement that such a slab was taken away from Bhāndak we may point out that it may relate to another inscription, *viz.*, 'the Nāgpur Museum *praśasti* of the rulers of Malwa,' as has already been conjectured in the second edition of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*[5] (published in 1870). This latter inscription was translated in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843 and this date, curious as it might appear, roughly corresponds to the time when according to the account of both the writer in the Gazetteer and Cunningham an inscription was removed from Bhāndak to Nāgpur. There are, again, some ancient ruins of Buddhist temples and sculptures at Ārang and Sirpur in Chhattīsgarh,[6] and our present inscription, which records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, shows that Buddhism continued to flourish in Chhattīsgarh for at least three generations after Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin. What is more, if we except this doubtful case of the so-called Bhāndak inscription, we find no other instance of an inscription of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty discovered in ancient Vidarbha in which, as shown elsewhere,[7] the whole country from the western boundary of modern Berār to the eastern one of the Marāthī district of Bhaṇḍārā in C. P. was included. This country was in the beginning of the sixth century under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, mentions the king of Kōsala among his feudatories.[8] If the period A. D. 530-550 assigned

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 208, note 20; Vol. LXII, p. 163; Hiralal's *List*, p. 13.

[2] See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1650.

[3] Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

[4] Hiralal's *List*, No. 210.

[5] 'The date of its (*i.e.*, of the Nāgpur Museum *praśasti*) translation coincides curiously with the time at which an inscription was removed by the Nāgpur Rājā from the famous Snake temple at Bhāndak in the Chānda District.' *C. P. Gazetteer* (Second Edition) Introduction p. liv. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally relegated this *praśasti* to Bilhāri in the Jubbulpur District, because the name of the village Mōkhalapāṭaka granted by it sounds like Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Khailapāṭaka, etc., mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription (see his *List* f. n. on p. 1). But no such name can be found in the list of villages in the Jubbulpore District, while we have been able to trace one closely resembling it in the Chāndā District (*viz.*, Mōkhara, 50 miles east of Bhāndak). Vyapura, the name of the *maṇḍala*, in which it was included, may be represented by Wurgaon near Vairāgarh, 30 miles north-east of Mōkhara. These identifications would show that the *praśasti* originally came from the Chāndā District. For a Paramāra record of a slightly earlier date, found still further to the south, see the Jainad inscription describing the victories of Jagaddēva, a son of Udayāditya. (*Annual Report* of the Hyderabad Archæological Survey 1927-1928, pp. 23-24 and above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54-63.)

[6] See Hiralal's *List*, No. 184.

[7] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 169 and 211. It may be noted in this connection that the *Gaṇēśa-Purāṇa* (*krīḍā-khaṇḍa, adhyāya* 26, *śl.* 2) mentions the town Ādishā (modern Ādāsā near Saoner in the Nāgpur District) as situated in Vidarbha. This clearly shows that the Wardhā was not the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha as it is of modern Berār.

[8] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

to Tīvaradēva in the article on the Ṭhākurdiyā plates[1] is correct, an inscription of his predecessor is not likely to have been found at Bhāndak in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory. We have, therefore, to conclude that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin must have been found somewhere in Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattīsgarh and not at Bhāndak in ancient Vidarbha. When Kielhorn edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he was informed that the inscription was found at Ratanpur,[2] but this information also was probably incorrect; for the present Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadēva I. of the Kalachuri dynasty in the eleventh century A.D.[3] What seems to have happened is that the stone inscription was first removed to Ratanpur from some place in Chhattīsgarh and was later transferred to Nāgpur where it was recorded to have come from Ratanpur.[4]

It has been shown elsewhere on palæographical and epigraphical evidence that Tīvaradēva flourished from *circa* A.D. 530 to 550. His grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Either he or his successor must have been the ruling king when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. Though the present plates do not mention any place of issue, we know that Śrīpura in the Raipur District continued to be the capital of Sōmavaṁśī kings at least from the time of Tīvaradēva[5] to that of Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna.[6] It would therefore be interesting to see how far Yuan Chwang's description of the capital of Dakshiṇa Kōsala suits Śrīpura.

Several scholars have attempted in the past to locate the capital of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. Fergusson and Grant identified it with Wairāgarh,[7] while Cunningham took it to be Chāndā.[8] But, as pointed out by R. B. Hiralal, 'what is missing at both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhistic monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned.'[9] R. B. Hiralal himself at first identified it with Bhāndak;[10] for he thought that the country of Dakshiṇa Kōsala extended in the west to the eastern boundry of modern Berār. He believed with Cunningham that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin originally belonged to a Buddhist cave at Bhāndak and following Kielhorn he held that a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī line ruled in that place down to the 9th century A.D. Later on, after weighing all evidence R. B. Hiralal concluded that 'both the places (Sirpur and Bhāndak) seem at present to have an equal claim to the honour of a visit from the great pilgrim of China, but Bhāndak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur'.[11] But, as pointed out above, Bhāndak was included in ancient Vidarbha and not in Kōsala and must have been under the direct rule of Pulakēśin II., who, in the Aihoḷe inscription, is called the lord of 'three Mahārāshṭras comprising 99,000 villages.'[12] One of these Mahārāshṭras must have been ancient Vidarbha, since it is not separately mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription. From the same inscription we learn that Pulakēśin did not annex Kōsala but only exacted submission from the ruling king. Yuan Chwang

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 618.

[3] See the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

[4] A similar thing seems to have happened in the case of the Ratanpur inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II and Brahmadēva, which originally seems to have belonged to Mallār. See above p. 114, n. 2.

[5] Both the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Tīvaradēva are issued from Śrīpura.

[6] As stated above, there are several stone inscriptions of the reign of this king at Sirpur.

[7] *J. R. A. S.* (1875), p. 260.

[8] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 596.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 163.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 208, note 19

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, p. 166.

[12] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

also mentions the king of Kōsala as different from Pulakēśin II. whom he calls the king of Mahārāshṭra. So the capital of Kōsala cannot be located at Bhāndak.

From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that 'from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kōsala. . . . The king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence . . . . To the south-west of this country, above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*'. From Kōsala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* (Andhra) country, the capital of which was *Ping-chi-(ki)-lo*[1]. This description suits Sirpur better than any other place in Chhattīsgarh. Sirpur lies north-west of Mukhalingam on the left bank of the Vaṁśadhārā, 18 miles from Parlākimeḍi in the Ganjām District, which is now generally taken to be the ancient capital of Kaliṅga. The reigning king, who was either Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor, was no doubt a Kshatriya, as the Sōmavaṁśī kings traced their descent from Pāṇḍu, the father of the Epic heroes Pāṇḍavas. Mahā-Śivagupta was a devotee of Śiva,[2] but the present grant shows that he patronised Buddhism also and the same can probably be said of his successor. The mountain *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, which has been rendered by *Bhramara-giri*, may refer to Bhaṁgāra-Pavvato (Skt. *Bhṛiṅgāra-parvata*) which is mentioned in an ancient Brāhmī stone inscription at Ārang.[3] It may be noted in this connection that Ārang lies south-west of Sirpur as required by the Chinese pilgrim's description. If *Ping-chi-lo*, the capital of the Āndhra country, is identified with Vēṅgī (which was then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas), it will be seen to lie almost due south of Sirpur. Sirpur, therefore, answers best to the bearings and other description of the capital of Kōsala in Yuan Chwang's account. It is true that the distance of Sirpur from Mukhaliṅgam, Ārang and Vēṅgī does not exactly agree with Yuan Chwang's account,[4] but this is not the only case in which the Chinese pilgrim's distances are found to be incorrect. We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the capital of Kōsala in the seventh century A.D. with Sirpur in the Raipur District.

The present grant is **not dated,** but as stated above it **can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century A.D.** It records the donation of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha. Taking the month to be *purṇimānta* we find that there was a solar eclipse in Āshāḍha four times in the period A.D. 600 to 650, *viz*., A. D. 606, 616, 633 and 643. Of these A.D. 633 and 643 would perhaps be too late dates for Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna. So A.D. 606 or 616 may be the date of the present grant. It does not, of course, admit of verification.

Unlike his ancestors Tīvaradēva[5] and Harshadēva[6] who are known to be devotees of Vishṇu, Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna was a worshipper of Śiva. The seal of the present grant has consequently Nandī, the emblem of Śiva, and not Garuḍa, that of Vishṇu, who figures on the seal of the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Tīvaradēva. It may again be noted that like the afore-mentioned grants of Tīvaradēva, the present inscription does not mention the title *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati* which is met with in many records of the later kings of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty who ruled over the eastern parts of Dakshiṇa Kōsala.

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 209.

[2] For a similar discrepancy in Yuan Chwang's account, see his description of Harsha, who from his copper plate inscriptions and Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

[3] Hiralal's *List*, No. 183. *Bhṛiṅgāra* which means a cricket is after all not very different from *bhramara*. Or was it some mountain in the *Bhramara-kōtya-maṇḍala* in the Bastar State ? (Above, Vol. IX, pp. 179 f.) There is, again, a hill named Bhamragarh in the Ahiri Zamindari of the Chāndā District, which also lies South-West of Sirpur, but the distance is more than 160 miles.

[4] Sirpur is about 275 miles as the crow flies from Mukhaliṅgam and about 300 miles from Vēṅgī. These distances will be somewhat increased if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into consideration.

[5] Tīvaradēva calls himself *Parama-Vaishṇava* in his plates.

[6] See v. 20 of the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple Inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 192.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present plates, **Taraḍaṁśaka**-*bhōga* in which the donated village was situated is probably identical with the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* mentioned in several later inscriptions.[1] From one of these[2] we learn that the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* included Mallāla (modern Mallār, where the plates were found). The Buddhist images at present deposited in Mallār are said to have been brought from Jaitpur, a village about a mile to the north of Mallār. The site of ancient Taraḍaṁśaka where the Buddhist monastery was situated is, therefore, probably marked by the modern village Jaitpur.[3] As regards **Kailāsapura** granted by the present charter, there is now no village of that name in the Bilāspur and Janjgir tahsils, but there are several of the name Keslā, which may be taken to correspond to ancient Kailāsapura. Of them the one which is nearest to Mallār is Keslā, about 8 miles to the south-east, which contains ruins of an old temple.

We edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओम्[4] स्वस्त्यशेषक्षिति(ती)शविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनि(नी)यविनयस-

2 म्पत्स(त्सं)पादितसकलविजिगि(गी)षुगुणो गुणवत्स[मा]श्रयप्रकृष्टतरशौ-

3 र्य्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावस(सं)भावितमहाभ्युदय[:*] कार्ति(र्त्ति)केय इव कृति(त्ति)वाससो

4 राज्ञ[:*] श्रि(श्री)हर्षदेवस्य सु(सू)नु[:*] सोमवङ्ग[5]सम्भव: परममाहे-

5 श्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यात[:*] श्रि(श्री)महाशिवगुप्तराज[:*] कुशलि(ली) ॥[6] त-

6 रडङ्क[7]भोगि(गी)यकैलासपुरग्रामे ब्राह्मणा[न्*] सम्पूज्य सप्रधा-

7 [8]नात्प्रतिवासिनो यथाकालाध्यासिनस्समाहर्त्तृसन्निधातृसु(प्र)-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 मुखानधिकारिण[:*] सकरणानन्या[9]न्श्वास्मत्पादोपजि(जी)विन: सर्व्व[रा]-

9 जपुरुषा[न्*] समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रा-

10 म: सनिधि[:*] सोपनिधि: सदशापराध: सर्व्वकरसमेत: सर्व्वपीडा-

11 वर्ज्जित[:*] प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशतया ।[10] तरडङ्क[11]प्रतिष्ठि-

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[1] Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1231, 1232, and 1240.

[2] Ratanpur Inscription of the time of Prithvīdēva II and Brahmadēva. See above p. 114 , note 2.

[3] This name may represent ancient Chaityapura. There is a village named Tarōḍ 11 miles north-east of Mallār and 3 miles south of Akaltārā in which ruins of temples and tanks are to be seen. Its name would also correspond to Taraḍamśaka, but it is not known if it contains any Buddhist remains.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read वंश.

[6] The *daṇdas* are superfluous.

[7] Read तरडंशक.

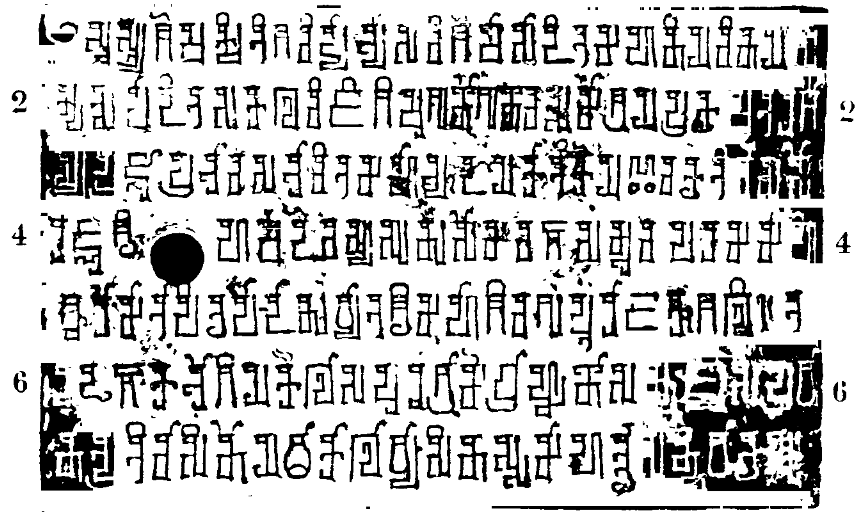
[8] Read सप्रधानान्प्रतिवासिनो.

[9] Read नन्यांश्चास्म°. [The synthesis requires स्वपाद° instead of श्चास्मत्पाद°.—Ed.]

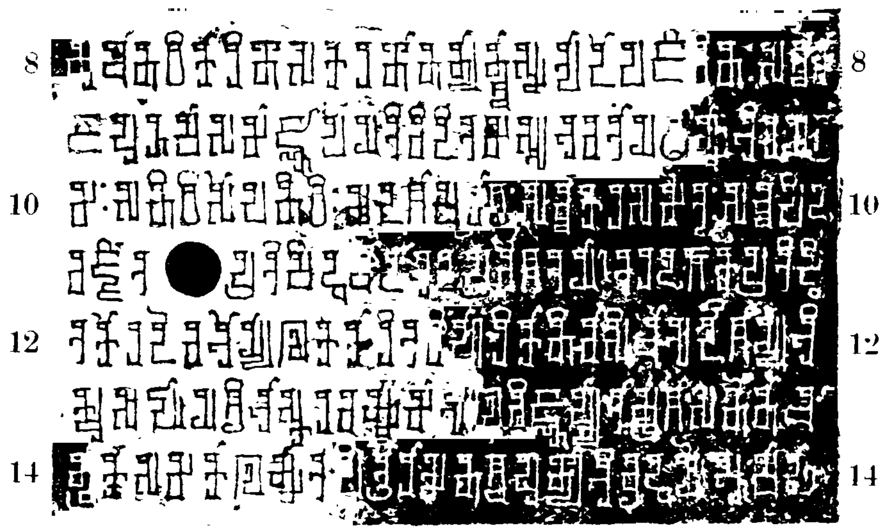
[10] This *daṇda* is superfluous.

[11] Read तरडंशक.

i.



ii,a.



ii,b.

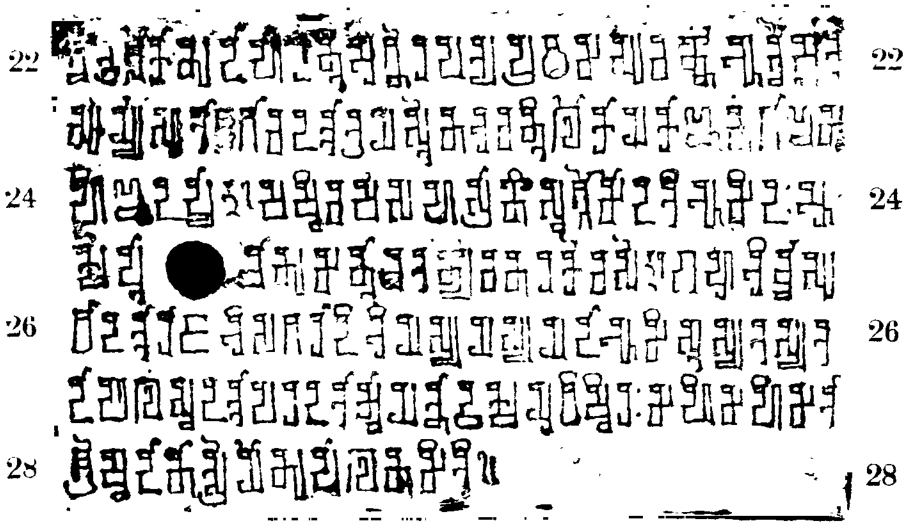


N. P. CHAKRAVARTI
REG. No. 1413 E'36-285.

SCALE ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii



Seal—From a photograph.



ACTUAL SIZE.

12 तकोरदेवभोर्य्यालक[1]कारितविहारिकानिवासिचातुर्दिशार्य्यभि-

13 क्षुसङ्घाय श्रीभास्करवर्म्ममातुलविज्ञप्त्या ताम्ब्र[2]शासनेनाच-

14 न्द्रार्कसमकालम्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ।[3] आषाढा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

15 मावास्यासूर्य्यग्रहोपरागे[4] उदकपूर्व्वं प्रतिपादित इत्य[5]तश्च

16 विधेयतया समुचितभोगभागादिकमुपनयद्भिभ(र्भ)वद्भिः सुख-

17 म्प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुदि(द्दि)श्येदमभिधीयते [।*]

18 भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महि(हीं) नृपतयो

19 नरके नृशङ्सात्(शंसाः) । एतद्व(द्द्व)यं परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मीः[6] मायुस्त-

20 था कुरुत यद्भवतामभि(भी)ष्ठं(ष्टम्)[7] [॥१॥*] अपि च [।*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्प-
(त्फ)लं सु-

21 गतिदुर्म्गति(ती) [।*] को नाम स्वर्ग्गमुच्छ्रिज्य[8] नरकं प्रतिपद्यते[9] [॥२।*]
व्यासगीता(तां)-

Third Plate.

22 श्चात्र श्लोकानुदाहा(ह)रन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्ण[वी]

23 सु(सू)र्य्यसुताश्च गाव[: ।*] दत्ता[10] न्नयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[:*] काञ्चनं
गाञ्च म-

24 हि(ही)ञ्च दद्यात्[11] ॥[३॥*] षष्टि(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आ-

25 क्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[12] ।[॥४॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसु-

26 धा दत्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-

27 दा फलं [॥५॥*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ताम्वा[13] यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः[14] [।*] महि(हीं)
महिमता(तां)

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[1] Read कौरदेवभार्य्यालका-.

[2] Read ताम्र-.

[3] This *danda* is superfluous. Read पुण्याभिवृद्धय आषाढा°.

[4] Read °पराग उदकपूर्व्वं.

[5] Read इति । अतश्च.

[6] Read लक्ष्मीमायु-

[7] Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] Read मुत्सृज्य

[9] Metre *Anushtubh*.

[10] Read दत्तास्त्रय-

[11] Metre *Indravajrā*.

[12] Metre *Anushṭubh*; and of the two following verses.

[13] Read परदत्तां वा.

[14] Read युधिष्ठिर.

28 श्रेष्ठ दानात्स्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनमिति[1] ॥[६॥*]

The Seal.

1 राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सूनोः सद्गुणशालिन[: ।*]
2 शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनस्थिते[: ॥*][2]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-9) Ōm. Hail ! The illustrious **Mahā-Śivaguptarāja,** born in the lunar dynasty, a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, who is a son of the king, the illustrious **Harshadēva** even as Kārttikēya is of Śiva, who has acquired all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lores, who has attained great prosperity by his patronage of accomplished persons, exceedingly great valour, intelligence and majesty, being in good health, issues the following command, after honouring the Brāhmaṇas in the village **Kailāsapura** of the **Taraḍaṁśaka** *bhōga* (sub-division), to the inhabitants (*of the village*) together with their Headman, the Collector, the Receiver and other officers who may be in charge (*of the village*) from time to time, together with their subordinates, as well as to all other royal officials who may be dependant on him—[3].

(Ll. 9-15) Be it known to you that on the (*occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha, this village together with treasures and deposits, together with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences,[4] together with all taxes, free from all obstructions, (*and*) not to be entered by the regular or irregular forces, has been granted by Us for as long as the sun and the moon will endure at the request of (*Our*) maternal uncle **Bhāskaravarman** (*and*) for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself by a copper-charter (*and*) by (*a libation of*) water, to the Community of venerable (Buddhist) Monks from the four quarters, residing in the small monastery situated in Taraḍaṁśaka, which was caused to be constructed by Alakā, the wife of Kōradēva—,

(Ll. 15-28) Wherefore, offering submissively due taxes, revenue,[5] etc. (*to the donee*), you should dwell happily in this village. And this we say to the future rulers of the land—

(Here follow six benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

The Seal.

This is a charter, enduring as long as the world, of **Śivagupta,** the son of the king, the illustrious **Harshagupta,** who shines by his good qualities.

No. 19.—THE PURI PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN-SAINYABHITA.

BY PROF. R. G. BASAK, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA.

In February-March of 1913 I published an article in Bengali on a single copper-plate inscribed on both sides of it, belonging to the reign of King Mādhavavarman (Sainyabhīta, *alias* Śrīnivāsa)

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[1] Read °*pālanam* [॥ 6*॥] *iti* ॥

[2] Metre *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Lit. on our feet.

[4] See above, Vol. IX, p. 47 and n. 1.

[5] See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda in Kaliṅga, in the now defunct Bengali monthly magazine, the *Sāhitya* of Calcutta in its Phālguna issue of 1319 B. S. (pp. 889 ff.). It was stated in that article that that plate was undoubtedly the second of a set of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the epigraph and that the other two plates (*viz.*, the first and the third) had been missing. A hole in the plate indicated that that plate and the other missing ones were originally held together by means of a ring. It is not easy to say if any seal with any legend was soldered on to it just as, we are informed, the Buguḍa plates of the same king possessed. Both the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Vinayaka Misra (*I. H. Q.*, 1931, pp. 665 ff.) omitted to take notice of that plate or my article on the same, while they dealt with the chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings of Kōṅgōda. This plate is preserved in the Museum of the Varēndra Research Society, Rājshāhi (Bengal). Luckily enough, last year (1935) my friend Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, sent to me the impressions of two plates of the length of the above-mentioned (Rājshāhi) plate with marks of ring-holes of the same dimension on them, and remarked that those two plates must have belonged to an incomplete set and added that they had recently been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Dr. Chakravarti also said in his letter to me that he had inferred that the incomplete Śailōdbhava plate of the Rājshāhi Museum which I previously edited in Bengali, and the newly acquired two plates belonged to the same set. I am glad to find that with this discovery of Dr. Chakravarti the whole grant of king Mādhavavarman is now completely recovered, making it possible for me to make a contribution on the whole grant to the pages of this journal. The second plate was obtained on behalf of the Varēndra Research Society, Rājshāhi, from Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Sadasiva Misra, by my friend Mr. (now Rai Bahadur) Rama Prasad Chanda, when the latter, with some other members of the Society, toured in the autumn of 1912 in Orissa, visiting places of antiquarian interest. The Mahāmahōpādhyāya got it, as we were told, from the late Mr. Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly Superintendent of the Purī Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village Birobai in the Purī District. The provenance of that plate, as well as of the two newly discovered ones, is not known. We prefer to call the whole set as the Purī Plates of Mādhavavarman, because we got the second plate at Puri from an inhabitant of the same district.

Of the **three plates** the first and the third are engraved on one side only, but the second plate is engraved on both the sides. The first plate contains 12 lines of writing on its reverse side only, the second 11 lines on each of the obverse and reverse sides, and the third 10 lines on its obverse side only. Each plate measures $6'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$. In some places, specially on the reverse side of the second plate, some letters appear to be blurred and illegible. Otherwise the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. There is a mark of fracture in the second plate.

The **characters** in which the inscription is written belong to what Kielhorn would call 'the Ganjām variety of the northern alphabet'[1]. But I should like to differ greatly from his view[2] that they "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D." Such characters were rather prevalent in Kaliṅga in the 7th-8th century A.D. They mostly resemble those used in the Buguḍa plates[3] of the same king. The age of the script has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere.[4] Of initial vowels we have in this epigraph signs for *ā*, *i*, and *u*, *e.g.*, *āsī*° l. 10, *ākshēptā* l. 41, *iti* ll. 12, 14 and 17, *iva* l. 20, *unmīlitaṁ* l. 18, *Utathya*° l. 31, etc. The peculiar sign for medial *ā* in the Buguḍa plates, pointed out by Kielhorn,[5] as "denoted by a small hook,

[1] Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[3] Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff.

[4] *Vide* my *The History of North-Eastern India (C. 320-760 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 169-170.

[5] Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

turned upwards and attached to the top of the consonant-sign " also sometimes occurs here. Of individual consonants the sign for *gh* (*e.g.*, in *nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-* l. 13, *-vighaṭṭana-* l. 25) calls for attention. The signs for *ṇ* and *l* are sometimes almost similar (*e.g.*, *-mṛiṇāla-* l. 1). The peculiar forms of the conjuncts *ksh* (*e.g.*, in *-vakshā* l. 4, *-paksha-kshaya-* l. 23), *ṅg* (*e.g.*, in *Kōṅgōda-* l. 23), *jñ* (*e.g.*, in *yajñai°* l. 22), and *shṇ* (*e.g.*, *krishṇā°* l. 4) are noteworthy. It may also be observed that the sign for *ñ* as the first part of a conjunct differs very little from that for *ṇ* in the same position (*e.g.*, *-vāñchhā* l. 8, *-sañchaya-* l. 4, *maṇḍala* l. 6). I could not guess properly the reading of 9 letters, 5 in l. 30, 1 in l. 31 after the word *-gōtrāya*, and 3 letters before *nānā°* in the same line.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit. The charter contains, after the introductory words *Ōm svasti*, 11 verses followed by 12 lines of prose, which again are followed by four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses after which occur two other verses in which the names of the persons who wrote, marked, incised and acted as the *dūtaka* in the grant are respectively mentioned. The language of the document contains a large number of errors as may be noticed from the corrections proposed in the preparation of the text. All the eleven verses which describe the genealogy of the donor in this grant are indentical with the verses of the Buguḍa plates which contain only one additional verse (v. 2) which glorifies the donor, described therein as *Rājēndra Mādhavavarman.*

As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities require attention :—(1) No separate signs for *b* and *v* are used anywhere. (2) The consonants *k, g, ṇ, t, dh, p, m* and *v* are doubled after the superscript *r*, *e.g.*, *-chandr-ārkka-* l. 33, *svarggē* l. 40 (but in *-patir=ga°* l. 12, *g* is left single), *[u]tkīrṇṇa* ll. 42-43, *kīrtti°* ll. 21, 24, *°rddhauta-°* l. 1, *darppaṇasya* l. 15, *dharmma-* l. 34 (but in *-patir=mahē°* l. 17 *m* is left single), *°murvvī°* l. 22. It may also be noted that the expected doubling of *j* and *l* in this position has not been made, *e.g.*, *Śambhōr=jaṭā* l. 3, *durlalitā°* l. 17. (3) No sign of *visarga* has been used, except in a few cases, *e.g.*, *vaḥ* l. 3, *kritaḥ* l. 9, *-nikētaḥ* l. 23, etc. (4) The guttural nasal (*ṅ*) is used instead of *anusvāra* before *ś*, and *h*, *e.g.*, *°ṅśubhi°* l. 2, *prāṅśu* l. 3, *sad-vaṅśē* l. 9, *vaṅśē* l. 14, *°siṅhēna* l. 42. (5) Nowhere is the sign of *avagraha* used, *e.g.*, *kulajō=Raṇabhīta* ll. 9-10 (where the second word is a proper name, Araṇabhīta), *jātō=Yaśōbhīta* l. 14 (where also the second word is a proper name, Ayaśōbhīta). (6) The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes neglected, *e.g.*, in *maṇḍala* l. 6, *vāñchchhā* l. 8. (7) Before dental *s*, the *visarga* is changed to *s*, *e.g.*, *tanayas=sukṛiti(tī)* l. 16. (8) Before a subscript *r*, the letter *t* is doubled, *e.g.*, *dharittrī* l. 14, *°ś=charittrai°*l. 15, *sva-gōttra°* l. 18, *°puttra°* l. 26, *°pittrō°* l. 32. (9) Final *n* is sometimes changed into *ṁ* and *m*, *e.g.*, *°r=garīyāṁ* ll. 12-13, *āsmiṁ* l. 25, *°niyu[kta*]-kāṁ=vartta°* l. 27, *sa-karaṇāṁ* l. 28. (10) The sign for final *m* is used, *e.g.*, *sva-gōttram* l. 18, *°r=ajasram* l. 21, *bhavatām* l. 29. But at the end of the verse, *anusvāra* (and not final *m* sign) has been used after the word *phala* in l. 37.

The inscription is **dated** in *Saṁvat* 20 (?) + 3 (=23 ?), which may be regarded as the regnal year. Some may feel tempted to read the first numeral symbol as representing 10 ; in that case the regnal year will be 13.

The **object** of the charter is to record a revenue-free grant of the village **Śāla** (or **Māla** ?) situated within the *vishaya* of **Thōraṇa**, made by king **Mādhavavarman** (l. 24) of the **Śailōdbhava** dynasty for the purpose of augmenting the religious merits of his parents and himself, to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Vittadēva of the Kauśika *gōtra* having *Utathya* and other *pravaras*[1], a student of the Chhandōga *charaṇa*, and belonging to the Kauthuma *śākhā*. The grant was written by **Upēndrasiṁha**, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, marked by **Jayasiṁha** and incised by **Chhaḍḍibhōgin** (ll. 42-43). It is also stated (ll. 43-44) that **Gaṅgabhadra**, appointed to the

[1] [See p. 129, n. 4 below.—Ed.]

duties of the *Pratīhāra*, acted as the *dūtaka* of the grant. It may be noted here with advantage that the persons mentioned in ll. 42-44 are identical with those mentioned in the Buguḍa plates of the same king and hence it may be inferred that the latter plates which are undated were not far removed from the date of our plates.

An abstract of the contents of the rest of the grant may be mentioned here. The first verse of the inscription forms an invocation of protection of the god Śambhu (Śiva), which seems to be an indication that the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty were devotees of Śiva. The next verse relates that there was a great person of the name of **Pulindasēna** who was 'famous amongst the people of Kaliṅga'. But he is stated (v. 3) to have been averse to rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the god Svayambhū for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, **Śailōdbhava** was created as the lord of the earth. and from him originated a family of good rulers (v. 4). In the next verse (v. 5) we are told that a ruler of the name of **Araṇabhīta** was born in his family (*kulaja*) and that he was a terror to his enemies. His son was king **Sainyabhīta** who achieved victory over his enemies with the help of a large troop of elephants (v. 6). In his family again (*tasy=āpi vaṁśē*) was afterwards born a king of the significant name of **Ayaśōbhīta,** who had a record of pious deeds at his credit which could not be expected of a king of the Kali age (v. 7). His son was king **Sainyabhīta** who was a great warrior (v. 8). He was able, in his prosperous condition, to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings (v. 9). This king appears to have also been known by the *biruda* **Śrīnivāsa** and is described in v. 10 to have performed *Aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings of the Kali age, from which it appears that he helped in the restoration of these sacrifices in Kaliṅga. He was also called **Mādhavavarman** and is stated to have issued this charter while residing in **Kōṅgōda** (v. 11). After this verse 11, the record contains the formal address by the king to the various administrative officials and other people concerned. From the contents of our grant as mentioned above, and those of the Buguḍa plates, we obtain the following genealogical tree :—

Śailōdbhava
⋮
1. Araṇabhīta (*tat-kulaja, i.e.*, born in his lineage)
|
2. Sainyabhīta
⋮
5. Ayaśōbhīta (*tasy=āpi vaṁśē....jātaḥ, i.e.*, born in No. 2's family)
|
6. Sainyabhīta (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivasa)

We are to notice carefully that Ayaśōbhīta (No. 5 above) is not a son of Sainyabhīta (No. 2), but a descendant born in his family. We know that the Pārikud[1] plates of Madhyamarāja, and the Purī[2] (Uttarapārśva Maṭha) plates and the Kōṇḍēḍḍā[3] grant of Dharmarāja contain the same genealogy as above, but only carrying it down respectively to one and two more rulers in succession, *viz.*, (No. 7) Madhyamarāja (*alias* Ayaśōbhīta ?) and (No. 8) Dharmarāja (*alias* Mānabhīta).

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 281-287.
[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 176 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 265.

The last king's dates are known as A.D. 756 and A.D. 743-44 in his above-mentioned grants[1]? But the trouble for scholars in the matter of consideration of the full genealogy of the Śailōdbhava dynasty arises when we look at the genealogy of three generations of kings as obtained from the undated Khurda[2] and the dated (A.D. 619-20) Ganjām[3] plates of Mādhavarāja, both belonging palæographically to the same age. The genealogy obtained from these two plates may be thus stated :—

(*Khurda plates.*)	(*Ganjām plates.*)
2. Sainyabhīta	2. Mādhavarāja
3. Ayaśōbhīta	3. Ayaśōbhīta
4. Mādhavarāja ("Master of all Kaliṅgas")	4. Mādhavarāja (mentioned as Sainyabhīta in the seal attached, *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* of king Śaśāṅka).

Identity of script in both these inscriptions leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the Sainyabhīta of the Khurda plates is identical with the first Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām plates. The most important point here is that these three kings (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) are stated in the relationship of father and son. But in both the Buguḍa plates and the Purī plates under notice Ayaśōbhīta (No. 5) is stated to be not a son but a descendant of Sainyabhīta (No. 2). Hence the Ayaśōbhīta (No. 3) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates (stated to be a son of Sainyabhīta No. 2) cannot be the Ayaśōbhīta of the Buguḍa and Purī plates. So Sainyabhīta (No. 6) (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa) of Buguḍa and Purī plates cannot be equated with Mādhavarāja (No. 4) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates. Moreover, there is absolutely no doubt that the palæography of the Buguḍa and our Purī plates is later than that of the Khurda and Ganjām plates, belonging to the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Attention of scholars should be drawn to the most cogent and proper remark made by Hultzsch, while editing the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja (G. E. 300=A.D. 619-20), that "as the alphabet of these (Buguḍa) plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription (*i.e.*, the Ganjām plates), it follows that Yaśōbhīta's (really Ayaśōbhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yaśōbhīta's (Ayaśōbhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja."[4] I, however, do not think that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates and the subjoined Purī plates is a very remote descendant of Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja II, but the former may only be the grandson of the latter. We have no hesitation in agreeing with Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, with the observations on the topography of Kōṅgōda-*maṇḍala*, Ōḍra and Kaliṅga made by him in his article on the Nivinā[5] copper plates grant of Dharmarājadēva, but we are afraid we cannot subscribe to the view expressed by him though with doubt, that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām and the Khurda plates may be identical with Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates (and therefore, evidently with the king of the same name in our plates also). Our own view on this point has also been stated in detail elsewhere.[6] We cannot also support

[1] [Neither of these dates is certain. I think that all the dated records of the Śailōdbhava rulers so far known, except the Ganjām plates of G. E. 300, have to be referred only to regnal years and not to any particular era.—Ed.]

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), pp. 282 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 34 ff.

[6] *Vide* my *History of North-Eastern India* (C. 320-760 A.D.), pp. 170 ff.

the remark of Dr. Chakravarti[1] who, following the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, says that inspite of palæographic difficulty the Buguḍa and Ganjām plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler. We are, however, glad to note that he feels inclined to place the Pārikud grant towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century A.D. On the above considerations, we have also taken the first Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjām grants as identical with the first Sainyabhīta of the Buguḍa and our Purī plates, in whose family Ayaśōbhīta (No. 5) is described therein as being born. Hence the genealogy of the first six kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty according to our opinion should be settled as follows :—

Śailōdbhava
⋮
1. Araṇabhīta
|
2. Sainyabhīta I (=Mādhavarāja I)
|
3. Ayaśōbhīta I
|
4. Sainyabhīta II (=Mādhavarāja II, A. D. 619-20)
|
5. Ayaśōbhīta II
|
6. Sainyabhīta III (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa).

With these introductory words I edit the grant for the first time from the original plates and the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, *Vasantatilaka* ; vv. 4, 12-17, *Anushṭubh* ; v. 7, *Indravajrā* ; v. 10, *Sragdharā* ; v. 11, *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[2] Svasti [||*] [I]ndō[r=ddhau]ta-mṛiṇāla-tantubhir=iva ślishṭā[ḥ*] karai[ḥ*] kōmalaiva-(r=ba)ddh-āhēr=aru-

2 ṇai[ḥ*] sphurat-phaṇa-manai(nē)r=dī(di)gdha-prabhāsō=ṅ(ṁ)śubhi[ḥ |*] Pārvvatyā[ḥ*] sa-[kacha*]-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛita(tta)-va(ba)-

3 ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[ḥ*]-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇikā[ḥ*] Śambhōr=jaṭā[ḥ*] pāntu vaḥ | [|1||*] Prāṅśu-mahabha(Prāṁśur=mahēbha)-ka-

4 ra-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[ḥ*] kṛishṇ-āśma-sañchaya-vibhēda-vishā(śā)la-vakshā[ḥ |*] rāj[ī]va-kōmala-dal-āya-

5 [ta]-lōchan-āntā(taḥ) śyāta(khyātaḥ) Kaliṅga-janatāsu **Pulī(li)ndasēna[ḥ** || 2 ||*] Tēn=ētthaṁ guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

6 n=ēshtham(shtam) bhuvō maṇḍala[m*] śaktō ya[ḥ*] paripālanāya jagata[ḥ*] kō nāma sa syād=iti [|*] pratyā-

7 dishṭa-vibh-ūtsavēna bhagavān=ārā[dhi]ta[ḥ*] śāśvata tachit(s=tach-chitt)-ānugu-ṇaṁ vidhitsu-

8 r=adiśad=vāñchhā[ṁ*] Svayambhō(bhū)r=api || [3 || *] Sa śilā-sa(śa)kal-ōdbhēdī tēn=āpy=ālōkya dhi(dhī)ma-

9 tā [|*] parikalpita-sad-vaṅśē(vaṁśaḥ) prabhu[ḥ*] **Śailōdbha[vaḥ*]** kṛitaḥ [|| 4 ||*] Śailōdbhavasya kulajō=[1]**Raṇa-**

10 **bhīta** āsīd=yēn=āsakṛit=kṛita-bhiyāṁ dvishad-aṅganānāṁ [|*] jyōti(t)snā-pravō(bō)-dha-sama-

11 yē sva-dhiya[ē](y=ai)va sā[r]ddham=ākampitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu chandraḥ [|| 5 ||*] Tasy=ābha-

12 vad=vivu(bu)dhapāla-samasya sunu(sūnuḥ) śrī-**Saï[2](Sai)nyabhīta** iti bhūmipatir=ga[rī]-

Second Plate ; Obverse.

13 yāṁ(yān) [|*] yaṁ prā[pya*] n-aika-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-vija[yaṁ mu]mudē

14 dharittrī [|| 6 ||*] Tasy=[3]āpi vaṅ(vaṁ)ś[ē]=[tha*] yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=[4]**Yaśōbhīta** iti kshi-

15 ti(tī)śaḥ [|*] yēna praru(rū)ḍhō=pi [5]śubhaiś=charittrair=mmṛishṭa[ḥ*] kalaṅka[ḥ*] Kalī(li)-darppaṇasya [|| 7 ||*]

16 [Jātō=tha*] tasya tanaya[s]=sukṛiti(tī) samasta-s[ī]mantinī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarīka-[ḥ*] |(l) śrī-

17 **Sainyabhīta** iti bhūmipatir=mah-ēbha-kumbha-sthalī-dalana-durlalit-āsi-

18 dhāra[ḥ || 8 ||*] Jātēna yēna kamalākaravat=sva-gōttra[m][5] unmīlitaṁ dinakṛit=ēva

19 mahōdayēna [|*] saṅkshipta-maṇḍala-ruchaś=cha gatā[ḥ*] praṇāśam=āśu dvishō graha-ga-

20 ṇā iva yasya dīptyā [|| 9 ||*] Kālēyair=bhūtadhattrīpatibhir=upachit-ānēka-pāp-ā-

21 vatārai[r]=nītā yēshāṁ kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrtti-mā(pā)lair=ajasram [|*]

22 yajñais=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=amarā lambhitā [6]tṛiptim=urvvīm=uddṛipt-ārāti-

23 paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā **Śrīnivāsēna** yēna || [10 ||*] **Kōṅgōda**-kṛita-nikētaḥ

Second Plate ; Reverse.

24 śārada-niśākara[7]-mari(rī)chi-siti(ta)-kīrtti[ḥ |*] sa śrī-**Mādhava[va*]rmmā** ripu-mā-

25 na-vighaṭṭana[ḥ*] kuśalī || [11 ||*] Āsmiṁ(Asmin) bhū-mma(ma)ṇḍalē śrī-sāmanta-mahāsāma-

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[1] The name is *Araṇabhīta*.

[2] An example of Prakrit influence.

[3] There is a superfluous *tasyā* here (l. 14), and a superfluous *śubha* in l. 15.

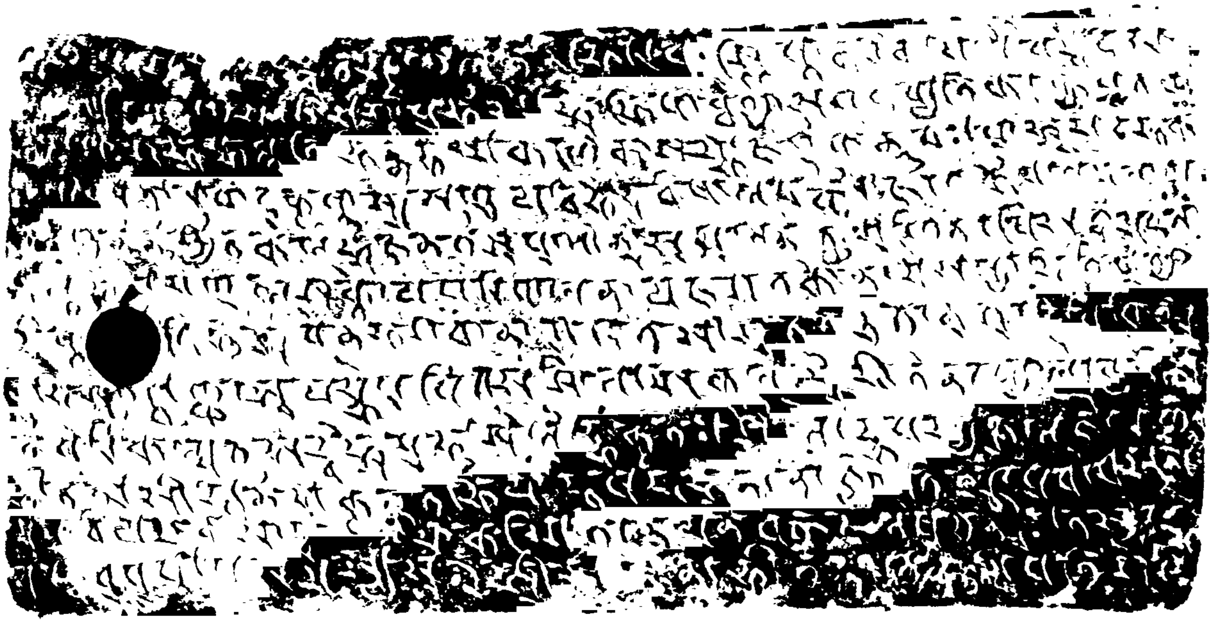
[4] The name is *Ayaśōbhīta*.

[5] Read *-gōttram=unmīlitam*.

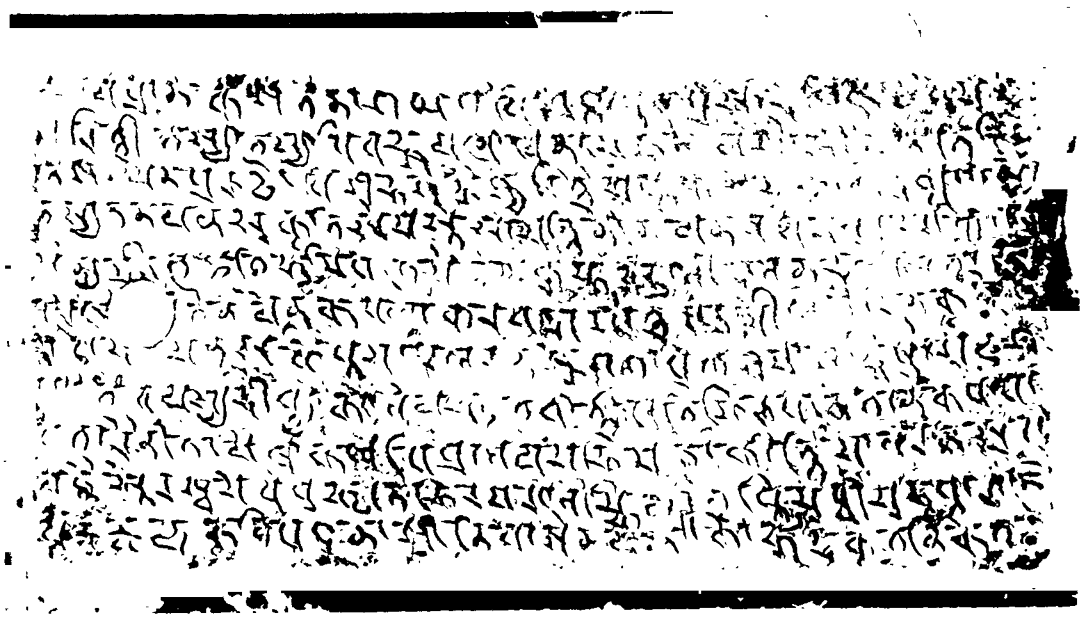
[6] Read *lambhitās=tṛi°*.

[7] Read *śaran-niśākara* as in the Buguḍa plates.

i.



ii,a.



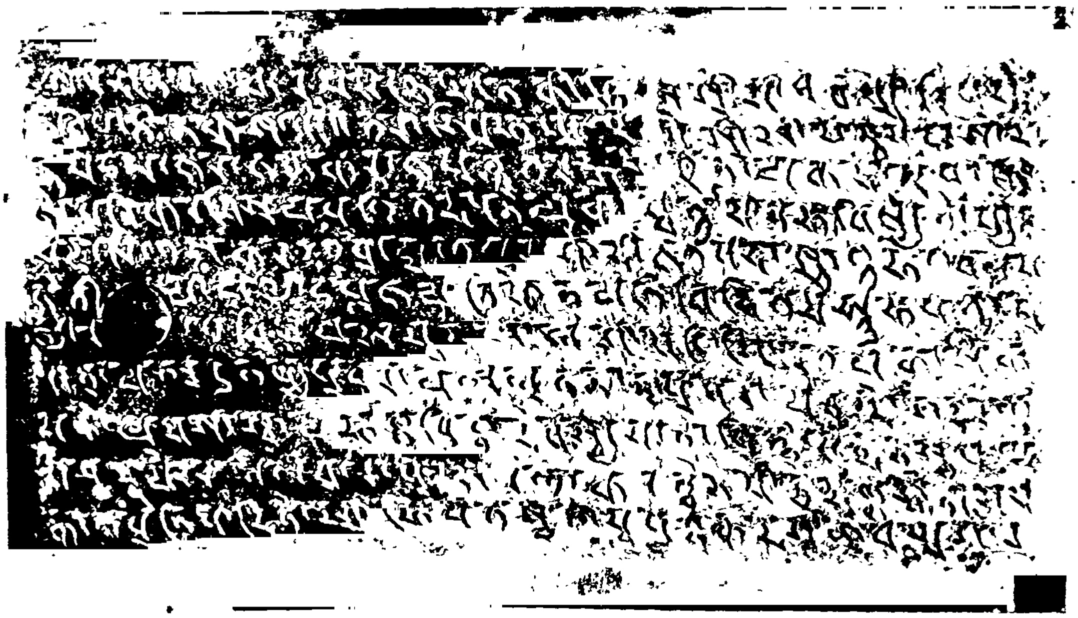
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE. ACTUAL SIZE *for i and iii.*
SEVEN-EIGHTHS *for iia and iib.*

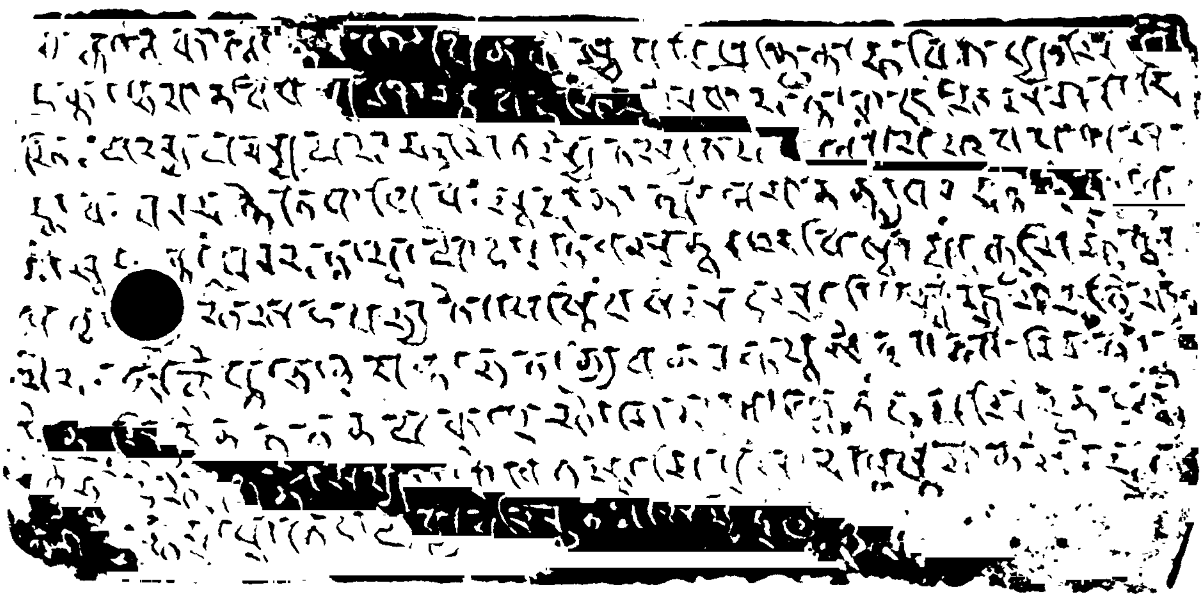
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

R. P. 1419 E'3" — 27'

ii,b.



iii.



26 **nta**-mahārāja-rājana(nya)ka-rājaputtr-[ā]ta(nta)raṅga-daṇḍanāyaka-daṇḍapāśi-

27 n=ōparikara-[1]vishayapati-tadāniyu[kta*]kāmva(kān=va)rttamāna-bhavishyatō vya-

28 vahāriṇa[ḥ*] sa-karaṇāṁ(nān)=vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādī[n*] jānapadāṁś=chāṭṭa(ṭa)-bhaṭa-vallabha-

29 jātīyāṁ(yān) yathārhaṁ[2] pūjayati mānayati [।*] Viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tā)m

30 **Thōraṇa**-vishaya-samvandha(mbaddha)-**Sā(Mā ?)la**-grāma[ḥ*][3] — — — — — Kauśika-[4]

31 gōtrāya — [5]Utathya-pravarāya — — — [6]nānā-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charaṇā-

32 ya Kauthuma-śākhāya Bhaṭṭa-Vittadēvasya(vāya) mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ā-

33 bhivṛiddhayē salila-dhārā-pura[ḥ*]sarēṇ=ākaratvēna [7]māchandr-ārkka-kshitī(ti)-sama-

34 kālaṁ pratipāditō=smābhi[ḥ ।*] Yataś=cha tāmvra(mra)-paṭṭakaṁ daśadhā[8] dharmma-gaura-

Third Plate.

35 vā[t*] kalpa-kalp-āntarēṇ=āpi na [9]kaiś=cha paripanthinā bhavitavyam=iti ।

36 uktañ=cha Mānavē dharmmaśāstrē [।*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi-[s*]=Sagar-ādi-

37 bhiḥ [।*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(m) ॥[12 ॥*] Mā bhūva(d=a)phala-śa-

38 ṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pā[r]thivaḥ(vāḥ) [।*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ [10]para-datt-ānupāla-

39 naṁ(nē) ॥[। 13 ॥*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattam=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēti(ta) vasun-dharā(rām) [।*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā

40 pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē ॥ [14 ॥*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhū-

41 midaḥ [।*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēt ॥ [15 ॥*] Lā(Lē)khit=**Ō**-

42 **pēndrasiṅhēna(siṁhō)**=tra tanayā(yaḥ) Kuṇḍabhōginā(naḥ) [।*] lāñchhitaṁ **Jaya-siṅ(siṁ)hēna** [u]tkī-

43 rṇṇa[ṁ*] **Chchhaḍḍibhōginō(nā)** [॥ 16 ॥*] Samyag-ārādhita-svāmi-prasāda-ślishṭa-mānasaḥ [।*] dūta-✓

44 [kō] **Gaṅgabhadrō**=[tra*] prātihāya(ryyē) vyavasthitaḥ ॥ [17 ॥*] Samvat 20 (?) 3 ॥

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[1] Read °*k-ōparika-vishaya-*.

[2] The *rēpha* meant for *haṁ* has been wrongly put on *pū* by the engraver.

[3] The five letters after this word seem to be *vinirggatāya*. [The reading of the first three of these five letters is quite uncertain. If the reading suggested is accepted the name of the village granted will have to be considered as missing which is unlikely.—Ed.]

[4] [The reading of the second letter is uncertain. It may be pointed out that the Kauśika *gōtra* cannot have Utathya *pravara*.—Ed.]

[5] The letter before this word reads like *lu*. [The corrected reading is *Aū(Au)tathya*.—Ed.]

[6] The three letters before this word read like *laluta*. [The reading appears to be *Al...ānupravarāya*.—Ed.]

[7] Read °*n=āchandr-ārkka-*.

[8] [Reading seems to be *tāmvra-paṭṭaka-darśanā*[*d**].—Ed.]

[9] Read *kēnachit* for *kaiś=cha*.

[10] The *pa* of this word looks like *dha*, the *mātrā* having closed up the top of the letter.

TRANSLATION.

Ōm Blessings.

(Verse 1) May the matted locks of hair of Śambhu, in which the particles of ashes are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā (*on his head*), which are touched by the soft rays of the moon (*also on his head*) as if by white lotus fibres, of which the lustre is daubed by the red rays of the entwining snakes bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and which are slackened because of their knot being set aside on account of Pārvatī's union accompanied with a grasp of His hair, protect you !

(Verse 2) (*There was a person*) famous amongst the people of Kaliṅga, named **Pulindasēna,** tall, with charming arms as stout as the trunk of a large elephant, having a chest as broad as the fragment(?) of a black mountain, and whose eyes were as large as the soft petals of lotuses.

(Verse 3) By him, though so accomplished and great in spirit, (*the rulership over*) the circle of the earth was not longed for. (*By this person*) denying the pleasure of rulership, thinking as to who (*else*) would be the man that would be able to rule over the earth, was worshipped the lord Svayambhū (Brahmā) the eternal, and (*the latter*) being desirous of creating (*one*), according to his heart's desires, granted his prayer.

(Verse 4) As (*he*) was observed as splitting asunder pieces of rocks, **Śailōdbhava** was made by this wise (*god*) as the lord with an illustrious dynasty (*of rulers originating from him*) vouchsafed.

(Verse 5) A descendant in the family of Śailōdbhava was **Araṇabhīta,** by whom, at the time of the rise of the moon-light, the moon was caused to tremble, along with their own intellect, in the waters from the eye-lashes of the wives[1] of his enemies who were frightened repeatedly.

(Verse 6) Of him who was equal to the lord of gods, (*i.e.*, Indra), the very great king **Sainyabhīta** was the son ; by obtaining him who attained victory in which prevailed calmness of disposition (*even*) in havoc caused (*amongst his enemies*) by rows of many hundreds of elephants,[2] (*as her lord*), the Earth felt delighted.

(Verse 7) Afterwards, in his family was born King **Ayaśōbhīta,** whose name carried a true import, by whom was purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated dirt on the mirror of the Kali age.

(Verse 8) Then was born his son, of meritorious deeds, the king, named **Sainyabhīta,** who is (*as it were*) a lotus to the bee-like eyes of all ladies, and the edge of whose sword is playfully active in splitting asunder the frontal globes of the huge elephants[2] (*of his enemies*).

(Verse 9) By this (*king*), while in great prosperity,[3] is made illustrious his own family, just like a lotus pool (*in which the lotuses are*) opened by the sun while rising ; and on account of his majesty his enemies, with the power of their own circle of kings reduced, meet with destruction, just as all (*the other*) planets (*disappear*), with the brilliance of their own discs diminished, on account of the lustre (*of the sun*).

(Verse 10) By this **Śrīnivāsa**[4], who is skilful in the act of destruction of the partisans of his highly insolent enemies, the gods are made to enjoy extreme satisfaction on account of (*his perfor-*

[1] This king caused death of his enemies, whose wives were therefore compelled to shed tears of sorrow on account of their widowhood which destroyed for ever their union with their husbands at moon-rise.

[2] Elephants played an important part in the army of the Kaliṅga kings in ancient times.

[3] It may be noted that the words, *udaya, maṇḍala* and *dīpti* as used in this verse convey by *ślēsha* the double meanings ,(i) prosperity and (ii) rise, (i) the statal circle of kings and (ii) disc, and (i) majesty and (ii) lustre, respectively

[4] Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman had a *biruda* Śrīnivāsa, which also means Vishṇu, as well as an abode of royalty.

mance of) those Aśvamēdha[1] and other sacrifices the very mention of which is (*now*) relegated to the domain of non-existence by kings of the earth belonging to the Kali age, who have accumulated (*newly*) introduced sins of many kinds, (*but*) which was liked ever so much by (*kings*) who were upholders of fame.

(Verse 11) This **Mādhavavarman,** whose fame is as white as the rays of the autumnal moon and who is competent to crush the pride of his enemies, being in good health, and (*while*) putting up in his residence in **Kōṅgōda,**[2]—

(Lines 25-35) duly honours and esteems the illustrious *Sāmantas,*[3] *Mahāsāmantas, Mahārājas, Rājanyakas, Rājaputras, Antaraṅgas, Daṇḍanāyakas, Daṇḍapāśikas, Uparikas, Vishayapatis* and *Tadāniyuktakas,* the present and the future *vyavahārins* (administrative officers), the *jānapadas* with the *Karaṇas* and the chief Brāhmaṇas and (*also*) those of the Chāṭa, Bhaṭa and Vallabha classes (*with the following information*) :—

Be it known to you that the village of **Śāla(Māla?)** situated in the *vishaya* of **Thōraṇa,** has been given, free of all dues, by me, to last as long as the sun and the moon endure and the earth lasts, with a libation of water for the enhancement of the religious merit of my parents and of my own self, to Bhaṭṭa **Vittadēva** of the Kauśika *gōtra,* having for his *pravaras* Utathya and others) belonging to the Chhandōga *charaṇa* and the Kauthuma *śākhā.*

As this was a copper-plate grant, no one should stand as an impediment (*in its operation*) even in future *Kalpas*, out of respect to *dharma* in ten ways[5]. There are verses also mentioned in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra (*to the same effect*) :—

(Verses 12-15) (There are four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

(Verse 16) In this (*grant*) **Upēndrasiṁha,** son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, was the writer, and the charter was marked by **Jayasiṁha** and incised by **Chhaḍḍibhōgin.**

(Verse 17) **Gaṅgabhadra,** whose mind was attached, through favour, to his master whom he served thoroughly, and who was appointed to the duties of the *Pratīhāra*, acted as the *dūtaka* herein.

Saṁvat 20(?)+ 3.

No. 20.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERGADH.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Shergaḍh, where the **two inscriptions** edited here are found, is a deserted town in the Atru Nizamat or Taluka of the Kotah state in Rājputānā. It is about 12 miles to the south-west of the railway station Atru on the Kotah-Bina line of the G. I. P. Railway. Within the stony massive walls of the town there are more than three thousand houses in different stages of dilapidation. The present population, however, is hardly more than 300 and so the township presents a dreary appearance even by day. According to local tradition, the present name

[1] This refers to the restoration of the *varṇāśramadharma* in the seventh century A.D. not only in Kaliṅga, but in many other parts of North-Eastern India.

[2] Also spelt as Kaiṅgōda in some of the other grants of the Śailōdbhava dynasty.

[3] For the meaning and functions of these terms, *vide* the author's article in Bengali on "the administration of the Pāla kings" of Bengal: *Prabāsī*, Āśvina issue, B. S. 1343.

[4] Thōraṇa, is also mentioned as the *vishaya* in which the village of Ārahaṇṇa mentioned in the Khurda grant (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII, 1904, pp. 282 ff.) is situated.

[5] [See p. 129, n. 8.—Ed.]

of the town was given to it after its capture by Sher Shāh of the Sūr dynasty in the course of his Mālwā campaign. Its ancient name, mentioned in several inscriptions found at the place, was Kōśavarddhana, 'the increaser or the asset of the treasury'. The Inscription **B** edited below, shows that the city was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture, contributing a good deal to the royal treasury. It was also an important military station. The present dilapidated township itself was a strong fort in the Hindu period, as its still existing powerful ramparts show. It is also expressly referred to as a fort (*durga*) in the Inscription **A**. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period. When Dr. Mathuralal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergaḍh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archæological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.

The inscriptions are engraved on two different stone tablets, built into the present temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyāṇa. Of these, the Inscription **B**, has been edited with a short note by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 175-6. Inscription **A** has not yet been noticed or published. As one ascends the platform of the temple, the Inscription **A** is to be seen in the wall on the left near the third stair step. The Inscription **B** is on a tablet built into a front line pillar of the *maṇḍapa* to the left of the entrance. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing this last mentioned record, has observed that it is inscribed on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyāṇa.[1] The information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect. The two stone tablets in the temple have been occupying their present position ever since the time of the visit of the *munshi* of Col. Tod to this temple during the second quarter of the last century. According to the information given by the present priest, no repairs have been done to the temple during the last three generations.

A.—Inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya.

The stone on which this record has been inscribed is well dressed and is 27″×22″ in dimension. The record, however, is not complete and its concluding lines have been broken off. The present temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyāṇa cannot be more than 300 or 400 years old. Hence it would appear that when the temple of the Paramāra period was subsequently repaired, or overhauled, or pulled down, the inscribed tablets were re-set in the new structure in the course of which the lower portion of the tablet of this inscription might have been damaged. To judge from other Paramāra grants, the lost portion of the record consisted probably of not more than two lines and contained the concluding line of the last verse, the stanza beginning with *Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlāṁ*, followed possibly by the name of the *dūtaka*, the signature of the donor, and the date of the record given in figures at the end.

The stone has further peeled off to its right, destroying in various degrees the concluding portions of the first twelve lines of the record. Local tradition ascribes this damage to a lightning stroke. With the exception of a portion of the date, the rest of the missing part can be restored with the help of other Paramāra records. The record as preserved to-day consists of 24 lines, each line containing about 38 letters.

The **characters** are the normal Nāgarī of the 11th century to which the record belongs. The duct of writing is good and the medial *ē* *mātrās* are graceful. The engraver's mistakes are very few.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175.

The **Language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed with a few exceptions like *śrī Udayāditya*, l. 6, *vuddhvā asmad*, l. 19, etc. Grammatical mistakes are also very few. We have *mātṛi-pitrōḥ* for *mātā-pitrōḥ* in l. 16 and *aṇyaiḥ* for *anyaiḥ* in ll. 19 and 22. The latter, however, may possibly be the engraver's mistake. The record is partly in prose and partly in poetry, poetical portions consisting of the introductory and the imprecatory verses.

The **object** of the record is the grant of a village made by the *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*-**śrī-Udayāditya** of the Paramāra house. The arrangement of its contents is similar to what we see in many other Paramāra grants. It opens with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva followed by the name and genealogy of the donor, and then follow the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants, the date, the place, the occasion and the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs.

Our record describes the donor, king **Udayāditya**, as meditating on the feet of **Bhōjadēva.** The relationship between the two, however, is not stated. A late record from Udayapur, belonging to the 16th century A. D., states that Udayāditya was the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōṇḍala, and great grandson of Śūravīra, who belonged to the Paramāra clan.[1] This document would make Udayāditya a scion of a minor Paramāra branch, and very remotely related, if related at all, to Bhōjarāja. Two official Paramāra documents, however, issued within a generation of the death of Udayāditya, contain quite a different statement. Thus the Nāgpur *praśasti*,[2] issued in the reign of Lakshmadēva, a son of Udayāditya, refers to the latter as a *bandhu* of Bhōja. Till recently this was the only early record describing the relationship of Bhōja with Udayāditya and it was possible to suggest, especially in view of the genealogy given in the Udayapur inscription, that the term *bandhu* may have been used in denoting a relation in general rather than a real brother.[3] Recently, however, another Paramāra record, the Jainad stone inscription of Jagaddēva, has been published. This ruler is very probably identical with Lakshmadēva in whose reign the Nāgpur *praśasti* was composed. In this record a specific assertion is made that Udayāditya was the father and Bhōja the uncle of Jagaddēva,[4] which shows that the word *bandhu* of the Nāgpur *praśasti* must be taken as having its normal sense, *viz.*, a brother.

When two official Paramāra documents, issued within less than 25 years of the death of Udayāditya, state that he was a brother of Bhōja, we have to accept their testimony in preference to that of an early 16th century record, which does not seem to have been properly edited as well.

In the genealogy of Udayāditya, as given in our record, his predecessors Vākpati, Sindhurāja and Bhōja are mentioned. The predecessors of Vākpati are passed over, probably as being too remote in time. The omission of Jayasiṁha, the immediate predecessor of Udayāditya, however, cannot be explained on that ground. It is worth pointing out that no record either of Udayāditya or of any of his successors, mentions Jayasiṁha, even when the genealogy is taken back to Bhōja.[5] This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that Bhōja left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

[2] *Ante.*, Vol. II, p. 185; cf. v. 32, तस्य (भोजस्य) बन्धुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपतिः ।

[3] Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 133-4.

[4] *An.Rep.Archæol. Dept., Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, pp. 23 f.; *ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 54; cf. v. 6, यस्योदयादित्यनृपः पितासीद्दैवः पितृव्यः स च भोजराजः ।

[5] Nāgpur *praśasti*, *ante*, Vol. II, p. 185; Udayapur *praśasti*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 222; Māndhātā plates of Dēvapāla, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 108.

the Paramāra throne[1], when the victorious armies of Bhīma and Karṇa returned to their homes. Udayāditya and Jayasiṁha were two among these claimants. Jayasiṁha succeeded in the beginning with the help of Sōmēśvara I, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī.[2] How he was related to Bhōja is not yet known. Probably he was not his son,[3] but a distant relative.

The success of Jayasiṁha must have for a time frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya. He, however, got his opportunity when Jayasiṁha was overthrown by Sōmēśvara II. With the help of the Chāhamāna ruler Durlabha III, Udayāditya succeeded in reconquering Mālava.[4] If the above conjecture is correct, it is natural that the official records of his time should not describe him as *Jayasiṁhadēva-pād-ānudhyāta*. Throughout his reign Jayasiṁha was practically a feudatory of the Chālukyas, the bitter and long-standing enemies of the Paramāras. He must therefore have been regarded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house, and as one whose name even did not deserve to be included in its official genealogies. Udayāditya is therefore always described in his own and in his successors' records as meditating on the feet of Bhōja and not of his immediate predecessor, Jayasiṁha.

The date of the grant which is now partially lost, is **the Damanaka Festival on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama Saṁvat) year eleven hundred exceeded by** . . . . It is unfortunate that the most material part of the date giving the years in excess of 1100 has been lost in the five letters peeled off at the end of the l. 9, as dated records are badly needed to determine the precise limits of the reign of king Udayāditya.

Damanaka was a spring festival when a branch of *damana* tree was offered to god Śiva or Vishṇu with a prayer to him and to Madana for the happiness and felicity of the whole household.[5] Our inscription agrees with Hēmādri and Madanaratna in describing Chaitra *śuddha* 14 as the day of this festival. Other authorities, however, lay down that it was to take place two days earlier.[6]

The grant made in this inscription, like most of those recorded in the Inscription **B** below, is made in favour of the temple of Sōmanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kōśavarddhana, *i.e.*, modern Shergaḍh. From the boundaries of Sōmanāthapallī given in the Inscription **B**, it is clear that the temple of Sōmanātha of the Paramāra period was situated somewhere near the modern temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa where the inscriptions are preserved at present. When I visited this temple in February 1936, its priest showed me a Śiva-*liṅga* in its *maṇḍapa* which is known as Sōmanātha even to this day. It may be that the ancient temple of Sōmanātha, which was the principal object of worship of the inhabitants of Kōśavarddhana, as shown by the numerous grants given to it in the Inscription **B** below, was destroyed by the Muslims, probably when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Sher Shāh. The temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on when the fury of the Muslim storm had passed over, the *liṅga* of Sōmanātha may have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, along with its inscribed tablets recording various donations. It is also possible, though not probable, that Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa may be interlopers in their present temple, a Vaishnavite revolution being responsible for the

[1] The expression *rājyē cha kuly-ākulē* of the Nāgpur *praśasti* makes this supposition very probable.

[2] *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, III, 67.

[3] Udayāditya would have hesitated to describe himself as meditating on the feet of his rival's father.

[4] *Prithvīrājavijaya*, V, 77.

[5] *Smṛiti-kaustubha*, pp. 19-23.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

enthronement of Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum of the present temple when Sōmanātha was relegated to a corner of its *maṇḍapa.*

A portion of the inscription recording the details of the situation of the village granted is missing, but the village seems to have been **Vilāpadraka,** since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual royal dues to the temple. It is described as situated in the twelve-village subdivision of . . . **radraha,** situated in the *maṇḍala* or district of **Chachchurōṇī.** The last mentioned place is obviously identical with the village Chāchurṇī, (spelt in Survey maps as Chāchoni), situated about 24 miles S. S. E. of Shergaḍh, on the confluence of the Parwān and the Nimaj[1]. Vilāpadraka may be Bilanḍī, a village about 11 miles S. S. E. of Shergaḍh. Or, it may be identified with the village Bilwārō, situated about 25 miles east of Shergaḍh. I am indebted to Dr. Mathuralal, the State Historian, Kotah, for this information.

TEXT[2].

1 ॐ[3] स्वस्ति [।*] ज[योभ्युदयश्च । जयति*][4] व्योमकेशोसौ [यः सर्गाय बिभर्ति ताम् । ऐ*]न्दवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखां जग-

2 [द्बी]जांकुराकृतिम् । [। १ ॥*] तन्वतु(न्तु) वः स्मराराते: कल्याणमनिशं जटा: । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दाम[तडि*]-

3 द्वलयपिङ्गला: ॥ [२ ॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपा[दानु*]-

4 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर*]-

5 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपर[मभट्टारकम*]-

6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[5]उदयादित्यदेव[:*] कुशली ॥ चच्चुरोणीमंड[लान्तःपाति . . ॥*]-

7 रद्रहद्वादशके श्रीकोशवर्द्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेव[भु]क्तेरनु-[6]............

8 विलापद्रकग्रामे समुपगतान् समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति[निवासिपट्टकिलज*]-

9 नपदादींश्च वो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ॥[7] यथा कर्प्पासिकाग्रामावस्थितैरस्मा[भि............धि*]-[8]

10 काशतैकादशकसंवत्सरे चैत्रसुदि(शुद्ध)चतुर्द्दश्यां दमनकपर्व्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगु-[रुं भगवन्तं भ*]-

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[1] The name of this river is spelt as Mewaj in Survey maps.

[2] From the original stone and ink-impression.

[3] Expressed by a symbol, which is only partly visible.

[4] Usually स्वस्ति is followed in Paramāra records by the verse जयति व्योमकेशोसौ, etc. Here medial *ō* sign is partly clear on the letter following *ja* and the place damaged can accommodate the letters supplied in the text.

[5] Read *śry-Udayādityadēvaḥ.*

[6] What followed in the text in the portion destroyed cannot be inferred.

[7] The sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[8] Only five letters have been lost in the missing portion of this line of which the last syllable must have been *dhi.* Hence it is apparent that the unit and the decimal figures together consisted of four letters only.

11 वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि [।*] वाताभ्रविभ्रम-
मिदं वसुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-

12 मात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(बि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः
सखा परम[हो पर*]-

13 लोकयाने । [। ३ ॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) [॥ ४ ॥*]

14 इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसम-
कालं या-

15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोयवर्द्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेवायैवोपरिलिखितग्रामः स(स्व)-
सीमातृणयू-

16 तिगोचरपर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगोपरिकरसर्व्वादायसमेतश्च मातृ-
(ता)पित्रोरात्म-

17 नश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।[1] शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तन्मत्वा
तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथा[प्र*]-

18 दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभुक्तिवर्ज्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा
सर्व्वमस्मै

19 समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा[2] अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै(न्यै)रपि भा-
विभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मा(र्म्म)-

20 दायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च [।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-

21 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [। ५ ॥*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । नि-

22 र्म्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । [। ६ ॥*]
अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यै(न्यै)-

23 श्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिदलयवुद्(बुद्)बुदचंचलाया दानं
फलं परयशःपरिपाल-

24 नं च । [। ७ ॥*] सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृ-[3]

[1] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] Read *buddhv āsmad* .

[3] About the probable extent of the lost portion of the inscription, see the introduction, p. 132.

B.—The Sōmanātha Temple Inscription.

This record is inscribed on a tablet, 16″×13″ in dimension, which is smoothly dressed. The original record was only in 15 lines, each line containing about 30 to 36 letters. At its end, however, there are scribbled two lines, of which the second is extensively damaged. This postscript was written in Saṁvat 1566 in the reign of Maharāja Sri-Jasaśambhu, who seems to have been some local ruler.

The **characters** of the record are the Nāgarī ones of the 11th century, to which it belongs. There is nothing particularly worth noting about them; attention, however, may be drawn to the way in which the medial *ū* of *bhū* in *bhūmi* has been written in l. 8.

As regards the **orthography,** *s* is usually written for *ś*; cf. *Vaisākha* for *Vaiśākha* in ll. 1 and 3, *srēshṭhi* for *śrēshṭhi* in l. 1, *sālā* for *śālā* in l. 6, *saṁkhika* for *śaṁkhika* in l. 12. *Sha,* however, is not confounded with *sa*; cf. *Gōvṛisha* in l. 1, *karsha* in l. 2 and *vṛishabha* in l. 4. The second letter of the conjunct, of which *r* is the first member, is sometimes doubled and sometimes not; cf. *pūrvvataḥ* in l. 13 and *mārggādāya* in ll. 3 and 4, but *chandrārka* in ll. 2, 4, 6 and 7, *Kapardaka* in l. 6 and *maryādā* in l. 14.

The **Language** of the record is Sanskrit, but showing many mistakes and some admixture of Prakrit. Wrong case-endings, or rather, no case-endings, are to be seen in the case of *datta vṛishabha* for *dattā vṛishabhāḥ* in l. 4, *ghāṇa* for *ghāṇau* in l. 5, *svakīyā* for *svakīyau* in l. 11. The *sandhi* rules are often neglected, cf. °*dityaiḥ bhaṭṭāraka* for °*dityair=bhaṭṭāraka* in l. 2.]

This inscription is a public register of several donations given mainly to the same temple of Sōmanātha, which is the donee of the Inscription **A** above. In this respect it resembles the first part of the Sīyadōṇī inscription, inscribed about half a century earlier. Shergaḍh is only about 125 miles to the west of Sīroṇ Khurd, where the Sīyadōṇī inscription was discovered.

The donors in this record are all private individuals, mostly merchants or landlords. In the Sīyadōṇī inscription the record of each donation is separated from that of the succeeding one by the interposing of a peculiar punctuation symbol; this has been done only once in the present record, at the end of the second donation in l. 4. The dates of the donations have been given only in the first three cases. The latest of these, that of the donation No. 3, is Māgha Śuddha 13 of Saṁvat 1084. The dates of the subsequent donations mentioned in the last section of the record have not been given. These, however, seem to have been made on the same day. And since the oilman Thāiyāka, mentioned in the donation of Saṁvat 1084, figures here also as one of the donors, the record as a whole can hardly be much later than Saṁvat 1100.

All the donations but one are in favour of Sōmanātha temple. The exception is the first donation which was given on **the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha of Saṁvat 1074.** As the week day is not given, this date cannot be verified, but it probably corresponds to the 2nd of April A. D. 1017. The donation was jointly given by three merchants named Narasiṁha, Gōvṛisha and Thīrāditya to Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka and consisted of the daily gift of a *karsha*, *i.e.*, about three-fourths of a *tola* of ghee, for the purpose of the smearing of his feet. The record states that this quantity of ghee was to be given from out of the *Maṇḍapikā* tax. *Maṇḍapikā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit *kōshas*, but it seems to be the original term from which the Marāṭhī word *maṇḍaī* and the Hindustānī one *maṇḍi*, both meaning market, have been derived. The three merchants mentioned above seem to have constituted the Town Committee in charge of the collection of the market taxes, which were usually collected in kind. The donation given by them was a trifling one, and they may have possessed discretionary powers to make it. Bhaṭṭā-

raka Nagnaka, the donee, seems to have been a Saivite rather than a Jain monk, residing in the temple of Sōmanātha. He seems to have dispensed with clothing altogether, though he daily required some ghee for smearing his feet[1].

The second gift was made on **Vaiśakha sudi 3** of **Saṁvat 1075,** probably corresponding to the 21st of April A. D. 1018. The donor Varaṅga is described as *mārggādāyē kauptika*. The last word in this expression appears to be Sanskritic in origin, but it is not found in any Sanskrit dictionary. *Kauptika* seems to have been the name of an office connected with the collection of tolls on roads. The donation was made for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple of Sōmanātha, and it consisted of five *vṛishabhas*. On the analogy of *varāhas* mentioned in l. 7, we may conclude that *vṛishabha* denotes not an ordinary bull but a coin, probably bearing the emblem of the said animal on one of its sides. The Paramāras are not known to have issued a currency of this description in Mālava during the 11th century. Only one ruler of the dynasty, king Udayāditya of the Inscription A above, probably issued coins, but they bear the image of a seated goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other.[2] In Central India and Rājputānā *gadhiā paisās* were current at this time, but they could not have been described as *vṛishabhas*. At the time of our records the Hindu kings of Ohind and the Tōmaras of Delhi were issuing silver and billon coins, having the horseman on the obverse and the bull on the reverse. Whether these coins were current in Mālava and were popularly known as *vṛishabhas* we do not know. A currency that could be more appropriately described by this term was issued in Mālava, Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār by Skandagupta in the 5th century. One of his silver issues bore the king's head on one side and the bull on the other.[3] This type was probably imitated by the rulers of Valabhī in subsequent centuries.[4] It is not improbable that some local rulers or private moneyers of Mālava may have continued to issue coins of this type down to the 11th century. Not impossibly the Paramāra administration may also have done the same, though we have not so far discovered their coins of this fabric.[5] Probably coins of such a type are described as *vṛishabhas* in our record. Silver coins current in Central and Northern India at this time were usually 60 grains or about one-third of a *tola* in weight. Five *vṛishabhas* would therefore approximately correspond to Rs. 2. Their purchasing power, however, at the time of the grant would have been approximately equal to that of Rs. 10 in the present day.[6] The record does not state whether this amount for incense and sandal was to be paid monthly or annually.

About nine years later than the last donation, *viz.*, **on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha of Saṁvat 1084, i.e., probably on the 12th of January A.D. 1028**, three donations were given to the temple by Ṭhakkura Dēvasvāmin. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thāiyāka, who is described as *Tailika-rāja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. He further undertook to give a daily gift of a *vōḍī*, *i.e.*, *vōḍrī* of cowries for providing incense at the *parṇaśālā*. *Vōḍrī* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *paṇa*, and since the latter was equal

[1] [Since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon (exist), it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.—Ed.]

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, p. 84.

[3] Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta dynasties*, p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. ci.

[5] Vīrasēna and Śaśāṅka have issued coins bearing a bull on the reverse, (*Ibid.*, pp. 147-8, 151-2), but these coins could hardly be meant here. These gold coins could hardly have been known in Mālava in the 11th century.

[6] For the purchasing power of money at this time, see Altekar: *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 378 ff.

to 80 cowries, *kapardaka-vōḍī* must have been equal to 20 cowries. Copper *paṇas* were slightly bigger in weight than what a modern pice and a half would be. The donation for the daily incense was therefore slightly less than half a pice and its purchasing power would have been equal to that of half an anna of the present day. What exactly the *parṇaśālā* was where this incense was to be burnt is difficult to guess. The term usually denotes huts for the hermits. It would appear that there were huts or sheds in the vicinity of the temple of Sōmanātha, where persons like Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka used to stay. If some of them required ghee for smearing their feet, others may quite possibly have felt the need of incense. The incense provided by Dēvasvāmin may probably have been meant for some worthies of the latter category[1].

The third donation of Dēvasvāmin was the monthly payment of two *varāhas* to be made on the occasion of the *saṁkrānti*. The object of this donation is not stated; it was probably a contribution to the general funds of the temple. *Varāhas* are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratīhāra king Bhōja, and probably by some of his successors as well, which on one side had the image of a boar.[2] These coins were also about 60 grains in weight; two of them would be equal to a twelve-anna silver piece, if one such were issued to-day. The present day value of the donation would be about three rupees and a half.

The lines 8-13 record the donations of several *vāsanikās* made to the temple by different individuals. *Vāsanikā* was a dwelling house of considerable dimensions; in the *Sīyadōṇī* inscription two of the *vāsanikās* are described as consisting of four and three houses respectively.[3] All told, eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these, six were merchants, one a *mahallaka* (probably a well-to-do landlord), one an oilman (who is identical with the chief of the guild of oilmen mentioned in l. 5), and one a *Śaṅkhika*. What precisely the last word denotes is difficult to say. The term may denote either a worker in shells or a person of mixed parentage, born of a Śūdra mother and a *viśvakarmā* father.[4] Probably we have to take the word in its first sense, since most of the donors are merchants.

For the temple establishment so many big houses were not necessary. It would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential or business purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses.

Lines 13-15 describe the boundaries of Sōmanāthapallī. *Pallī* usually denotes a hamlet, but here it seems to denote an outlying suburb or a ward. Since the boundaries of Sōmanāthapallī are described immediately after the recording of the gift of eight big houses, it is probable that these latter may have constituted either a portion or the whole of Sōmanāthapallī, which was obviously the name of that ward of Kōśavarddhana, in which Sōmanātha temple was situated. To the east of this ward was the temple of Sōmanātha itself, to the south the river, to the west the house of Ṭhākur Kuṇḍaṇaka and to the north a public thoroughfare. During my visit to Shergaḍh I found that it was possible to mark off a ward of the city in the vicinity of the modern temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, satisfying these boundaries. Some distance to the west of this temple, there are still some houses which are even to-day owned by Ṭhākurs. The Parwān river continues to flow to the south of this ward. The precise road which separated it on the north cannot be singled out. The temple on the east may very probably be the older temple of Sōmanātha rather than the modern one of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. Traces of the old temple, however, are not to be seen to-day.

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[1] [See above, p. 138, n.1—Ed.]
[2] Rapson, *Indian Coins*, para. 110.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 174, ll. 7 and 32.
[4] *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* as referred to in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the term *Śaṅkhakāra*.

TEXT.[1]

1 ओं[2] ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ अक्ष[3]यतृतीयायां मंडपिकादाया- [त्*] स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठिनरसिंहगोहृषधी[4]रा-

2 दित्यै भट्टारकश्रीनम्नकस्य पादाभ्यंगाय दिनं प्रति घृतकर्षमे[कं*]१ प्रदत्तं ।[5] आचन्द्रा[र्कं] यावत् ।

3 संवत् १०७५ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं मार्ग्गादाये कौसिक-

4 वरंगेन(ण) मार्ग्गादायात्(द्) दत्त वृषभ[6] ५ आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३

5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठक्कुरदेवस्वामिना तैलिकराजथाइयाकघा- णा(णौ)

6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा पञ्चसालायां[7] धूपनिमित्तं कपर्दकवो- डी(ड्री) १ दिनं प्र-

7 ति दातव्या आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा मासवारके संक्रांतौ वराह(हौ) द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं

8 यावत् । [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि[8]

9 इंदामहिंदका[भ्यां] सत्का वासनिका[9] प्रदत्ता ॥ तैलिकथाइयाकेन सत्का वा- सनिका प्र-

10 दत्ता । [।*] तथा वणि[क्*] सोढाकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक(क्) साइयाकेन स-

11 त्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक(क्)श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां स्वकीया(यौ) वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-

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[1] From the original stone and an ink-impression.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The letter *ksha* is partly damaged.

[4] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's reading धौरा० is untenable; cf. धूप and सोमनाथ in l. 3.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read दत्तमा-.

[6] Read दत्ता वृषभाः.

[7] Read पञ्चशालायां. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar reads this as पञ्चसाला (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 176), but the second letter is clearly ञ्च.

[8] Read वणिग्भ्यामिंदा°.

[9] The syllable *kā* is damaged.

12 दत्तौ ॥ तथा वणिक(ग्)महल्लकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा सं(शं)खिकलक्ष्मीधरेण

13 सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवपल्लिका पूर्व्वत: देवमर्यादा । पश्चिमत:

14 [ठ*]कुरकुडणक[स्य*] वासनिका मर्यादा । उत्तरत: मार्ग्गमा(म)र्यादा । दक्षिणत: नदी मर्या-

15 दा । चतुराघाटसाधिता श्रीसोमनाथदेवपल्लिका ॥ छ ॥ मंगलं महाश्री: ॥[1] ॥

No. 21.—UPALADA PLATES OF RANAKA RAMADEVA.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.(Lugd.), Ootacamund.

This set of copper plates is one of the nine sets acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1935, some of which have already been published.[2] They are said to have been unearthed by a cultivator, while digging a field, in the village of **Upalada** in the Parlakimedi Taluk, Ganjām District. I received ink-impressions of the plates from Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, for editing the record.

These are **three copper plates**, each measuring $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{5}{8}''$. They weigh 106 *tolas*. Their rims are raised and the writing on them is consequently well preserved. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The inscription consists of nineteen lines in all, three sides containing six lines each and the fourth only one. The plates were originally held together by a ring, about $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter, passing through the hole cut in the centre of each plate half an inch away from the left margin. The ends of the ring were soldered under a circular seal. This and the ring together weigh 22 *tolas*. The central portion of the **seal** is occupied by the figure of a standing boar, cut in high relief, facing the proper left. At the bottom is placed an elephant-goad (*aṅkuśa*), and at the top another weapon that looks like a battle-axe. Against the hook of the *aṅkuśa* is to be seen an oval-shaped object—perhaps a lotus-bud. The seal does not contain any legend.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of about the 11th century, strongly influenced by the Nāgarī script. Letters like *n* and *l* show each two different forms; cf. *n* in *-ānudhyāta-*, l. 2 and *-dāna-*, l. 3; and *l* in *kuśalinaḥ*, l. 5 and *sa-jala-sthala-*, l. 7. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though it also contains some vernacular terms in ll. 15-18 where boundaries of the donated village are defined. It is composed in prose, barring three of the customary verses found in ll. 9-15. The **orthography** of the document is as erroneous as its language is faulty. To instance the latter, the verb, *ādiśanti* or whatever it be, is missing after *kuśalinaḥ* (l. 5), while some such word as *upabhōgyam* is wanting after *saṁtatīnām* (l. 6). Among the orthographical peculiarities may be noted the usage of *s* for *ś* and *sh*, of *v* for *b*, of *y* for *j* and of *j* for *y*. These and some other inaccuracies have been pointed out in the footnotes to the text as well as in the text itself.

The record is not dated, but may on palæographical evidence be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A.D. It was engraved by the goldsmith Taula.

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[1] There is a symbol between the two pairs of *daṇḍas*.

[2] See above, pp. 73 and 78.

The **object** of the record is the grant of a village called **Upalabaḍā** to one Rēvaṇa *nāyaka* by the *Rāṇaka* **śrī-Rāmadēva.** The donee appears to have been an officer under the said *Rāṇaka* and might have received the gift as a reward for some heroic deed on his part. As regards his master, Rāmadēva, we do not know anything from other sources, whilst the present epigraph relates so little of him. His title *Rāṇaka*, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Some conventional epithets added to his name indicate that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva, had acquired the right to the *Pañcha Mahāśabdas* and was enjoying the favour of the goddess Agi.[1] Besides, he is styled *Tailapa-vaṁś-ōdbhava* ' born in the family of Tailapa '.

It appears that the *Rāṇaka* Rāmadēva had not to his credit any achievement worth the name. The same may be said of his father and grandfather, since neither of them is mentioned in the record. The only prestige the *Rāṇaka* could boast of seems to be his high descent as conveyed by his attribute *Tailapa-vaṁś-ōdbhava.* This Tailapa, as is apparent from the manner in which he is adverted to in the inscription, must have been a great personality or a mighty ruler reputed enough to be the pride even of his indirect descendants and distant relations : Rāmadēva could not have been a direct descendant of Tailapa, for in that case the inscription would have specifically described him so.

Now as to who this Tailapa was, we know of several kings[2] who bore this name, but the one with whom Tailapa of our record can reasonably be identified is, I think, the famous Chālukya monarch, Tailapa II, who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vākpati Muñja, is well-known.[3] Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that the *lāñchhana*, consisting of a standing boar, an elephant-goad, etc., depicted on the seal of the *Rāṇaka* Rāmadēva's inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Chālukya records.[4] We may thus suppose that the *Rāṇaka* Rāmadēva was a feudatory of and related to a Chālukya ruler subsequent to the time of the Chālukya Tailapa II whose death occurred towards A.D. 998.[3]

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Upalabaḍā**, the granted village, is apparently the same as Upalada where the plates have been discovered, while Chikhali-*sthiti* from where the grant was issued cannot definitely[5] be identified.

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[7] svasti [||*] Chikhali-sthitau parama-m[ā]h[ē]śvara- samadhigata-paṁ-

2 cha-mahā-sa(śa)vda(bda)-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātā(ta)-satya-sau(śau)rya-dayā-

---

[1] *Agi* obviously stands for *Agni.* In Vedic and later Sanskrit literature *Agni* is invariably a male deity. His mention here as a goddess (*dēvī*) is owing to the vernacular influence. In Hindī and cognate tongues the word *āg* ' fire ' is feminine. *Agidevā* as the name of a female occurs in an early Prakrit inscription from Sānchī, see above Vol. II, p. 371.

[2] For instance three kings of the Chālukya dynasty and two of the Kadamba family bore the name Taila or Tailapa (see Index to G. M. Moraes's *The Kadamba Kula*).

[3] Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 61.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. V, pp. 20, 135.

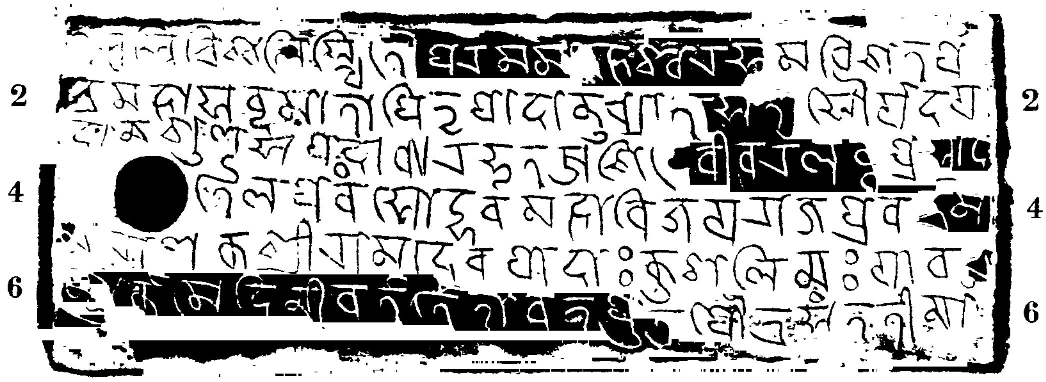
[5] This locality cannot be far removed from the donated village, as the principality under the *Rāṇaka* Rāmadēva may not have been a very large one. Mention of one Chikhalī-*vāṭaka* is found in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III : Śaka 984 (above, Vol. IX, p. 95), but this place is not identified either. Chikhalī-*grāma* of the Kanker Plates of Pamparājadēva (*Ibid.*, p. 168) is in C. P.

[6] From ink-impressions.

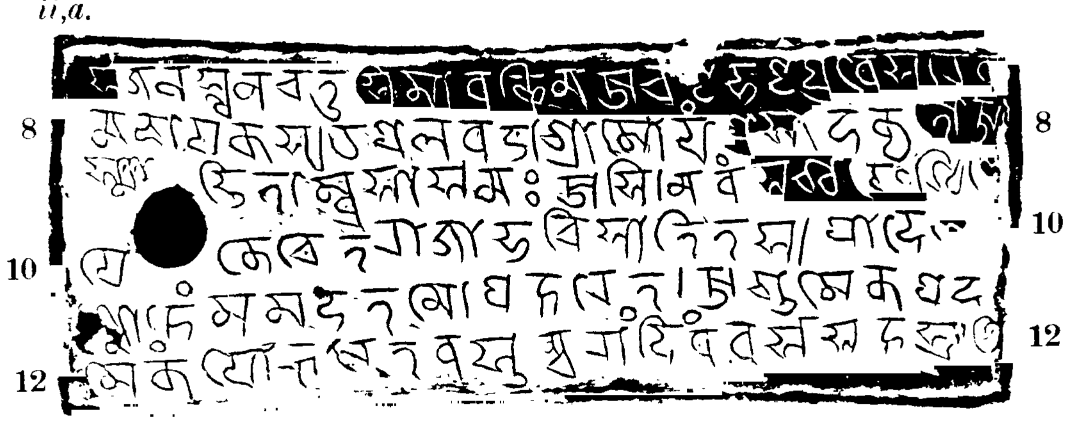
[7] Expressed by a symbol.

Upalada Plates of Ranaka Ramadeva.

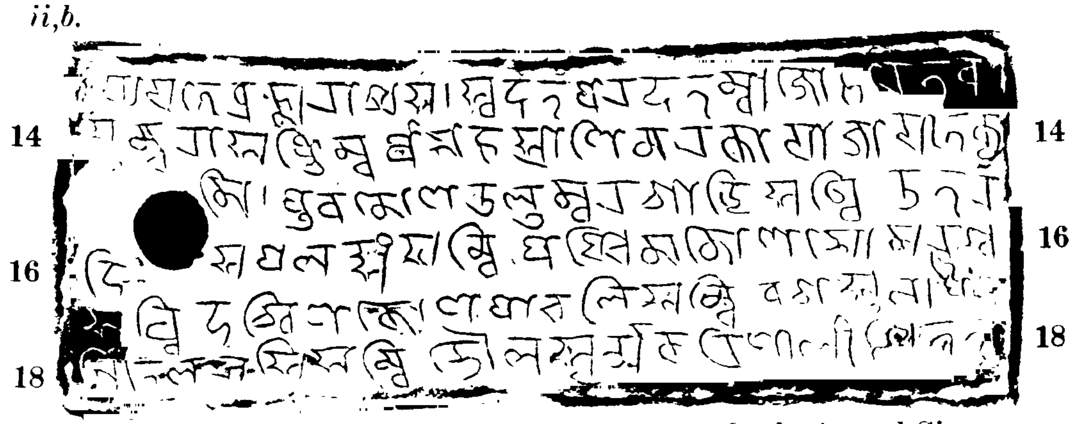
i.



ii,a.

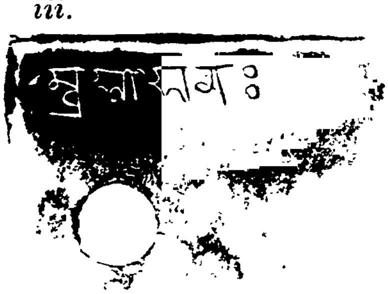


ii,b.



Seal: Actual Size.

iii.





3 dāna-guṇa-sa[ṁ[1]]pad-ādhāra[2]-bhṛi(bhū)ta-[3]Agidēvī-vara-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-
4 Tailapa-vaṁs(ś)-ōdbhava-mahāvijaya-rāja-pravarddhamā-
5 na-Rāṇaka-śrī-**Rāmadēva**-pādāḥ kuśalinaḥ [||*] yāvacha(ch=cha)-
6 ndr-ārka-mēdinī[4] vartatē[5] tāvata[6] putra-pautra-saṁtatīnāṁ

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 sa-jala-sthala-chatu[ḥ*]-si(sī)m-āvachhi(chchhi)na(nna)-[3]a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēsa[7] Rēva-
8 na(ṇa)-[nā ?]yakasya [3]Upalabaḍā-grāmō=yaṁ prasāda(dī)kṛitō [3]a-
9 smābhi[s=*] tāmvra(mra)sā(śā)sanaḥ[8][||*] As[9]i | na vaṁsa-kha[y]ē khi[ṇ]ē
10 yē kē chēta rājā bhavisāti [|*] tasa | pādē la-
11 [gnō]='haṁ mama data m=ōpaharēta |(||) Agumēka pada-
12 m=ēkaṁ yō [ha]rēta vasundharāṁ [|*] divaṁ varsa-sahasrā[ṇ]i

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 [yā]yatē vrahmarākhasa |(||)[10] Sva-dataṁ para-datam=vā jō harēta va-
14 sundharā [|*] sashṭhim=varsha-sahasrāṇi narakāyā jāyāta kṛi-
15 mi |(||) pu(pū)rva-kōṇa ulumvara-gā[ḍ ?]i-[11]sandhi[ḥ |*] uta(tta)ra-
16 disa(śi) palatsa[12]-sandhi[ḥ |*] paśchima-kōṇa(ṇē) [s]ōma-rukha-[13]
17 sadhdhi(ndhi)[ḥ |*] dakhi(kshi)ṇa-kōṇa(ṇē) pāchali[14]sandhi[ḥ |*] Vaga-suta | Pakha
18 [l ?]itilajasi-sandhi[ḥ |*] Taula-svarna(rṇa)karēṇā(ṇa) lī(li)khitaṁ tā-

Third plate.

19 mvra(mra)sā(śā)sanaḥ(nam) [||*]

No. 22.—THE MELPATTI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-KAMPAVIKRAMAVARMAN.

By V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B.A., Madras.

This inscription[15] is engraved on a hero-stone set up in a field to the north of the railway station at **Mēlpaṭṭi** in the Guḍiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District. Beneath the record is cut

[1] The *anusvāra* is indicated by a mere dot which is to be seen below *mā* of *mātā* in the previous line.
[2] There appears to be a superfluous vertical stroke after *dhā*.
[3] The absence of *sandhi* here is ungrammatical.
[4] The singular here is ungrammatical.
[5] Above *tē* a superscript *r* seems to have been first engraved and then erased.
[6] Read *tāvat*.
[7] Read *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyō*.
[8] Perhaps we have to read *-śāsanēna*.
[9] Here follow the verses. Their text, which is highly corrupt in the inscription, is given without any emendations, as they are quite well-known.
[10] The scribe seems to have confused two different verses, *viz.*, *Aśvamēdha*, etc., and *Suvarṇam=ēkaṁ*, etc., cf. above Vol. II, p. 310.
[11] What is meant is perhaps *udumbura-gāḍi*. *Gāḍi* seems to be a vernacular term. Cf. above Vol. **XXI**, p. **41**, text l. **46**.
[12] Read *plaksha-*.
[13] Read *-vṛiksha-*.
[14] Probably *pāṭali-* is to be read.
[15] No. 172 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

in bas-relief the figure of a warrior advancing to the proper left with a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. Though the stone is exposed to the ravages of the weather, the inscription has not suffered any damage, since the letters, as is usually the case with such stones, are incised deeply.

The language of the record is **Tamiḻ** which does not call for any special remarks. A few words which occur in the epigraph, however, require explanation. In the Tamiḻ poem *Maduraikkāñchi*, the word *kāvidi*[1] is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamiḻ *Nighaṇṭu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. In our record it is used as a title given to a warrior. The word *eṟittu*[2] (l. 6) is used in the sense of 'having defeated'.

The inscription is dated in the **10th year of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman** and records the death of a soldier of **Vāṇaraiyar** while attacking the army of **Pṛithvīgaṅgaraiyar** stationed at **Kāvaṉṉūr** in **Miyāṟu-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam**. This hero is distinguished in the record by the title 'who took Perunagar'. It may be pointed out here that Dr. Hultzsch explained this title occurring in a slightly modified form, *viz.*, '*Perunagar-agarakkoṇḍa-kkāvidi*'[3] as the chief of *Koṇḍār* of Perunagar-Agaram and took *Koṇḍār* as equivalent to *Koṇḍakkārar*, a caste of fishermen. That this word is not used as a noun but as a verb qualifying 'Perunagar' will be evident from the present epigraph. The term has, therefore, to be interpreted as 'the *kāvidi* who took Perunagar-Agaram'.[4]

This inscription helps us to determine the position of Kampavarman in the genealogy of the later Pallavas. About 35 inscriptions of this king have so far been secured, mainly in the Conjeeveram and Saidapet taluks of the Chingleput District and Arkōṇam, Cheyyār, Guḍiyāttam, Vellore and Wandiwash taluks of the North Arcot District.[5] These records which are dated from his 2nd[6] to 32nd[7] regnal years do not help us much in determining the exact period of his rule. Dr. Hultzsch gave a definite lead in this direction by explaining the name of the temple of Nandi-Kampīśvara[8] occurring in a record from Śōḻapuram as having been so called after Kampa, the son of Nandi, and thus he postulated that Kampa must have been the son of Nandivarman III and the brother of Nṛipatuṅgavarman. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar made a further suggestion and stated that, Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhārāvarsha Dhruva and the name Kampavarman, just like Nṛipatuṅga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman.[9] Since the genealogy furnished in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam and Bāhūr plates does not allow us to place him before Nṛipatuṅga, and as he cannot be placed after Nṛipatuṅga, Mr. Ayyar concluded that Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nṛipatuṅga or Aparājita or with both.[9]

[1] Ll. 493-9.

[2] Compare '*Teḷḷāṟṟ-eṟinda* Nandivarman'. Generally in hero-stones, the nature of the death of the hero is also specified as '*viḻundu paṭṭār*' (*i.e.*, fell and died), *koṉṟu paṭṭār* (*i.e.*, killed and died), *mīṭṭu paṭṭār* (*i.e.*, rescued and died), etc.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 and 182.

[4] For a similar use of the word *koṇḍa* cf. the terms 'Madirai-koṇḍa Parakēsari', 'Madirai-koṇḍa Rājakēsari', 'Kachchiyum Tañjaiyum koṇḍa Kaṉṉaradēva', 'Madiraiyum Īḻamum koṇḍa Rājādhirājadēva', etc., occurring too frequently in inscriptions.

[5] A stray record has also been found at Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore District (No. 498 of 1908) and another at Olakkūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District (No. 357 of 1909) adjoining the Wandiwash taluk.

[6] No. 402 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[7] No. 144 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[8] Above, Vol. VII, p. 196. 'Nandikampa' figures also as the name of a village in the inscriptions at **Paḷḷikoṇḍa** in the North Arcot District, dated between Śaka 878 and 885 (Nos. 473 and 469 of 1925).

[9] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49.

This conclusion arrived at by Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar is confirmed by the present inscription as will be shown presently[1].

The name of the soldier who took Perunagar is not given in our record; but he may be identified with Akaḷaṅkattuvarāyar who figures with the same title, *viz.*, 'who took Perunagar' in a record dated in the 26th year[2] of Nṛipatuṅga, from Āmbūr in the North Arcot District, not far from Mēlpaṭṭi. This soldier, according to the present inscription, died in the 10th year of Kampavarman, while his son and nephew fell in a cattle raid in the 26th year of Nṛipatuṅga.[2] The question then to be settled is whether Akaḷaṅkattuvarāyar died prior to his son and nephew; in other words, whether the 10th year of Kampavarman was prior to the 26th, *i.e.*, the last year of Nṛipatuṅga. From the fact that the son and father died in different reigns, one point is clear that, the reigns of Nṛipatuṅga and Kampavarman should have closely followed each other. If Akaḷaṅka had died earlier, Kampa should have been either a joint ruler with Nṛipatuṅga or his contemporary ruling over a portion of the Pallava territory, because according to the Bāhūr plates, he could not be accommodated before Nṛipatuṅga; but if, on the other hand, we suppose that Akaḷaṅka had died after his son, Kampa's rule should be placed immediately after that of Nṛipatuṅga. The latter alternative is not possible, because we know that Nṛipatuṅga was a contemporary of Varaguṇa[3] (*circa* 862 A. D.) and that Aparājita lost his kingdom to the Chōḷas about A. D. 888[4] and that within this period of 26 years, both Kampa with a reign of 32 years and Aparājita with one of 18 years could not be accommodated.

One difficulty with regard to the contemporaneity theory is that inscriptions of both Nṛipatuṅga and Kampa are found at Uttaramallūr, Kāvērippākkam and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. That Kampa was an independent ruler and not a subordinate under Nṛipatuṅga will be evident from the grants issued in his own name and regnal years. If Nṛipatuṅga and Kampa were independent contemporary rulers, how could we have the inscriptions of both these rulers in identical villages? This would be possible if these kings were administering the whole of the Pallava dominions jointly or if the three villages mentioned above were on the border land where the overlordship of both the rulers was recognised.[5]

We may approach the contemporaneity theory from another standpoint. The Bāṇas and the Western Gaṅgas were generally opposed to each other about this time, and their enmity ceased for a time by the marriage of Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Pṛithvīpati I with the Bāṇa King Bāṇavidyādhara. The fight at Kāvaṇṇūr mentioned in our inscription must then represent, one of the series of fights that were being waged between the two dynasties. There were two Pṛithvīgaṅgaraiyars about this time, one was the chief of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu and the other was Pṛithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II. Since the former had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman,[6] we may identify

[1] An attempt has recently been made to prove that Kampavarman was the son of Aparājita and that he ruled from A. D. 907-933 (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp. 224 ff). The author of this theory connects a record of Kampa (No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), wherein Nirañjana-guru figures as the donor, with another record of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradēva (No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) which states that Chaturānana-paṇḍita received initiation at the hands of Nirañjana-guru. The initial mistake of this theory lies in identifying the *guru* of Chaturānana, *viz.*, Nirañjana with the Nirañjana of Kampavarman's time. The author himself admits that the successors of Chaturānana were known by the same name. On the same analogy the successors of Nirañjana might have been called after their *guru* and therefore, the two Nirañjanas mentioned above might be different persons. He ignores the implications of the name Nandi-Kampa. From palæographical evidence also Kampa cannot be brought down to 10th century A. D.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

[3] No. 360 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] Above, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the Pallava power ceased about this time, we find the Bāṇas also who were hitherto subordinate to the Pallavas assuming independence and issuing records in their own name.

[5] For a similar instance see page 45, *A. R. on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

the Pirudigaṅgaraiyar mentioned in our record with the latter. Dr. Hultzsch has indentified the Bāṇavidyādhara mentioned above with Vikramāditya I, who figures as a subordinate of Nṛipatuṅga in the latter's 24th year. This is the latest known date when the Bāṇa chief figures as a subordinate under the Pallavas. Soon after, Vijayāditya II, the son of the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya I mentioned above, seems to have declared his independence, as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. Since the Bāṇa chief figures as a subordinate of the Pallava king in the present inscription, this record may be placed prior to the 24th year of Nṛipatuṅga and it also seems probable that the 24th year of Nṛipatuṅga should have closely followed the 10th year of Kampa without any long interval in the middle

Since a certain Aparājita, probably named after the king of that name, figures as the donor in the 15th year of Kampavarman[1] the latter might have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Aparājita also. Kampavarman might, therefore, have been a contemporary of both Nṛipatuṅga and Aparājita. His position may be said to be analogous to that of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country in the 11th century A. D.

Regarding the position of the Pallava territory about this period, it may be stated that, during the time of Nṛipatuṅga, it extended from Lālguḍi and Nārttāmalai in the south to Conjeeveram and Guḍimallam in the north. Nṛipatuṅga's father Nandivarman III was a subordinate of the Pāṇḍya king,[2] but in the time of Nṛipatuṅga the situation was reversed; Varaguṇa II appears as a subordinate of Nṛipatuṅga in his 18th year[3]; the Chōḷas had not by this time risen to the status of an independent power; the matrimonial alliance with the Rāshṭrakūṭas saved the Pallava empire from trouble from that quarter; and the Gaṅgas, *i.e.*, Pṛithvīpati I and his successors, and the Bāṇas were also subordinate to the Pallavas. Nṛipatuṅga was able to hold this empire intact, probably with the assistance of Kampavarman but towards the close of the reign of the former, we find the several neighbouring powers including the Noḷambas rising to prominence with the result that the Pallava dominion diminished to such an extent as to embrace, in the time of Aparājita, the Saidapet, Ponneri and Conjeeveram taluks in the Chingleput District and portions of the Tiruttani taluk in the Chittoor District. This small territory was easily conquered by the rising Chōḷas under Āditya I.

The next point for consideration is that Akaḷaṅkattuvarāyar figures in Pallava records as a soldier under both the Gaṅga[4] and Bāṇa rulers thus indicating the subordinate position occupied by the two latter rulers under Pallava monarchy.

The Bāṇa ruler mentioned in our inscription is probably identical with Vikramāditya Vāṇavidyādhara, who also figures in the 24th year of Nṛipatuṅga. His warrior whom we have identified with Akaḷaṅkattuvarāyar claims to have taken **Perunagar**, which is a village about 13 miles from Conjeeveram on the road to Wandiwash. From whom could he have taken Perunagar ? The inscriptions of this village do not give us any clue. The Gaṅga king Durvinīta claims victories over his enemies at Andari, Ālattūr, Poruḷare and Pernagara.[5] The last mentioned village was probably identical with Perunagar mentioned in the present inscription. However, during the last year of Nṛipatuṅga, the Noḷambas attacked the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region, especially the portion surrounding Āmbūr. Possibly it was from the Noḷambas that the town of Perunagar was

[1] No. 42 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

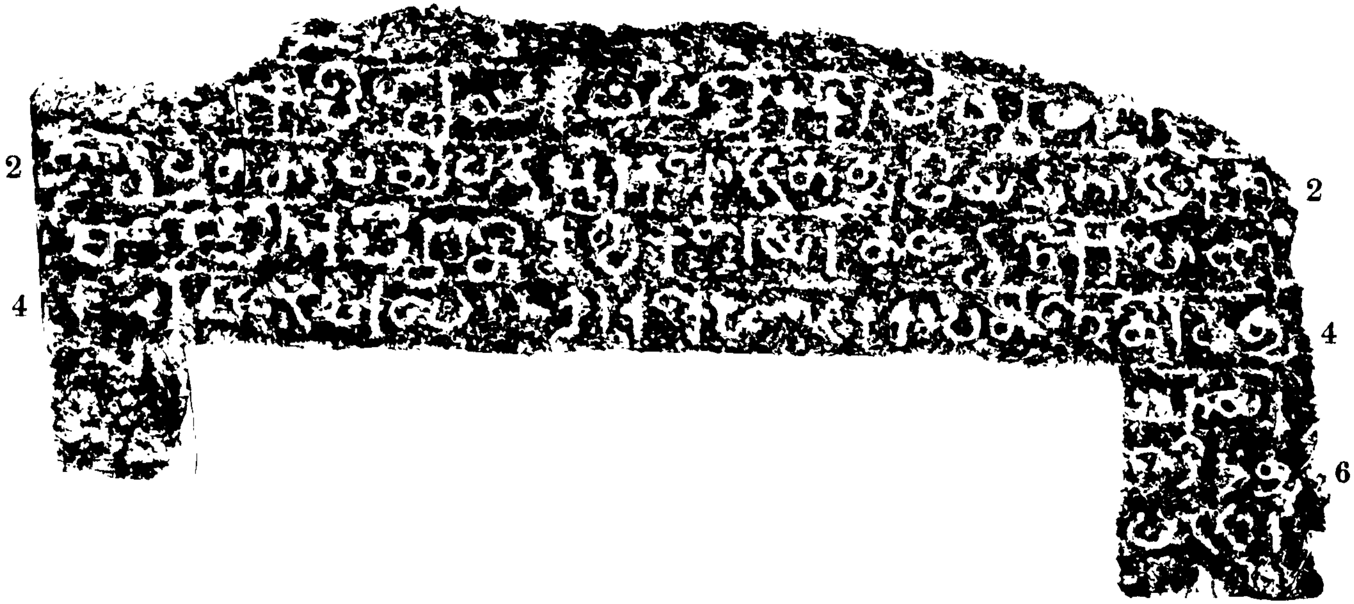
[2] *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, p. 38.

[3] No. 360 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] (*I.e.*) Prithvīpati I.

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII, Tm. 33; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Db. 68.

Melpatti Inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36 295.

SCALE. ONE-SEVENTH.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

captured by Akaḷaṅkattuvarāyar. This view is strengthened by the fact that a Noḷamba is said to have ruled as far as Kāñchi in a record from Hindupur, dated in Śaka 775 (A. D. 853).[1]

The territorial division **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam** was in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and it roughly comprised the modern Vellore and Guḍiyāttam taluks in the North Arcot District. It included the following *nāḍus*, *viz.*, (1) Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, (2) Mugai-nāḍu, (3) Peruntimiri-nāḍu, (4) Mīyāṟu-nāḍu, (5) Mēl- Aḍaiyāṟu-nāḍu, (6) Karaivaḷi Āndi-nāḍu and (7) Kārai-nāḍu. **Mīyāṟu-nāḍu** also known as Mīyāṟai-nāḍu included the present Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District and the surrounding region. The village **Kāvaṉṉūr** may be identified with the village of the same name in the Guḍiyāttam taluk.

TEXT.

1 **Kō-Viśaiya Kampavikkiramaparumaṟku** [yā]-
2 ṇḍu **pattāvadu Paḍuvūr-kkōṭṭattu Mīy[ā*]ṟu-nāṭṭu-kKā-**
3 **vaṉṉūr**[2] **Pirudigaṅgaraiyar** daṇḍu nikka **Vāṇa-**
4 **[raiyar]** paḍaivar **Pe[runa]gar-kkoṇḍa-kkāvadi**[3] nedirttu-
5 [v=aniyar]
6 [e]ṟittu
7 paṭṭār [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(*During the*) tenth year (*of the reign of*) the victorious **Kampavikkiramaparumar**—(*when*) the army (*of*) **Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar** (*was*) stationed (*at*) **Kāvaṉṉūr** in **Mīyāṟu-nāḍu,** (*a subdivision of*) **Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam,** the Kāvadi who took **Perunagar** (*and*) the soldier of **Vāṇaraiyar,** fell (*after*) attacking (*and*) defeating (*the army of*) the enemy.

No. 23.—A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III: [KALACHURI] YEAR 486.

BY G. V. ACHARYA, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

These **two plates** were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1920 when the Society's Collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known. Both the plates measure 12¾″ × 10″, while the holes, 5″ apart in each plate and meant for rings and the seals, are ⅝″ in diameter. Neither the seals nor the rings are forthcoming. Both the plates are damaged at the top left hand corners and consequently some portions of the writing are lost. There are several small holes due to corrosion in the body of the plates also. Both of these are inscribed on the inner side only and their rims are thickened to protect the writing. There are 28 lines in the first and 23 in the second plate. The average size of the letters is ¼″. The engraving is carefully done and there are very few mistakes. The **characters** are of the northern type and very much resemble those found on Valabhī

[1] No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] *Kāvaṉṉūr* is used in the locative sense.

[3] The reading in the Āmbūr record (above, Vol. IV, p. 182) is *Perunagar-agarakkoṇḍa-kkāvidi*, but it must be corrected as *Perunagar-kkoṇḍa-kkāvidi*. The engraver seems to have unnecessarily added the letters *ka* and *ra*. Such typographical errors are common in inscriptions.

plates. The **language** is Sanskrit and, excepting a few imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose.[1]

The **object** of the plates is to record the grant of the village **Mannātha** situated in the Bharukachchha-*vishaya* to Bhaṭṭa-**Uchchaḍa** son of Ādityanāga, a Brahmin of Hēṭāvuka class who had come out from the district (*āhāra*) called Lōhigakakshapathaka, who belonged to Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and was a student of Vāji-Mādhyandina branch of the Yajur-Vēda. The grant was made for the performance of the five 'great sacrifices' *viz.*, *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atithi*. The donor of the grant was **Jayabhaṭa** (III) of the Gurjara family of Broach.

The **date** of the grant is given at the end both in words and in figures as the **fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvayuja of the year 486** (**of the Chēdi era**), corresponding to A. D. 736.

Saṁgulla, the son of Alla, is the scribe and Dēiyaka is the *dūtaka* of the grant. At the end there is the **sign manual** of Śrī-Jayabhaṭa.

Of the three **place names** mentioned in the grant **Bharukachchha** stands for the present Broach. It is not possible to locate **Lōhigakakshapathaka**, while as regards the village granted, in the absence of the details about the boundaries, we have to look up for the name of some modern village having greatest possible resemblance with the name **Mannātha.** I would suggest Manād about a mile and a half north-east of Mehegam on the north bank of the river Narbadā.

The plates under consideration have great historical importance in that they conclusively decide the line of succession of the Gurjara princes, showing at the same time that the genealogy accepted so far stands in need of correction.

The genealogy framed by Dr. Bhagwanlal is given in *Bombay Gazetteer*[2] and is accepted by Prof. Bhandarkar in the revised list of inscriptions of Northern India[3]. The line of succession according to these scholars is as follows :—

Dadda I. K. 330.
Jayabhaṭa I. (Vītarāga) K. 355.
Dadda II. (Praśāntarāga) K. 380, 385, 392.
Jayabhaṭa II. K. 405.
Dadda III. (Bāhusahāya) K. 430.
Jayabhaṭa III. K. 456, 486.

Three plates of Dadda II (Praśāntarāga) dated Śaka 400, 415 and 417 have to be left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious.

The name of **Ahirōla**, the son of Jayabhaṭa II and father of Jayabhaṭa III, is known to us for the first time from these plates, and we are now in a position to say that the Nausārī plates[4] of K. 456 are not of Jayabhaṭa III as supposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal, but must be attributed to Jayabhaṭa II. In the Nausārī plates the genealogy stops with Jayabhaṭa II whose description agrees with that of the same ruler in the present record. In the 2nd plate of Jayabhaṭa III dated K. 486[5] unfortunately the earlier descriptive portion is lost but the description of Jayabhaṭa III is exactly similar to that of the donor of the present grant, which starts from the middle of line 21. These facts conclusively prove that the Nausārī plates of K. 456 are to be attributed to Jayabhaṭa II and the incomplete grant (second plate) of K. 486 and the present record both to

[1] [Certain other verses seem to occur in ll. 30-32.—Ed.]
[2] Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 114.
[3] Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 161 f.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

Jayabhaṭa III, son of Ahirōla and grandson of Jayabhaṭa II. The order of succession, therefore, would stand thus :

Dadda I. K. 330, 346.
Jayabhaṭa I. K. 355.
Dadda II. (Bāhusahāya) K. 380, 385, 392.
Jayabhaṭa II. K. 405, 456.
Ahirōla.
Jayabhaṭa III. K. 486.

While Dadda I and Jayabhaṭa I are referred to with the simple honorific title *śrī*, Dadda II seems to have assumed more power and strength, as he is styled *Parama-Māhēśvara*, *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* and *Bāhusahāya*. The three remaining princes—Jayabhaṭa II, Ahirōla and Jayabhaṭa III—have each the additional epithet of *Mahāsāmantādhipati*.

The epithet *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* has been differently translated by different scholars.[1] I always preferred to translate it as one who has obtained the prosperity and the privilege of five kinds of musical instruments and this meaning I am now in a position to support by a passage in *Mahāsudassana Suttanta*[2] where Kuśāvatī, the capital of the great king Sudassana is described as resounding with ten sorts of sounds (*dasa-sadda*, Skt. *daśa-śabda*) and these sounds are detailed as the sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, *bhēri*, *mutiṅga*, *vīṇā*, etc. In Pāli literature the expression *Pañchatūriyo* is also used in a similar sense.[3]

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 [. . . . . satata-lakshmī[5]]-nivāsa-bhūtē[6] tṛishṇā-saṁtāpa-hāriṇi dina-nātha-vistārit-ānu[bhāvē] dvija-

2 [kul-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhava-śālini] mahati mahārā[ja-Ka]rṇṇ-ā[nva]yē kamalākaka(ra) iva rājahaṁsaḥ prava(ba)la-[ka]li-kāla-

3 [vilasit-ākulita[7]-vimala-svabhāvō gambhīr-ō]-dāra-charita-vismāpita-sakala-lōkapāla-mā-nasa[ḥ pa]ram[ēśvara-śrī-**Ha**]**rshadēv**-ābhibhūta-**Va**-

4 [**labhī-pati**-paritrāṇ-ōpa]jāta-bhramad-adabhra-śubhr-ābhra-vibbhrama-yaśō-vitāna[ḥ*] śrī-**Daddas**=tasya sū[nur=a-śaṅkit-ā[8]]gata-praṇayi-

5 [jan-ōpabhukta-vibhava-saṁ]chay-ōpachīyamāna-ma[nō]-nirvṛitir = anēka - kaṇṭaka - vaṅśa (vaṁśa)-saṁdōha-dāha-du[rlla]lita-pratāp-ānalō ni-

6 [śita-nistriṅśa(striṁśa)-dhārā]-dārit-ārāti-kari-kumbha-mukta-muktāphala-chchhal-ōllasita-yaśō-ṅśu(ṁśu)k-āvaguṇṭhita-dig-va[dhū]-vadana-sara-

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[1] Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalainagar has in his article "*Further light on Pañchamahāśabda*" read at the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda summarised the views of the opposite schools and on the strength of Vijayanagara inscriptions has discarded the interpretation of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir Walter Elliot and supported the views of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 170 (P. T. S. ed.). My attention to this reference was drawn by my nephew Mr. R. K. Acharya.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for kindly going through this article and suggesting additions and alterations.

[4] From the original plates and photographs.

[5] The text portions within the square brackets in the beginnings of the first fourteen lines have been supplied from the Nausārī Plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

[6] There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

[7] This is what the Nausārī Plates actually read. To this is added the editor's note : "the sense requires us to correct this into *vilasit-ānākulita*."

[8] This portion has also been taken from the Nausārī Plates.

7 [sijaḥ śrī-]**Jayabhaṭas**=tasy=ātmajō mahāmuni-Manu-praṇīta-pravachan-ādhigama-vivēka-sva-dharmm-ānushṭhāna-[pravaṇō[1]] [va]rṇṇ-āśrama-

8 [vyavasth-ōn]mūlita-sakala-kali-ka(kā)l-āvalēpaḥ praṇayi-jana-manōratha-vajaya[2]-vyatīta-vibhava-sampādan-ā[pa]nīt-āśēja(sha)-

9 [3]pārtthiva-dān-ābhima(mā)nō mada-vivaś-āṅkuś-ātivartti-kupita-kari-nivāraṇa-prathita-guru-gaj-ādhirōhaṇa-prabhāvō[4] vipa-

10 [t-pra]pāta-patita-narapati-śat-ābhyuddharaṇa-nikhila-lōka-viśra(śru)ta-par - ōpakāra - kā(ka)raṇa-vyasanaḥ prāchya-pratīchy-ādhirāja-vijṛimbhi-

11 [ta]-mahā-saṁgrāma-narapati-sahasra-parivārit-ānēka-gaja-ghaṭā-vighaṭana-prakaṭita-bhuja-vīryya-vikhyāta-**Bāhusahāy**-āpa-

12 [ra]-nāmā[4] parama-māhēśvaraḥ samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda[ḥ*] śrī-**Daddas**=tasya sūnur=anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-ghana-ghaṭita-gaja-gha-

13 [ṭā]-pāṭana-paṭur=asahishṇu-vana-gahana-dāv-ānalō dīn-ānāth-ātura-suhṛit=svajana-vanna[5]-kumudākara-kaumudī-niśākarō[4] [Bhāg]ī-

14 [ra]thī-pravāha iva vipaksha-kshōbha-kshamaḥ[6] Śāntanur=iva samudbhūta-kā(ka)lakal-ārāva-mahā-vāhinī-patir=Ādi-Tha(Va)rāha iva sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-

15 parākram-ōddhṛita-dharā-dharaḥ[7] parama-māhēśvaraḥ samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda(bdō) mahā-sāmant-ādhipati[ḥ*] śrī-**Jayabhaṭas**=tasya sutaḥ śau[ryya]-

16 darpp-ōday-ōttuṅg-ōttamāṅga-bhūpāla-mauli-mālā-chumbita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ sakal-ābhigā-mik-ādi-guṇ-ānurāga-ni[rbbha]ra-ma-

17 nasā svayam-vṛitō rāja-lakshmyā[4] kaumud-īndu-dīdhiti-chakravāla-vimala-yaśaḥ-śēkha-rita-Mēru-śikharō raṇ-āṅgaṇ-āgata-vara-vai-

18 ri-vāraṇa-gha[ṭā]-kōṭi-kuddā(ṭṭā)ka-dōr-ddaṇḍaś=chatur-vvidy-ādhigam-ōpabṛiṁhi(bṛiṁhi)ta-prajñ-ātiśaya-samyak-p[8]ravarttita-nīti-mārgg-ānu[ra]ñji(rañji)ta-

19 prakṛitiḥ prakṛiti-ka[9]lyāṇ-āśayatvād=a-spṛishṭaḥ kali-kāla-kālimnā[4] sannihita-yauvan-ōpanat-ānanta-vishay-ōpabhōga-saukhyē

20 sahaja-śatrutayā vaśīkṛi[t-ēndri]ya-grāmaḥ shā[ḍ]gu[ṇ]ya-prayōga-nipuṇaḥ śakti-rla(tra)y-ōpachita-mahimā[4] parama-māhēśvaraḥ sama-

21 [dhi]gata-pañcha-mahā-śabda(bdō) mahā-śāmanta(nt-ā)dhipati[ḥ*] śrī[mad-A]**hirōlas**=tasya sakala-bhuvana-tilakasy=ātmajō nija-guṇa-gaṇa-māl-ālaṁ-

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[1] This word is not clear in the present inscription. The corresponding reading in the Nausārī Plates is *pravaṇi* which the editor has suggested to correct into *pravaṇō* or *pravīṇō*. *Pravaṇō*, however, fits better, and that has been adopted here.

[2] [Instead of *vajaya* read *vishaya*. The Nausārī Plates correctly read *vishaya*, but the given text contains *vilaya* which does not suit the sense. B. C. C.]

[3] The position on the plate shows that there must have been a syllable or two before the word *pārtthiva*. The Nausārī Plates, however, contain nothing between *-āśēsha* and *-pārtthiva*.

[4] There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

[5] Instead of *vanna* read *bandhu*.

[6] [With this compare the passage in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* ('Nirnaya-sagar' Press, Bombay, 4th edition, p. 39): . . . *vipaksha-kshōbha-kshamaḥ*, ... *Bhāgīrathī-pravāha iva pāvanaḥ prāvartata vipulō vaṁśaḥ*.—B. C. C.]

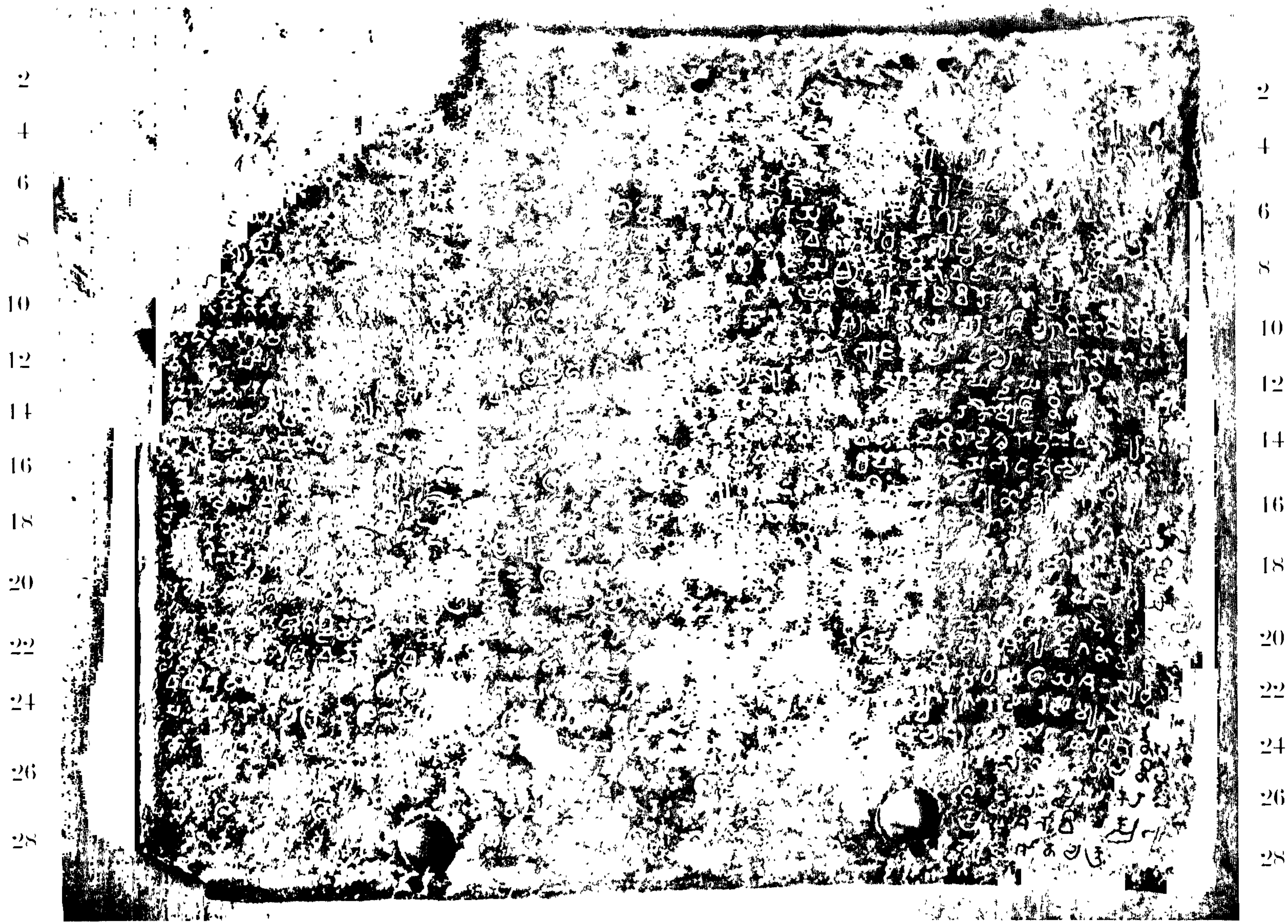
[7] The corresponding reading in the Nausārī Plates appears to be the same as in the present plates, though that portion is somewhat obscure there and has been read as *-ōddhṛita-dha[raṇiḥ]*.

[8] The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable looks more like *sh*.

[9] This *ka* appears like *kā*.

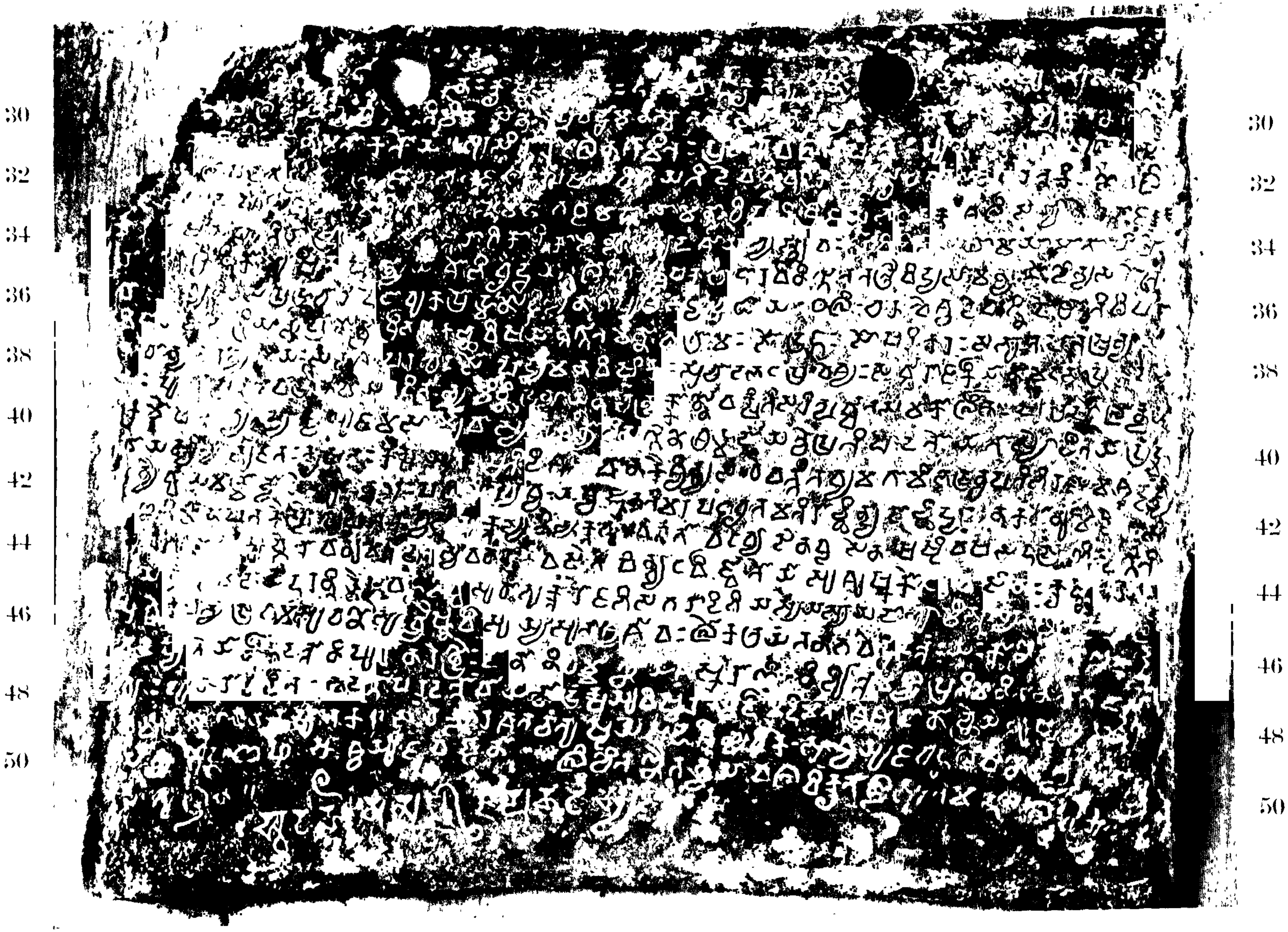
A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III [KALACHURI] YEAR 486.

ii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI — SCALE THREE-FIFTHS — SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.



22 kṛitō=nēka-narēndra-vṛindāraka-vṛinda-vandita-charaṇ-āravinda-dvayaḥ kund-ēndu-sita-sinduvāra-kusuma-dhavala-yaśaḥ-sudhā-dha-

23 valita-sakala-dha[rā-ma]ṇḍala[ḥ*] p[1]ratāpa(p-ā)nala-kavalit-ākhila-jagad-upaplavō durv-vāra-śar-āsāra-samutsā[r]i[ta]-

24 [saka]l-ārāti-chakravālaḥ pradhāna-pradhana-pradhāvita-prakaṭa-kari-ghaṭā-pāṭana-paṭuḥ (ṭuś=)chaṭula-raṇ-āṅgaṇ-āvaṅgaṇ[āraṅga]-

25 ṇa-tuṅga-[tura]ṅgama-[pra ?]kara-bhaṅga-bhāsurō[2] drava-dālita-dvirada-[kumbha-sthalī-*] mukta-muktāphala-nikara-dantur-āsi-latā-marīchi-nichaya-

26 mi(mē)chakita-dakshiṇa-bāhu-śikharaḥ padmākara i[va*] prakaṭ-āṇa(nē)ka-lakshaṇō na punar=mmal-āśayaḥ kshapākara i[va]

27 sakala-kalā-[ka]lāp-āñchitō na punar=ddōshā-karaḥ sāgara i[v=ā]ntaḥ-pravēśita-vipaksha-bhū-

28 bhṛin-maṇḍalō na punaḥ(nar=)grāh-ākulaḥ(lō) Nārāyaṇa iva Sudarśana-chakra-

Second Plate.

29 [kshapita-[3]]vipakshō [na pu]naḥ kṛishṇa-svabhāvaḥ(vō) Hara iv=āṅgīkṛita-bhūti-nicha[yō] na pu[na]r=bhujaṅga-pa-

30 [rigraha[4]]ḥ । Bāl-ēndu-[bimba]-pratimēna yēna pravarddhama(mā)na-sva-tan-ūdayēna [।] praṇāma-kāmō=lpa-karēṇa lō-

31 [kaḥ kṛi[5]]tāṁja(t-āñja)liḥ kāntimatā k[ṛi]tō=yaṁ(yam)[6] ।। Su(A)si-dhārā-jalēna śāmitaḥ prasabha-Valabhī-patēḥ[7] purē yōn=āśēsha-lōka-saṁ-

32 . . . . kalāpadatajjik-ānalaḥ Ja[rā]bhaṭa-jaladaḥ [ēsha] sa vigīyatē dēva-vadhū-kadamb[ai]r[8]=nṛipa-śata-makuṭa-ratna-kiraṇa(ṇ-ā)vali-

33 [raṁ*]ji(rañji)ta-pāda-paṅkajaḥ[2] samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda(bdō) mahā-sāmant-ādhi-pati-śrī-**Jayabhaṭaḥ** kuśalī sarvvān=ēva rāja-sā-

34 manta-vishayapati-rāshṭra-grāma-mahattar-ādhikārik-ādīn=samanudarśayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-pitrō-

35 r=ā[tmana]ś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē[2] Lōhigakakshapakath-āhāra-[9] vinirggata-tat-traividya-sāma(mā)nya-Kauṇḍinya-sa-gōtra-

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[1] The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable looks more like *sh*.

[2] There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

[3] This word has been supplied from the Kāvī grant of Jayabhaṭa III, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

[4] [This reading is mere conjecture.—B. C. C.]

[5] These two syllables have likewise been supplied from the Kāvī grant.

[6] Metre *Upajāti*.

[7] [This also appears to be in verse and the correct reading seems to be *prasabham Valabhī-patēḥ purē* । *yō(yē)n=āśēsha-lōka-sam[tāpa*]-kalāpa-da-Tajjik-ānalaḥ Ja[ya]bhaṭa-jalada ēsha sa[ḥ*]*. The reading in the present record would show that there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Valabhī in the fragmentary Kāvī Plate of Jayabhata III (K. 486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. i. On the other hand it appears that the latter came to Valabhī to help its ruler in fighting the Tajjikas or the Arab invaders who were the common enemies of all the rulers of the Western India—Ed.]

[8] [The portion *vigīyatē dēva-vadhū-kadambair=* reads like a line of *Upēndravajrā* metre. The word *vigīyatē*, if it is intended to convey the sense of 'is praised', is not appropriate, since it means rather 'is condemned.'—B. C. C.]

[9] We have perhaps to read °*pathakāhāra* for °*pakathāhāra*.

36 Vāji[mā]dhya[ndi]na-sabrahmachāri-Hēṭāvuka-brāhmaṇ-Ādityanāga - putra - bhaṭṭ-[1] Ōchchaḍāya[2] va(ba)li[2]-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihō[tr[3]-]ātithi-pa[ñcha].-

37 vi(ma)hā[yajñ-ā]di-kri[y-ō]tsaprā(rppa)ṇ - ārttha[ṁ] śrī-Bharukachchha - vishay - āntarggata-**Mannātha**-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-bhūtapā(vā)ta-pranyā-(tyā)ya[ḥ]

38 sa-dhānya-[hi]raṇy-ādēyaḥ sa-daś-āpara(rā)dhaḥ s-ōtpadyama(mā)na-vishṭikaḥ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyaḥ sarvva-rājakīyānām=a-hasta-praksh[ē]pa[ṇī]-

39 yaḥ pu(pū)rvva-pratta-dēva-brahma-vā(dā)ya-rahitāḥ(tō) bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandra(ndr-ā)rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sama-kālīnaḥ putra-paulā(tr-ā)nvaya-

40 kram-ōpa[bhō]gyē(gyō)=dy=Āśvayuja-ma(mā)s-āmu(mā)vāsyā[yāṁ*] ūdhaky[4]-ātisarggēṇa śra(bra)hma-dāyatvē[na*] pratipāditō yā(ya)t[ō]=sy=ōchitayā pra(bra)hma-

41 dhā(dā)ya-sthityā bhuṁja(bhuñja)taḥ krishataḥ kaksha(rsha)yataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vya(vyā)[sē]dhē varttitavyam=a(ā)gāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=ayaṁmaśmad-[5] vaṁśyai-

42 [r=a]nyair=vv=āyam=akmā(sma)d-dāyō=numantavyaḥ pa(pā)layitavyaś=cha | yaś=ch=[ā]-jñāna-tima(mi)ra=paṭa[l-ā*]vṛita-matir=āchchhindya(ndyā)d=āchchhidyama(mā)nakaṁ v=ānumē(mō)dē[ta] sa

43 [pa]ñchabhir=mahāpa(pā)takais=s-ē(s-ō)papa(pā)takā(kai)ś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*] sya(syā)d=ity=ukta[ñ=]cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna | Shashṭi-varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇi svarggē ti-

44 [shṭhati] bhūm[i]daḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānuma[ntā] cha tasvē(tāny=ē)va narakē vasēta(t) [||*] Vindhy-āṭavījvā(shv=a)tōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] krishṇ-[āhayō] hi

45 [jā*]yantē bh[ū]m[i]-dāyaṁ haranti yē || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya [ta]dā phalaṁ(lam) [||*]

46 Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇaṁ bhūr=Vvaishṇavī Su(Sū)ryya-sutāś=ch śā(gā)vaḥ [|*] lōka-trayaṁ ta(tē)na bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ[2] yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāñ=cha [mahīṁ]

47 cha dadyāta(t) [||*] Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ(drair=)dānāni dharmm-āñchā(rtha)-yaśas-karāṇi | nirbhutta(kta)-ma(mā)lya-pratima(mā)ni tāni kō nāma sā-

48 dhuḥ punar=ādadīta || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yā(ya)tnādraṁ(d=ra)ksha Yudhi-shṭha(shṭhi)ra | mahīṁ mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nu[pa(pā)lanam=iti(nam [||*]iti)] [||*]

49 Bhaṭṭa-śrī-[Dēiya]ka-dūtakaṁ[6] || **Saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayē shaḍ-aśīty-adhikē**[2] Āśvayuja-bahula-pañchadaśy[āṁ . . .]

50 Saṁva 400 80 6 Āśvayuja va 10 5 likhitañ=ch=aitan=mayā va(ba)la(lā)dhikṛit-Ālla-suta-mahābala(lā)dhi[kṛita-]

[1] [On the photograph the reading looks like *bhaṭṭ-Āchchaḍāya*,—B. C. C.]

[2] There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

[3] The syllable *trā* has a peculiar shape. It looks more like *thā*, though *th* again has a different form as is seen in the very next word *atithi*.

[4] Read °*syāyām=udak*. On top of the syllables *dhakyā* there is a sign of an uncertain letter.

[5] The two syllables *yaṁma* are superfluous. Read *-nṛipatibhir=asmad*.

[6] [The Kāvī grant reads: *Śrīkaṇḍakaṇaka-dūtakaṁ*. The reading in the present inscription is not certain. It can also be: *Bhaṭṭa-Śrīkhaṇḍayaka-dūtakaṁ*.—B. C. C.]

51. [Saṁgullē]na ||

Sva-hastō mama **śrī-Jayabhaṭasya** ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) . . . . In the great lineage of the great king Karṇa—which became the (perpetual) abode (of Lakshmī) ; which allayed the misery (*caused by*) desires ; whose glory was wide-spread like that of the sun (and) which possessed (wealth that supported families) of Brahmins—(*there lived*) like a swan in the lotus-pond, the illustrious **Dadda**, whose (pure temper was not agitated by the freaks) of the mighty Kali age ; who, by his grave and noble conduct struck the minds of all kings (or *dikpālas*) with wonder (*and*) over whom there hung with the grace of a rolling mass of white clouds, a canopy of glory gained by (protecting the lord of Valabhī) who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious **Harshadēva.**

(Ll. 4-7) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** whose mental happiness increased as his stores of (wealth were enjoyed) by needy men coming (*to him*) without fear ; the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical families ; (*and*) who veiled the lotus-like faces of the women who were the quarters with the cloth of (*his*) white glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls coming out of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, rent open by the (edge of (*his*) sharp sword).

(Ll. 7-12) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Dadda,** who was devoted to the performance of his own religious duties with discrimination due to his (*right*) understanding of the treatises composed by the great sage Manu ; who had rooted out all the arrogance of the Kali age by (the proper management) of the (*four*) castes (*varṇa*) and stages (*āśrama*) (*of life*) ; who removed the pride of charity of all (*other*) kings by giving (lit. acquiring) wealth that was beyond the hopes of the supplicants ; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad ; whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (*his*) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery ; who was well known by his other name of **Bāhusahāya** through the strength of (*his*) arm, that was displayed in tearing through innumerable troops of elephants surrounded by thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds.

(Ll. 12-15) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** who was clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arranged in the clash of numerous battles ; who was a very forest fire to the intolerant (*i.e.,* his opponents) ; who was a friend of the poor, the destitute and the sick ; who was a full moon to the lotus-pond (*in the state*) of relations and friends ; who like the stream of (*the river*) Bhāgīrathī was able to agitate his enemies (or rocks) ; who like Śāntanu was the lord of a great army (or of the great river) full of a humming noise ; who like the Primeval Boar held the earth raised by the might of his own arm ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāsāmantādhipati.*

(Ll. 15-21) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Ahirōla,** whose feet were kissed by garlands on the crests of kings with their heads lofty on account of the rising pride of their valour ; who was chosen by Rājalakshmī (Royal splendour) of her own accord with her heart full of love for all his attractive virtues ; whose glory, white like the mass of light of the full-moon, crowned the peak of (the mount) Mēru ; whose bar-like (*i.e.,* strong) arm was capable of crushing crores of troops of elephants belonging to his great enemies met in the battle field ; who had pleased the subjects by properly chalking out the paths of morality through (*his*) surpassing wisdom which was increased by (*his*)

mastery over four-fold learning; who, being naturally of benevolent disposition, was not stained by the blackness (*i.e.*, the wicked influence) of the Kali age; who had his senses controlled owing to (*his*) natural apathy towards the pleasures of countless objects (*of enjoyment*) attendant upon the approaching youth; who was well-versed in the employment of the six expedients; whose greatness was enhanced by (*his*) three *śaktis*; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*.

(Ll. 21-33) His—who was the ornament of the whole world—son, Śrī-**Jayabhaṭa**, who is adorned by the garland (*in the form of*) the collection of his own virtues; whose lotus-like feet are saluted by numerous great kings; who has the whole earth brightened with the lime-wash (*in the form*) of his glory, which is as white as the *kunda*, the moon and the white *sinduvāra* flower; who has consumed the misfortune of the whole world by the fire (*in the form*) of his great prowess; who has expelled the multitude of all enemies by the torrents of his irresistible arrows; who is clever in destroying the troops of elephants running about in the best of battles; who is shining (*on account*) of the breaking of the multitude of lofty horses capricing(?) and dancing in the unsteady battlefield; whose right shoulder has been darkened by the collection of the rays (*issuing*) out of the sword which looked like having projecting teeth on account of the pearls (*sticking to it*) which had fallen from the (*temples*) of elephants violently split by him; who like a lotus-pool manifests various auspicious marks (as the lotus-pool has many cranes) but is not wicked (or with a muddy bottom); who like the moon is endowed with all the fine arts (as the moon has digits) but is not a repository of vices (as the moon is the 'night-maker'); who like the sea has caused the hostile kings to come in (*i.e.*, submit ?) (as the sea has given shelter to wingless mountains) but is not afflicted with disease (as the sea is full of crocodiles); who like Nārāyaṇa has destroyed his foes with his excellent discus (as Nārāyaṇa did with the Sudarśana wheel) but is not of wicked nature (as Nārāyaṇa is an incarnation of Krishṇa); who like Hara has secured all prosperity (as Śiva has his body besmeared with ashes) but is not surrounded by dissolute people (or serpents); who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpa-kara*) just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpa-kara*) still causes the people to salute; [1]who by the edge of his sword quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī, (who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowds of the wives of the gods; whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest jewels of hundred of princes; who has obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and is a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*;

(Ll. 33-40) being in the best of health, informs all princes, feudal chiefs, district officers and *Mahattaras* in charge of *rāshṭra* and villages: Be it known to you that, for the increase of merit and glory of (*my*) parents and of myself, both in this and the next world, the village Mannātha, lying within the district of Bharukachchha, together with the *udraṅga* and *uparikara* and *Bhūta-Vāta-pratyāya*, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the proceeds of fines for*) the ten faults, with the right to forced labour, not to be entered by *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa*, not to be meddled with by any royal officer, exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brahmins, according to *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya*, to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains endure (*and*) to be enjoyed in succession by sons and grandsons, has, to-day on the **new moon of the month of Āśvayuja,** been given by me as a *brahmadāya* with libations of water, for the

[1] [Here the author has followed the translation given by Bühler, which was based on his imperfect reading of the text. I would translate this passage as: 'he is the very cloud (*in the form of*) Jayabhaṭa who has forcibly extinguished the fire (*in the state*) of Tajjikas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhi with the water of the edge of his sword; who is praised, etc. See above p. 151 n 7—Ed.]

purpose of performing the five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihōtra*, and *Atithi*, to Bhaṭṭa Uchchaḍa[1], who came from the district of Lōhigakakshapathaka, who is of Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who belongs to the community of Traividya Brahmins, who is a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and who is the son of Ādityanāga, a Hēṭāvuka Brāhmin.

(Ll. 40-43) Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated or entrusting (*it to any one else*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya*. (*And*) this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings whether of our own lineage or others. And he shall incur the guilt of five great sins together with the minor sins who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation.

(Ll. 43-48) [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 49-51) The illustrious *bhaṭṭa* Dēiyaka is the *dūtaka*.

In the year four hundred increased by eighty-six on the 15th day of the dark half of Āśvayuja (the year 400, 80, 6 Āśvayuja, va 10 5) this has been written by me, the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṁgulla, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Alla.

(*This is*) the sign manual of me, Śrī-**Jayabhaṭa.**

No. 24.—MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

By N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This copper-plate comes from **Mallasārul**,[2] a village about a mile and a half from the north bank of the Dāmodar river, within the jurisdiction of Galsi Police Station of the Burdwan District, Bengal. It was discovered in 1929 by Dr. Sureshwar Roy in course of re-excavation of an old tank adjoining his house and was subsequently presented by him to the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat of Calcutta. The decipherment of the text inscribed on the plate was entrusted to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, but due to his continuous ill health he could not take it up seriously and the copper-plate, which remained unpublished, attracted little attention after his death. Recently I approached the Sāhitya-Parishat for permission to edit the record, which was very kindly accorded, and the original plate together with a tentative and incomplete transcript, prepared partly by the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya and partly by Mr. Chintāharaṇ Chakravartī, M.A., was handed over to me. An article in Bengali giving a preliminary account of the plate has been contributed by me to the quarterly journal of the Sāhitya-Parishat. But considering the importance of the record I have thought it desirable to edit the same with fuller details in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

This is a **single sheet of copper,** measuring 10·4″ long by 6·5″ broad, which is inscribed on both faces lengthwise. A circular **seal** about 2·8″ in diameter is soldered on the left side of the plate. It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a *chakra* in the background representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law.' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahā*)*rāja-Vijaya*[*sē*]*nasya*, *i.e.*, 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced. The plate contains 25 lines of writing; of these fifteen lines are engraved on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The engraver has not been able to follow the draft with uniform accuracy: there are slips and lapses at a number of places, which have been duly pointed out in the

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[1] [See above p. 152, n. 1.—Ed.]

[2] The place is marked as 'Sārul' in Survey of India map No. 73 M: 11 (1″ to a mile scale) of 1929-30, and as 'Mallasarul' in the Map of the District of Burdwan.

text. The uneven surface of the reverse side, showing a number of fissures, must have made the engraver's task somewhat difficult. In several instances he has been obliged to leave blank space in the middle of a line and re-engrave a letter or letters, as in the last line, after the blank space. The plate is cracked at the upper left corner and some slices appear to have been cut away from here, as also from the lower left corner. As a result of the damage, which happened probably when the plate was being dug out, several letters are lost from the commencement of lines 1-3 and 14-15.

The **characters** belong to the Eastern variety of the 'Gupta alphabet', representing a further stage of development as compared to those of the copper-plates of Bengal dating from the 5th century A.D. Palæographically, it resembles the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra[1] which are referable to the 6th century. As pointed out below, the approximate age of the plate can be determined also from its internal evidence. As regards the forms of individual letters, noteworthy are *m, y, sh* and *s*, and the conjuncts *ñch, tm, lp* and *lm*. The letter *y* shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side. This particular form of the letter has been found by Hoernle also in the Bower Manuscript,[2] and it appears in the Faridpur plates, the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507)[3] and in the latest one (A.D. 543-44)[4] of the Dāmōdarpur plates. The letter *h* has the lower portion of its curve shaped like a hook, turned to the right. It differs from the *h* occurring in the Baigrām,[5] Pāhāṛpur[6] and Dāmōdarpur[7] plates in which the curve is much shorter and is turned to the left. Attention may also be drawn to the use of the peculiar medial *ō*, consisting of the *ē*-stroke on top of consonant and the hook-like *ā*-stroke added to its stem below. The record contains examples of the final *t* and *m* and the numeral signs for 3, 7, 8 and 20.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses in *Āryā* metre at the beginning and eight other verses relating to land grant, the document is composed in prose throughout. The superfluous addition of the suffix *ka* in *dattaka* (l. 12) is a well-known feature of the records of the Gupta period. The word *vārakṛita*. in *asmad-vārakṛitaiḥ* (l. 12), which probably refers to a class of officers, is of lexical importance.[8] As regards **orthography,** mention may be made of the doubling of a consonant either preceding a subscript *r* or following a superscript *r*, the use of the dental nasal in *vaṁśa* (l. 17), and of the same nasal instead of *m*, once in *darbha* (l. 1). The sign for *b* occurs only in a single instance in *brāhmaṇasya* (l. 16), but everywhere else in the record the sign for *v* has been employed for *b*. This orthographical distinction between *b* and *v*, as is well known, gradually became obsolete after the Gupta period.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 193 ff.

[2] *Introduction to the Bower Manuscript* (Reprint, Bombay 1914), p. 46.

[3] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 45 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 141 ff. and Vol. XVII, p. 193.

[5] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

[8] The primary meaning of *vāra* is 'a person's turn' or 'proper place', and *vārakrita* would mean 'one appointed in turn' or 'one appointed in a place'. In the Ghugrahati plate of Samāchāradēva certain persons are said to have been appointed *kulavāra* (*karaṇika-Nayanāga-Kēśav-ādīn kulavārān prakalpya*) in connection with the land granted. Also in a Faridpur plate of the time of Gōpachandra we have *Vishayādhikaranēn=ādhikaraṇakajñān=kulavārān=prakalpya, i.e.*, 'having appointed, through the *Vishayādhikarana*, *kulavāras* who are acquainted with administrative affairs'. The word *kulavāra* has been taken by Pargiter to mean 'a referee' or 'an arbitrator' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 205, n. 49 ; in the above passage I read *jñān* for *jnana* of Pargiter). Evidently the word *vārakṛita* is used in a similar sense in the present record. In line 12, this class of officers are supposed to carry out the apportionment of the price of the land at the *Vīthī*.

The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha,[1] of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santaḥ*), *i.e.*, the Buddhist Saṅgha. In line 2 of the inscription occurs the name of a paramount sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*), the first two letters of which can be clearly read as *Gōpa*. The remaining portion of the name, appearing at the beginning of line 3, evidently consisted of two letters which are only partially preserved. It is clear, however, that the last letter of the name was a conjunct with subscript *r* as a component. The lower portion of the third letter has the shape of a triangle with an acute angle pointing downwards, from which it is evident that this is a fragment of the letter *cha*. Moreover, the name must have been in the locative case, in conformity with the present participle form *praśāsati* that immediately follows. Under the circumstances I feel no hesitation in restoring the passage as *Gōpachandrē praśāsati*, *i.e.*, 'during the reign of Gōpachandra.'

In lines 3-5, honour is shown to a number of officers who are mentioned by their respective designation and not by name, *viz.*, *Kārttākṛitika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Chaurōddharaṇika*, *Uparika*, *Audraṅgika*, *Āgrahārika*, *Aurṇasthānika*, *Bhōgapatika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Hiraṇya-sāmudāyika*, *Pattalaka*, *Āvasathika* and officers entrusted with *dēvadrōṇī* (*i.e.*, procession or ablution of images ?). As these officers are mentioned immediately after *Varddhamāna-bhuktau* there is no doubt they were the various functionaries of the provincial administration directly concerned with the affairs of this *bhukti*. The enumeration of the officers is followed by a list of the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other important persons concerned with the present grant, *viz.*, *mahattara* Himadatta, an *agrahārin* of Ardhakaraka ; *mahattara* Suvarṇayaśas of Nirvṛitavāṭaka ; *mahattara* Dhanasvāmin, an *agrahārin* of Kapisthavāṭaka ; the *mahattaras* Shashṭhidatta and Śrīdatta, *agrahārins* of Vaṭavallaka ; *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmanasvāmin, an *agrahārin* of Kōḍḍavīra ; Mahidatta and Rājyadatta, *agrahārins* of Gōdhagrāma ; Jīvasvāmin of Śālmalivāṭaka : *Khāḍgi*-Hari of Vakkattaka ; *Khāḍgi*-Gōika of Madhuvāṭaka ; *Khāḍgi*-Bhadranandin of Khaṇḍajōṭikā ; and *Vāhanāyaka* Hari and others of Vindhyapurī.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant of land during the reign of King **Gōpachandra** by *Mahārāja* **Vijayasēna**, to a Brahmin named **Vatsasvāmin** of the Kauṇḍinya *gōttra*, belonging to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* of the Ṛigvēda, to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.[2] The land granted measured eight *kulyavāpas*[3] in area and was situated in the village of **Vēttra-garttā** within the **Vakkattaka** *vīthī* of the **Varddhamāna** *bhukti*. It was bounded on the east and south by Gōdhagrāma, on the north by the Vaṭavallaka *agrahāra* and on the west in part by Āmragarttikā. The plot was duly marked out by pegs (*kīlaka*),[4] a system that finds a parallel in the land survey of modern times.

The transaction took place in the following manner : Vijayasēna approached the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other notabilities of the neighbouring villages and also the Court of the *Vīthī* (*vīthy-adhikaraṇa*), expressing his desire to purchase, in the customary way, eight *kulyavāpas* of land for the aforesaid purpose. The *Vīthī* Court and the Elders enquired into the matter and signified their approval, considering that 'a sixth part of the religious merit will accrue to the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *i.e.*, the King, and they themselves, as the protectors of the gift, will also have fame and prosperity'. The necessary amount of money in *dīnāras* was then duly paid at the *Vīthī* Court by Vijayasēna to cover the price of the land, which was divided by the *Vāra* officers[5] and the gift was made subject to the express condition that the usual dues in respect of the land

[1] The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification.

[2] These comprise the five daily rites, *viz.*, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*.

[3] The area is specified in figure also in l. 24 (*kulya 8*).

[4] The pegs are said to have borne the device of *kamal-āksha-mālā*, *i.e.*, 'a string of lotus seeds'.

[5] See above, p. 156, n. 8.

would be borne by him and credited to the revenues of the *Vīthī*. Having in this manner obtained the right of ownership, he next transferred it to the donee Vatsasvāmin by means of a copper-plate charter. In this transaction a person named Śubhadatta acted as the *Dūtaka*, the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Bhōgachandra prepared the draft, while the *Pustapāla* Jayadāsa was responsible for getting the copper-plate 'heated' (*tāpita*), by which evidently the process of engraving, that is to say the technical part of it, is to be understood. The **date** is given as the year, *i.e.*, the regnal year, 3, the month of Śrāvaṇa, the 27th day.

Mahārājādhirāja **Gōpachandra**, the reigning king, should be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur copper-plates. *Mahārāja* **Vijayasēna**, the donor, whose name appears on the seal and also in lines 8 and 13, and who must have been a vassal chief of Gōpachandra, should be identified with the *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasēna, the *Dūtaka* of the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507). The present charter therefore may be placed in the first half of the sixth century, a conclusion, we have already seen, is borne out by the palæography of the inscription. It appears that Vijayasēna served both under Vainyagupta and Gōpachandra, at different dates; but it is difficult to say which of the two kings was the earlier. It is likely, however, that as Vijayasēna issued the present charter under his own seal, he occupied a more dignified position under Gōpachandra; and this would probably indicate a point of time later than A.D. 507, in which year he was associated as a *Dūtaka* with Vainyagupta's Gunaighar plate. It should be noted also that although Vainyagupta, his overlord, was at this date enjoying some sort of independent status, he styled himself only as *Mahārāja*, and not as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Vainyagupta, as his name would suggest, might have been related to the Guptas of Magadha. Gōpachandra on the other hand was probably a member of a local family. That he had the status of a paramount sovereign is certain. As we already know, this king, like Dharmāditya of the Faridpur plates who enjoyed a similar status, had placed one of his chiefs in charge of a territory in Eastern Bengal. From the evidence of this record it now appears that Gōpachandra had under him also the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, answering to the present Burdwan Division. He appears therefore to have owned a fairly extensive territory. By the middle of the sixth century, or a little earlier, Bengal seems to have been lost to the Guptas of Magadha and local princes had established their independence. They probably retained this position until the rise of the Emperor Harshavardhana. One of the Faridpur plates (the Ghugrahati plate) mentions another independent king of Bengal named Samāchāradēva. The script of this plate is definitely later than that of the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra. Hence he should be placed after them, that is either at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Some remarks are called for regarding the identification of the **localities** mentioned in the copper-plate. Most of them appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vēttragarttā within Vakkattaka *vīthī*, a part of which was granted to the donee. **Vēttragarttā** itself cannot be located with certainty. But **Gōdhagrāma** may be identical with Gōhagrām on the Dāmodar, to the south-east of Mallasārul where the plate has been found. **Āmragarttikā** may be modern Ambahulā (also called Sīmāsīmī), to the south of Mallasārul. **Khaṇḍajōṭikā** is perhaps Khāṇḍajulī between Mallasārul and Gōhagrām, while **Śālmali** may be Mallasārul itself. The name of the *vīthī* **Vakkattaka** seems to have survived in Baktā, a place immediately to the east of Gōhagrām.

The Vakkattaka *vīthī*, representing a part of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, included a strip of the country along the north bank of the Dāmodar river. Another *vīthī* of the same *bhukti* was known during the Sēna period as Svalpa-dakshiṇa-*vīthī*, which lay along the Bhāgīrathī river in the north-

eastern corner of the Burdwan District.[1] In the unpublished Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla a *vīthī* in Gayā-*vishaya* is described as Jambūnadī-*vīthī*, *i.e.*, 'the *vīthī* on the Jambū river'. Again in a grant of the Gupta period from Monghyr District there is reference to a Nanda-*vīthī*, the name being recognizable in 'Nandapur', the findspot of the grant, situated on the Ganges.[2] From these scattered references it would appear as if the term *vīthī* was applied in ancient times to a tract of land immediately bordering on a river.

The expression *vīthy-adhikaraṇa, i.e.*, the *Vīthī* Court (l. 8) is interesting. A similar expression *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* is used in reference to the town or district of Kōṭivarsha in the Dāmōdarpur copper-plates, where it seems to denote 'the City Court'. The persons mentioned in lines 5-8 immediately before *vīthy-adhikaraṇa*, among whom are *mahattaras*, *i.e.*, Elders, and *agrahārins*, *i.e.*, 'holders of *agrahāras*', were probably the heads of administration of the *vīthī*. In connection with *vīthy-adhikaraṇa* we may compare the expression *Suvarṇa-vīthy-adhikṛita*, *i.e.*, 'one who is in charge of the administration of Suvarṇa-*vīthī*'[3] occurring in the Ghugrahati plate of Samāchāradēva.

TEXT.[4]

Obverse.

1 .... (Lō)kanāthaḥ[5] yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛita-karmma-phala-hētuḥ [।*] satya-tapōmaya-mūrttir=llōka-dvaya-sādhanō dharmmaḥ [॥ 1*] Tad-anu jita-danbha(mbha)-lōbhā jaya-

2 [nti*]....para-hit-ārthāḥ[6] [।*] ni[rma]tsarāḥ su-charitaiḥ para-lōka-jigīshavaḥ santaḥ [॥ 2*] pṛithivīṁ Pṛithur=iva(Pṛithuvat) prathita-pratāpa-naya-śauryy[ē] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Gōpa-**

3 [**chandrē**][7] praśāsati tad-anujñaptāyāṁ puṇy-ōttara-janapad-ādhyāsitāyā[ṁ] satata-dharmma-kriyā-varddhamānāyāṁ **Varddhamāna-**bhuktau pūjyān=varttamān-ōpasthi-tata[8]-kārttākṛitika-ku-

4 mārāmātya-ch[au]r[ō]ddharaṇik-ōparik-audraṅgik-āgrahārik-aurṇasthānika-bhōgapatika-vishayapati-tada(dā)yuktaka-hiraṇyasāmudāyika-pattalak-āvasathika-dēvadrōṇī-samva(mba)-

5 ddh-ādīn=vidhivat=sampūjya Vakkattaka-vīthī-samva(mba)ddh-Ārddhakarak-āgrahāriṇa-mahattara-Himadattaḥ Nirvṛitavāṭakīya-mahattara-Su[va*]rṇṇayaśā[ḥ*] Kapistha-vāṭak-āgrah[ā]riṇa-

6 mahattara-Dhanasvāmi(mī) Vaṭavallak-āgrahāriṇa-mahattara-Shashṭhidatta-Śrīdattau Kōḍ-ḍavīr-āgrahāriṇa-bhaṭṭa-Vāmanasvāmi(mī) Gōdhagrām-āgrahāriṇa-Mahidatta-Rājya-

7 dattau Śālmalivāṭakīya-Jīvasvāmi(mī) Vakkattakīya-khāḍgi-Hariḥ Madhuvāṭakīya-khāḍgi-Gōika(kaḥ) Khaṇḍajōṭikēya-khāḍgi-Bhadranandi(ndī) Vindhyapurēya-vāhanāyaka-

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[1] Majumdar, *Inscrs. of Bengal*, p. 71.

[2] Above, p. 52.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 76. Mr. Bhattasali renders it as 'master of the bullion market' which cannot be accepted.

[4] From the original copper-plate.

[5] About eight letters are missing at the beginning of this line.

[6] Some letters are missing also here, of which one has been tentatively restored.

[7] For this restoration see remarks above p. 157.

[8] The second *ta* is superfluous and should be omitted.

8 Hari-prabhu(bhṛi)tayō vīthy-adhikaraṇañ=cha vijñāpayanti [|*] pūjyaṁ-[1]**Mahārāja-Vijayasēnēna** vayam=abhyarthitā ichchhēha(ya)m=ēta[d*]-vīthī-saṁva(mba)ddha-**Vēttragarttā**-grāmē yushmabhyō ya-

9 thā-nyāya(yē)n=ōpakrīy=āshṭau kulyavāpān mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē kalpāntara-sthāyinyā pravṛittyā puttra-pauttr-ānvaya-bhōgyatvēna Kauṇḍinya-sagōttrāya

10 Vā(Bā)hvṛicha-**Vatsasvāminō(nē)** pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanāya pratipāva(da)yi-tum=iti [*] yatō=smābhir=asy=ābhyartha[na*]y=āvadhṛitam=asy=ōshō(aishō)=nukramaḥ[2] ubhaya-lōka-vijigīshu[bhi](bhiḥ)

11 [sā]dhubhiḥ kriyamāṇa-puṇya-skandhēshu śrī-**Paramā(ma)bhaṭṭāraka**-pa(pā)dānāṁ dharmma-shaḍ-bhāgō cha yō[3]=smākam=api pratipālayatāṁ kīrtti-śrēyōbhyāṁ yōgaḥ [|*] uktañ=cha [|*] Yaḥ kriyāṁ dharmma-saṁ-

12 yuktāṁ manas=āpy=abhinandati [|*] [va*]rddhatē sa yath-ēshṭ-ēva[4] śukla-paksha iv=ōḍurāṭ [|| 3*] tat=sampadyatām=asy=ābhiprāya ity=asman(d)-vāra-kṛitair=anēna dattaka-dīnārā[n*] vīthyāṁ saṁvibhajy=āsman(d)-**Vēttra-**

13 **garttā**-grāmē=shṭābhyaḥ kulyavāpēbhyō yath-ōchitaṁ dānaṁ ta[d]-vīthī-samu-daya ēva pranāryya[5] vōḍhavyam=ity=avachūrṇy=āshṭau kulyavāpā **Mahārāja-Vijayasēnasya** dattōḥ(dattāḥ)

14 ...pi[6] rājñ=āsmai Kauṇḍinya-sagōttrāya Vā(Bā)hvṛicha-**Vatsasvāminē** pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanāya tāmra-pra(pa)ṭṭēna pratipāditā[7] atha cha[8] ch=aishāṁ chaturshu dikshu[9] sīmā bhavanti pū-

15 (rvvasyāṁ di)śi **Gōdhagrāma**-sīmā dakshiṇyāṁ(ṇasyāṁ) **Gōdhagrāmā(ma)** [ē]-va uttarasyāṁ **Vaṭavallak**-āgrahāra-sīmā paśchimasyāṁ(māyāṁ) diśi arddhēna **Āmragarttikā**-sīmā kīlakāś=ch=āttra kama[l-ā]-

Reverse.

16 ksha-māl-āṅkitā(tāś=)chaturshu dikshu[9] nyastā bhavanty=ēvam=ēshāṁ kṛita-sīm-āṅkānām=asya brāhmaṇasya pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanēn=ōpabhuñjānasya na

17 kēnachid=ētad-vanśajēn[10]=ānyatamēna vā svalpapy(svalp=āpy)=āvā(bā)dhā hasta-prakshēpō vā k[ā]ryyaḥ [|*] ēvam=avadhṛitē yō=tha karōti sa vadhyaḥ pañchabhir=mma-

18 hāpātakaiḥ s-ōpapātakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syād=api cha [|*] N=āsya dēvā na pitarō haviḥ piṇḍaṁ samāpnuyuḥ [|*] [chhi]nna-mastaka-vat=tālaḥ apra-

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[1] Read *pūjya-*

[2] [Correct reading seems to be *=asty=ō(ē)shō=nukramaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] [Intended reading is *dharmma-shaḍ-bhāg-ōpachayō=*; *pa* in the last word has apparently been inadvertently omitted by the scribe.—Ed.]

[4] [On the plate the reading seems to be *yadh-ēshṭē cha*. But the reading *yath-ēshṭaṁ cha* may have been intended.—Ed.]

[5] Read *praṇāyya.*

[6] Not more than three letters are missing. Probable restoration *anēn=āpi.*

[7] Read *pratipāditāḥ|atha.*

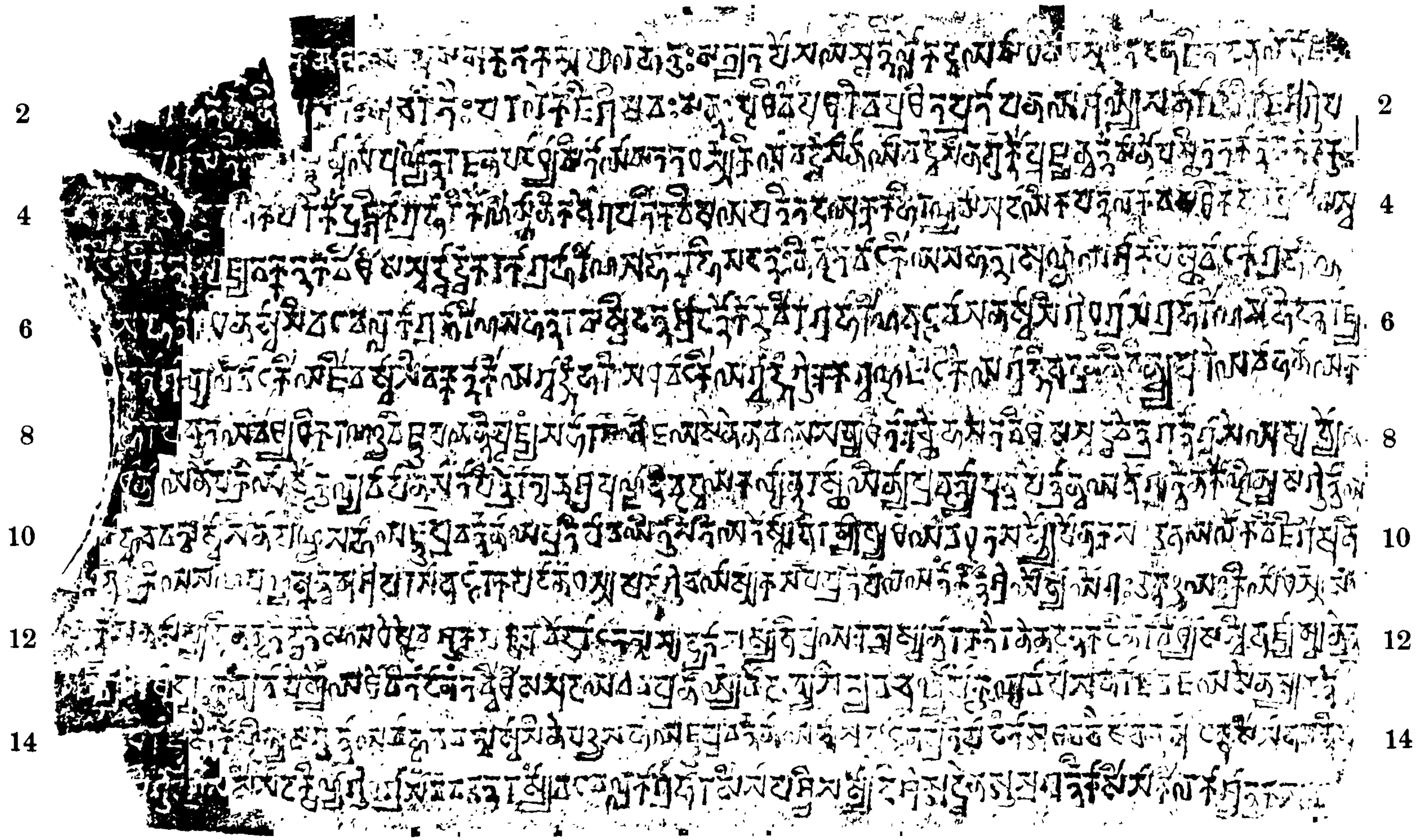
[8] This *cha* is superfluous and should be omitted from text.

[9] Read *chatur-dikshu* or *chatasṛishu dikshu.*

[10] Read *vaṁśajēn=.*

MALLASARUL COPPER PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

Obverse.

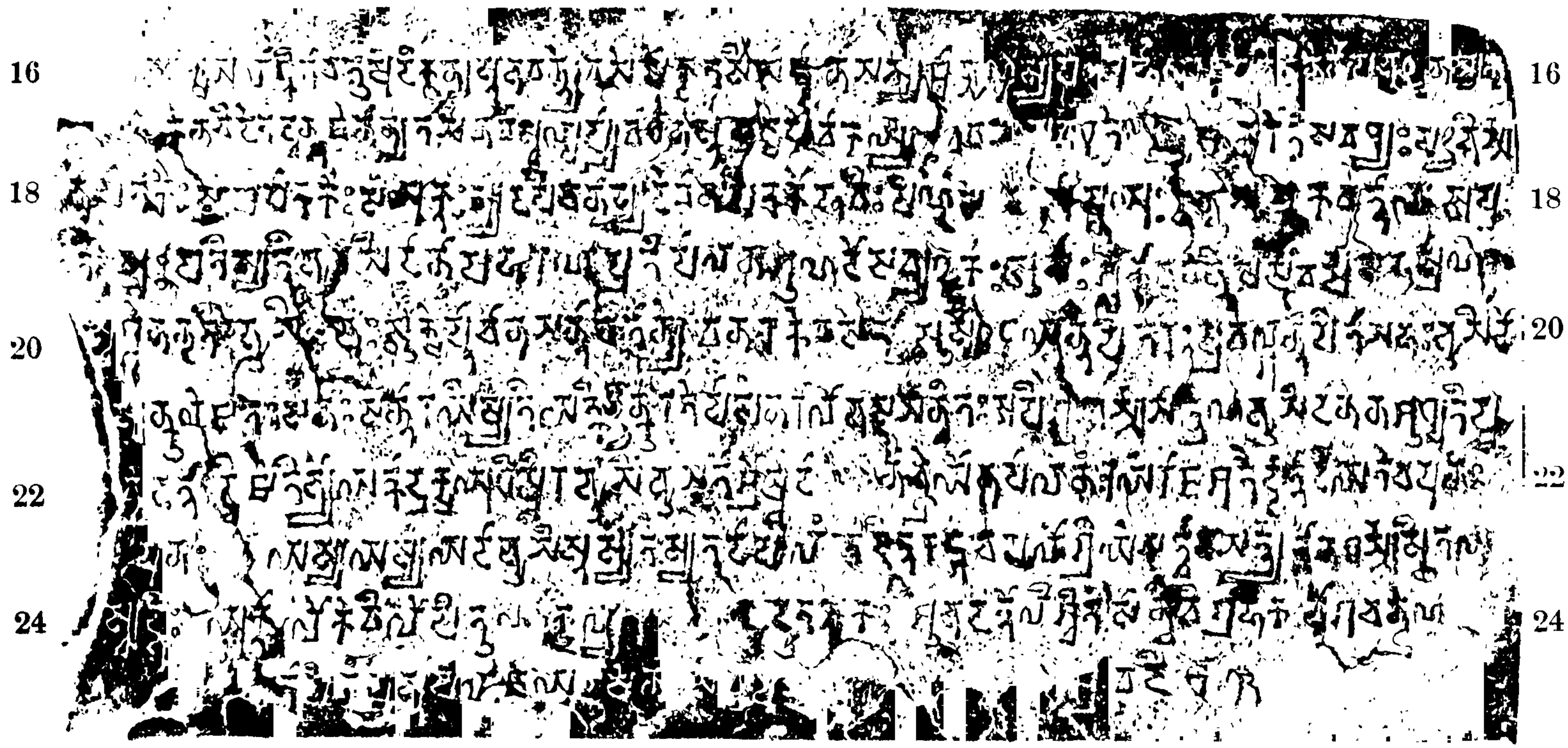


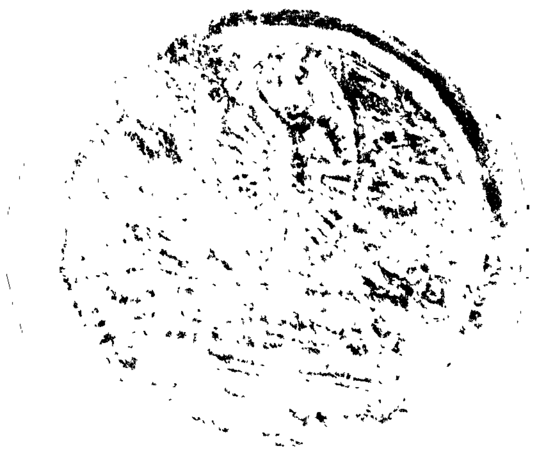
SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1461 E'37-295.

Reverse.





Seal.

19 tishṭhaḥ patishyati [||4*] bhūmi-dān-āpaharaṇa-pratipālana-guṇa-dōsa(sha)-vyañjakāḥ ārshāḥ ślōkā bhavanti [|*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi

20 svarggē nandati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||5*] Āsphōṭayanti pitaraḥ pravalganti pitāmahāḥ [*] bhūmidō=

21 sman(t)-kulē jātaḥ sa naḥ santārayishyati [||6*] Yat-kiñchin(t)=kurutē pāpaṁ narō lōbha-samā(ma)nvitaḥ [|*] api gō-charmma-māttrēṇa bhūmi-dānēna śudhyati [||7*] Pū-

22 rvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yat[n]ād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] bhūmiṁ bhūmi-[ma*]tāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ [||8*] Iyaṁ rāja-śatair=ddattā dīyatē cha punaḥ

23 punaḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||9*] Tadit-taraṅga-va(ba)hulāṁ śriyaṁ matvā cha marttyānāṁ [|*] na dharmma-sthitaya-

24 s=sadbhiḥ(dbhir=)yuktā lōkē vilōpitum [||10*] kulya 8 dūtakaḥ **Śubhadattō** likhitaṁ sāndhivigrahika-**Bhōgachandrēṇa**

25 tāpitāṁ pustapāla-**Jayadāsēna** [||*] **saṁvvad(saṁvat) 3 Śrāva di 20 7**

No. 25.—TANDIKONDA GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

BY BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting inscription is engraved on a set of **four copper-plates**, which was secured by the Rev. Dr. Isac Cannaday in 1915, while he was at Sattenapalli, Guṇṭūr District, and forwarded to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the early part of the same year. It is marked as C. P. No. 11 of 1914-15.[1] From the incomplete nature of the text, the writing appears to have continued on the fifth plate which, however, along with the seal and the ring that held these plates together, was lost and never afterwards traced. Dr. Cannaday informs me in the course of his letters, that while he was on tour on Mission work in Sattenapalli taluk during the cold season of 1914-15 and camping at a place called Oruvakallu, he was told by the local catechist that one Chilaka Satyānandam, a Christian of Mādiga extraction, had found, while digging for old earth (*pāṭi-mannu*) with which to construct house walls, a set of copper plates and that he was considerably disturbed over that matter. It appears that the fifth plate and perhaps the seal and the ring, too, were melted down by that man ; and Dr. Cannaday who learnt everything about the discovery, allayed the fears of the man and secured the remaining plates for the Department. The place of the discovery of these plates is near the huge granite boulder or rock which is nearly 250 feet high and which is situated to the west of the village Oruvakallu.[2] The plates were found in a good state of preservation ; and I now edit the inscription on them from the excellent estampages kindly sent to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti at my request.

Each of these four plates measures roughly 11 inches by 5 inches. Except for the first plate which contains writing on the inner side alone the remaining three plates are engraved on both

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[1] *Madras Epigraphical Report,* 1914-15, pp. 90 f.

[2] In the rock at Oruvakallu there is a cave and in it is a goddess called Gaṅgā. A large village seems to have flourished round the rock at one time and there are ruins and mounds scattered round the locality.

sides. The first plate contains nine lines and the remaining three ten lines of writing on each side. Thus the inscription runs into sixty-nine lines in all. The writing on the plates is well preserved. The **characters** are Telugu and belong to the tenth century and to the later cursive type, except for the primary forms of vowels *a*, *ā* and *i* which still retain their earlier forms. The final *n* (lines 10, 20 and 28) and *m* (lines 11, 16, 21 and 31) have special signs but not the final (lines 7 and 8), which is denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it. The sign of the medial *au* is almost similar to one of the signs of the medial *ō*, so that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the two signs. The **language** is Sanskrit, except the passage in lines 48 to 51 which contain names of the localities which are in the Telugu language. Besides the usual benedictory verses at the end (lines 64-67), the inscription contains 19 verses, and the rest is in prose. The text in general is fairly free from clerical errors and doubtless incised with great care and neatness. In respect of **orthography**, it will be sufficient to note that the *visarga* before the labial surd is changed into *upadhmānīya* (line 59).

The inscription belongs to the **Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II**, who reigned from A.D. 945 to 970. It opens with an invocation to god Śiva. The inscription consists of two parts. The first part deals with the usual Eastern Chālukya genealogy and the charity made by the king (lines 3 to 51). The second part (lines 51 to 65) is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of **Vidyēśvara-Paṇḍita** and his pupil **Prabhūtarāśi** (III) of the **Kālamukha** school of the Pāśupata-Śaivas founded by Lakuli. The genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya kings found in this record corresponds to what is given in the Elavaṟṟu,[1] Paḍaṁkalūru[2] and the Maliyapūṇḍi grants of the king.[3] It contains no more historical information about the dynasty than what is known to us from the other charters of the king.

The record is **not dated**; but the scribe seems to have committed a very curious, perhaps a serious, mistake in giving the date of the king's coronation. He was apparently confused. He probably had the year of the grant in question in his mind in numerical words as *nabha-vasu-vasu*, *i.e.* (**Śaka**) **880**, when he engraved the date of the coronation of king Amma II, which in numerical words is given in the other charters of the king as *giri-rasa-vasu*, meaning 867. There is reason to believe that the grant was made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* (winter solstice) in the Śaka Saṁvat 880. The expression of the purpose of the charity mentioned in line 44, namely, "for the increase of long life, good health and prosperity of my kingdom, *i.e.*, people", seems to give us the clue for our conjecture.[4] The Māngallu plates of Amma II[5] inform us that the king after eleven years of his victorious reign proceeded to Kaliṅga in wrath against Krishṇa (*Krishṇa-kōpāt*), and that at that time the kingdom "was protected by the king's elder brother Dānārṇava, to the great joy of the people".[6] Ammarāja's expedition into Kaliṅga seems to have been occasioned by a hostile coalition of kings led by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III who wanted to uproot him (*i.e.*, the reigning king Amma II) and place his own protégé Bādapa on the throne of the Āndhra country.[7] The turbulent kingdom of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga on the north-east might have readily joined Bādapa and his ally Krishṇa III

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 91 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff.

[4] [The expression *asmad-dēśa-santaty-āyur-ārōgy-aiśvaryy-ābhivriddhy-arttham* should literally mean 'for the increase of our country, progeny, life, health and prosperity'. Therefore, it does not seem to contain a reference to any of the king's wars and does not afford any clue for fixing the date of the grant.—Ed.]

[5] C. P. No. 1 of 1916-17 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[6] *Ibid.*, text, line 23.

[7] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 140, and p. 142 text, lines 17-18.

for its own purpose. It was evidently for these reasons that Ammarāja II proceeded against Kṛishṇa III in the direction of Kaliṅga, when the latter invaded his territories. The expedition would have lasted at least a year if not two ; and doubtless it ended in a colossal victory for the lord of Vēṅgi. Ammarāja II who was apparently stricken with the sorrows of his people on account of the devastating war with the enemies of his country, would have made the charity recorded in the subjoined inscription under the advice or inducement of his *guru* (preceptor), immediately after his victorious return to the kingdom.[1] Thus the date mentioned in the grant, Śaka 880, corresponding to A.D. 958-9, may be reasonably assumed to be the date of the grant, and would fall in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. If this is correct the expedition against Kṛishṇa III in the direction of Kaliṅga, after the eleventh year and the charity recorded in the present edict, would show that by the date of the subjoined grant, king Ammarāja II had returned to his kingdom after successful conclusion of a great war against his enemies, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and their allies. Verse 13 also seems to refer to such a great victory.

The inscription informs us that in the city of **Vijayavāṭī**, *i.e.*, the modern town of Bezwāda, king **Vijayāditya Narēndramṛigarāja**, the ornament of the race of Chālukyas (*Chālukya-kula-tilaka*), the asylum of the universe (*Samastabhuvanāśraya*) built a temple called Samasta-bhuvanāśraya and established in it the image of Umā-Mahēśvara. To that deity, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa*, **king Ammarāja II** made a grant for the increase of prosperity, long life and freedom from disease of his people,[1] for repairs to the temple, for offering *bali*, *naivēdya* and music to the god, and for a *satra* (free feeding house.)

The **object** of the grant is the village **Tāṇḍikoṇḍa**, situated in **Guḍla-Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-***vishaya*, together with three other villages **Ammalapūṇḍi, Gollapūṇḍi** and **Āsuvulaparru.** Ammarāja granted these four villages, having made them all a *dēvabhōga*, with the exemption of all taxes, with the libation of water, as a humble gift to the deity, for the good of his people.[1] The boundaries of the aforesaid village (Tāṇḍikoṇḍa) along with the other three villages, are : on the east Tūṇḍēru, a stream ; on the south-east Gāralaguṇṭa ; on the south a *būrugu* tree situated to the north of the village Lāmu ; on the south-west, Oḍḍaguṇṭa ; on the west a tank called Chayita ; on the north-west a tank known as Bhīmasamudra ; on the north (a heap of boulders called) Ēnuka-ṟālu and on the north-east, Rēgaḍuguṇṭa.

The second part of the inscription which begins with a verse in line 51, is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Kālamukha Śaiva saints, who were held in great veneration in Āndhradēśa, and who were also the religious preceptors of the kings of the land. It states that in every age saints like **Lakuli** and others took upon themselves the forms of Rudra, *i.e.*, Śiva, and became self-incarnate in this world for blessing the righteous men. It is said that they were self-born, of their own free will, for the purpose of preaching and setting up the path of the *dharma*, meaning the Śaiva doctrine. In the lineage of these ascetics, arose the **Kālamukhas,** who looked to the Śruti (Vēdas) for their guidance. They were worshipped by the kings of various lands and belonged to Siṁha-Parishad (which was a division of the Kālamukha sect).

In the lineage of these Kālamukhas, who inhabited the ancient and celebrated temples of Śiva like Amaravatēśvara, was born **Lakaśipu**–Paśupati (or Lakaśipu who was a Pāśupata), who was well versed in all the *āgamas*. He nourished his holy body by living on pure water, greens, milk, fruits and roots. His disciple was **Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita** who was an incarnation of *dharma* itself. He had two disciples, **Vidyēśvara** and **Vāmēśvara.** Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita

[1] [See n. 4 on p. 162.—Ed.]

had a brother[1] named **Bhuvanarāśi-Muni**, who had also two pupils, named **Paśupati** (II) and **Prabhūtarāśi** (II). The former bore a secondary name Kālamukhēndra, " the lord of the Kālamukhas ", and the epithet *Parahita-vyasanī* (*i.e.*, one who was devoted to the well-being of others)[2]. His (Kālamukhēndra's) pupil was Vidyēśvara II who was virtually an ocean of learning. His spiritual son or disciple was **Prabhūtarāśi** (III), who was like *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent to the spiritual kingdom of which Vidyēśvara (II) was the supreme head. Prabhūtarāśi III rendered help to mankind in so many ways that his fame spread far and wide. He was not merely Prabhūtarāśi in name ; he was so in fact, in deed and conduct. In the immediate presence and under the directions of his *guru*, he built a *dēvakula* and a *maṭha* consisting of three storeys, and beautified the places with coloured paintings. He obtained from king Ammarāja II for the aforesaid purposes three villages, and a thousand she-goats.

The following is the pedigree of the spiritual family of the Kālamukhas, described in the record :—

- (1) Lakaśipu-Paśupati (I)
  - (2) Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita (I)
    - (4) Vidyēśvara (I)
    - (5) Vāmēśvara
  - (3) Bhuvanarāśi-Muni.
    - (6) Paśupati (II) surnamed Kālamukhēndra[2]
      - (8) **Vidyēśvara** (II)
        - (9) **Prabhūtarāśi** (III)
    - (7) Prabhūtarāśi (II)

The inscription then states that the donor of the grant was king Amma II, the composer of the inscription was the king's preceptor Vidyēśvara (II) and that the *ājñapti* (executor) was **Kaṭakanāyaka.** After this the record breaks off rather abruptly in the middle of a sentence which doubtless continued on the fifth plate which is now missing. The half sentence repeats, however, the grant of she-goats and provision for white-washing, running the feeding-house and for offering *naivēdya* to the deity.

The *Cintra Praśasti*[3] as well as the *Purāṇas* Agni and Vāyu mention four pupils of Lakuli, *viz.*, Kuśika. Gārgya. Kaurusha and Maitrēya, in the order of their precedence. These four disciples of Lakuli became according to the *Cintra Praśasti* (vv. 16-17), the founders of the four lines of Śaiva ascetics or schools amongst the Pāśupatas. But the subjoined inscription does not refer to any one of the four disciples of Lakuli, but merely states that the Kālamukhas were born as self-incarnates in the lineage of great saints beginning with the great sage Lakuli and others. It is not clear. therefore, whether the lineage of the Kālamukhas of the Āndhra country were descendants of any one of the four well-known disciples of Lakuli. The Kālamukha-Pāśupatas of the Āndhra country were guided by the precepts of the *Śruti* or the Vēdas, and lived in monasteries attached to great Śaiva temples like Amaravaṭēśvara at Amarāvati. The present record, however, is not the earliest epigraphical reference to the Kālamukhas of the Pāśupata school and to its division called Siṁha-Parishad, in the Deccan and the south. We have an earlier reference to this

[1] It is not clear whether Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita and Bhuvanarāśi-Muni were spiritual or lay brothers.

[2] [It appears to me that Kālamukhēndra was the surname or title of Prabhūtarāśi (II) and not of Paśupati and that Paśupati, the *guru* of Vidyēśvara II, was Prabhūtarāśi's disciple and not identical with the latter's colleague of the same name (*i.e.*, Paśupati II).—N. L. R.]

[3] Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

sect of Śaivas in a copper-plate grant of A.D. 810 from Mysore.[1] The earliest reference to the Kālamukha Śaivas in the Tamil country seems to be contained in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of prince Vikramakēsarin[2] which mentions a certain Mallikārjuna who was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. The inscription further states that " having built three shrines (*vimāna*) in his own name and in the name of his two wives, he, *i.e.*, Vikramakēsarin, set up Mahēśvara (Śiva) and presented a big *maṭha* (*bṛihan-maṭha*) to Mallikārjuna, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-vaktra*)".[3] The approximate period of these shrines is determined partly by the alphabet of the inscription referred to and partly by the reference to Vīra-Pāṇḍya who was among the enemies overcome by Vikramakēsarin. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya thinks that Vikramakēsarin must have flourished roughly about the first half or middle of the tenth century A.D.[4] Thus the two preceptors of Mallikārjuna would have lived almost about the same period or more probably slightly later than that and would have been contemporaries of king Amma II of Āndhra country. The name Vidyārāśi is very much similar to Vidyēśvara of the subjoined record, who is stated to be the repository of various kinds of learning. For these reasons, therefore, it might be that Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription were identical with Vidyēśvara and his disciple Prabhūtarāśi referred to in the subjoined record [5] If this identification be correct, then we may believe that disciples of Vidyēśvara and Prabhūtarāśi went to the south, *i.e.* Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and preached the doctrines of Kālamukha-Pāśupata Śaivism, converted the rulers of the country wherever they went and established monasteries for their ascetics.

The Kālamukhas spread themselves also at an earlier period into the Kanarese country. From Morigere in Hadagalli taluk, Bellary District, come two interesting inscriptions, engraved on two slabs set up in the verandah of the temple of Uddi-Basavaṇṇa, of the time of Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I.[6] Both of them are dated in Śaka 967, on the Kārttika *paurṇamāsī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the corresponding English date being Monday, 28th October, A.D. 1045. These inscriptions state that there existed in that part of the Kanarese country a community of Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Lakulīsa-Pāśupata sect and to the school of Siṁha-parshe (*parishad*). Another school of the same sect, perhaps of later origin, was Śakti-parshe (*parishad*) to which belonged *Mūvara-kōṇeya-santati* of the Parvat-āmnāya, whose teachers also had a strong pontifical seat at Baḷagāmi.[7]

The Kālamukhas, as has been shown above, spread themselves into far south and the Pāṇḍyan country. An inscription from the shrine of Kālanāthasvāmin at Paḷḷimaḍam, hamlet of Tiruchchuḷi, Rāmnād District, refers to a *maṭha* of the *Mahāvratins*.[8] These Mahāvratins, according to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, were the followers of the great *vrata* ' a vow of religious devotion and observance in general ', and denoted the ancient sect of Śaivas called Kāpālikas or Kālamukhas.[9] With due respect for the learned scholar, it seems to me that Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas

[1] *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1914, p. 29. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this information.

[2] No. 129 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p. 75, para. 86.

[4] For the date of Vikramakēsarin and the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription also see the remarks by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-12.

[5] [The conjecture seems to be far-fetched. There is not enough similarity in the names to suggest the identity of the two sets of teachers.—Ed.]

[6] Nos. 441 and 443 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[7] Above, Vol. V, pp. 221 ff.

[8] No. 423 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[9] *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 118.

were not identical sects and that their tenets differed largely. The matter is an important one and requires further elucidation and study.

Of the places mentioned in the record Tāṇḍikoṇḍa, Lāmu and Gollapūṇḍi alone can be identified to-day. **Tāṇḍikoṇḍa** is the modern village of Tāḍikoṇḍa in the Guṇṭūr taluk of the Guṇṭūr District and is situated at a distance of about eight miles to the north of the head-quarters of the district. Among the boundaries of Tāṇḍikoṇḍa, it may be observed that the two tanks Chayita-taṭāka and Bhīmasamudra are still existing. Bhīmasamudra is a huge tank on the bank of which there is a large mound called *Bhīmaliṅgamu-dibba*, where there are extensive ruins of a Śiva temple. Chayita-taṭāka seems to be the ancient name of a huge tank which occupies an area of about three or four square miles adjoining the village. It is the source of irrigation for an extensive area in the vicinity. **Lāmu** is situated two miles to the south of Tāḍikoṇḍa. There is a village Gollapūḍi on the northern bank of the Krishṇā river near Bezwāda in Kistna District, about twelve miles to the north of Tāḍikoṇḍa; and it may be identified with the **Gollapūṇḍi** of the subjoined grant. The remaining villages **Ammalapūṇḍi** and **Āsuvulapaṟṟu** can not be traced in that locality. It is probable that Anamarlapūṇḍi-*agrahāram*, twelve miles to the south-east of Tāḍikoṇḍa, was the Ammalapūṇḍi of the grant. Perhaps Āsuvulapaṟṟu stood on the other side of the river in Bezwāda taluk. **Guḍla-Kaṇḍērvvāḍi**-*vishaya* was the ancient name of the tract of country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amarāvati which was noted for its beautiful temples and *chaityas*, of Amaravatēśvara and Buddha, respectively. Guḍla-Kaṇḍērvvāḍi means "Kaṇḍērvvāḍi of the temples" for the term *guḍla* means "of the temples".[1] Apparently that part of Kaṇḍēruvāṭi acquired the name Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya* from its temples at Amarāvati, its chief town. The district Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya* seems to have acquired its name from the ancient township Kaṇḍēru or the modern Kanṭēru, a village in the Guṇṭūr taluk, which must have been a very important place in former times. Kaṇḍēruvaṭi-*vishaya*[2] seems to have been sub-divided into three or four small districts, *viz.*, Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya*, Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya*,[3] Īmani-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya*[4] and Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya*. Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya* comprised apparently the whole of Guṇṭūr taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and the northern parts of Tenāli taluk. The central portion of Guṇṭūr together with the south-eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk was called Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya*. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-*vishaya* was the name for the northern portion of Guṇṭūr and eastern part of Sattenapalli taluks; and Īmani-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi or Īmani-Kaṇḍravāḍi-*vishaya* comprised the northern portion of Tenāli taluk.

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 ओं[।*] [6]श्रीवागीशकराज्ञानाम्[7] स्वपादनखचन्द्रमाः [।*] देयात्शिवस्वयं[8] शं वः

2 क्रियाकार्य्यं हि कारणम् ॥ [१*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमान-

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[1] The term *guḍla* is the archaic genitive form of *guḍi*. The modern form is *guḷḷa*, the medial *ḍ* having given place to the Dravidian *ḷ*.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 36 and 37; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 258.

[3] Above, Vol. V, p. 127; C. P. No. 1 of App. A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 681.

[5] From the excellent ink-impressions supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Read °ज्ञानां

[8] Read स्स्वयं.

3 व्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानाम्मातृगणपरिपालिता-

4 नां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितव[र*]-

5 वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानप-

6 वित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोस्सत्याश्रयवल्लभेन्द्र-

7 स्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि ।[1] वेंगीदेशमपालयत् ॥

8 तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्(तं) ॥ तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव ॥ त-

9 त्सूनुर्म्मंगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिं [।*] तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश ॥ तदव-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 रजः कोक्किलिष्षण्मासान् ॥ तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाट्य सप्त-
त्रिंशतम् ॥ तत्पु-

11 त्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोप्यष्टादश ॥ तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनष्षट्त्रिंशतम् ॥ [2] तत्सू-
नुर्भ्भा-

12 नुभासो रणविगणनया नौलकण्ठालयानां ॥[3] सग्रामारामकाणां सललितरम-
णीसं-

13 पदां सत्त्वदानां(नाम्) [।*] कृत्वा प्रोत्तुंगमष्टोत्तरशतमभुनग्वीरधीरष्टयुक्ताश्चत्वा-

14 रिंशत्समां(माः) क्ष्मां जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ [२*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव

15 र्द्धनोध्यर्द्धवर्षम् । तत्सुतो गुणगांकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वा-

16 रिंशतम् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यनरपात्मजः चालुक्यभीमभूपस्त्रिंशतम् [।*]

17 [4]तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यो द्विषदिन्धनपावकः [।*] स षण्मासानसौ साक्षादिन्द्रो भोगेन भू-

18 मिपः ॥[३*] तत्सूनुरम्मराजस्सप्तवर्षाणि । तत्पितामहो(ह)गुणगांकविजयादित्या-
नुजयु-

19 वराजात्मजः ताळाधिपो मासमेकम् । तं युधि विनिहत्य चालुक्यभीमात्मजो
विक्रमा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

20 दित्यः अरिनिकरतिमिरदिनकरः द्विजदीनानाथबन्धुरेकादशमासान् । [4]ततस्ताल-
पराजस्य

21 सूनुस्सूनृतवाक्प्रभुः । युद्धमल्लधराधीशस्सप्तवर्षाण्यपाद्भुवम् ॥ [४*] [5]निर्जित्या-
र्ज्जुनसखि-

[1] Punctuation mark here is unnecessary.

[2] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[3] Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[5] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

22 भो जनपदात्तनिर्गमय्योद्धताम्दायादानिनभानुलीनभगणाकारान्विधायेतरान् [।*]

23 वज्रीवोर्ज्जितनाकमम्मनृपतेर्भ्राता कनीयान्भुवं भीमो भीमपराक्रमस्समभुनक्त्वं-

24 त्सरान्द्वादश ॥ [५*] ¹तस्य महेश्वरमूर्त्ति(र्त्ते)रमासमानाकृतेः ।² कुमाराभः [।*] लोक-

25 महादेव्याः खलु यस्समभवदम्मराजाख्यः ॥ [६*] ³जलजातपत्रचामरक-

26 लशांकुशलक्षणांककरचरणतलः [।*] लसदाजान्ववलंबितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरीन्द्र-

27 सानूरस्कः ॥ [७*] ³विदितधराधिपविद्यो विविधायुधकोविदो विलीनारिकुलः । करितुरगागम-

28 कुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुगलमधुपः श्रीमान् ।[।८*] कविगायककल्पतरुः⁴ द्विज-मुनिदी-

29 नान्धबन्धुजनसुरभिः [।*] याचक[ग*]णचिन्तामणिरिवनीशमणिर्म्महोग्रमहसा द्युमभिः⁵ ॥[९*]

Third Plate; First Side.

30 ¹नभवसुवसुसंख्याब्दे शकसमये मार्ग्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [।*] कृष्णत्रयोदशदि-

31 ने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥१०*] ¹धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पट्टम् । ⁶यो-

32 धारुदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव लोकानुरागाय ॥[११*] ³यस्मिन्प्रासति⁷ नृपतौ परि-पक्वाने-

33 क[सस्य*]संपच्छाली । सततपयोधेनुरभीर्व्विरीतिरपरभ्निरस्तचोरो देशः ॥[१२*] ³यस्मिन्व्रजति क्षिति-

34 पे ⁸बरुद्यानावलोकनार्थं भीताः । तद्दिग्देशाधीशा दिशन्ति मणिकनकहयगजे-

35 न्द्रप्रततिं⁹ [॥१३*] ³यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरसुरुमहसा

36 ॥(।) [हरमरिपुर[द*]हनेन ¹⁰न्यकुर्व्वन्भाति विततदिगवनिकीर्त्तिः ॥[१४*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकु-

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¹ Metre : *Āryā.*

² Mark of punctuation is needless here.

³ Metre : *Āryāgīti.*

⁴ Read °तरुर्द्विज°.

⁵ Read द्युमणिः. The first half of this verse is in the *Āryā* metre and the second in the *Āryāgīti.*

⁶ Read योधादुदय°.

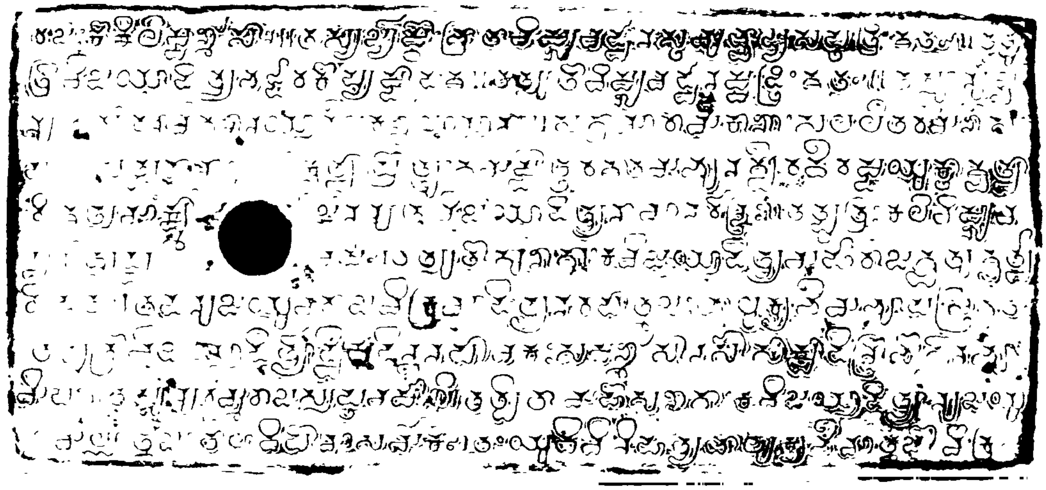
⁷ Read यस्मिञ्छा°.

⁸ Read बहिरु°.

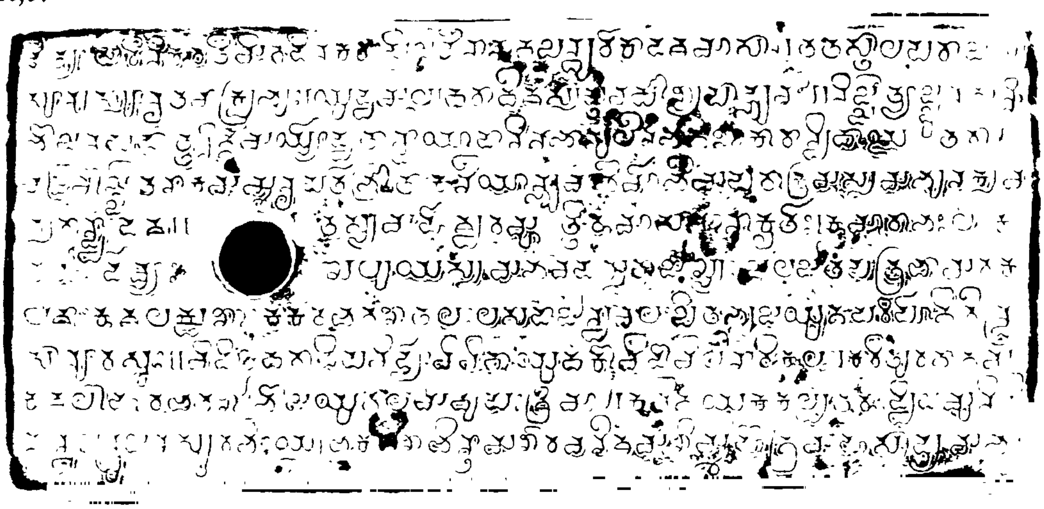
[⁹ पदातीन् is the reading suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 63 note). But the present record shows that the correct reading is *pratatim.*

¹⁰ Read न्यक्कुर्व्व°.

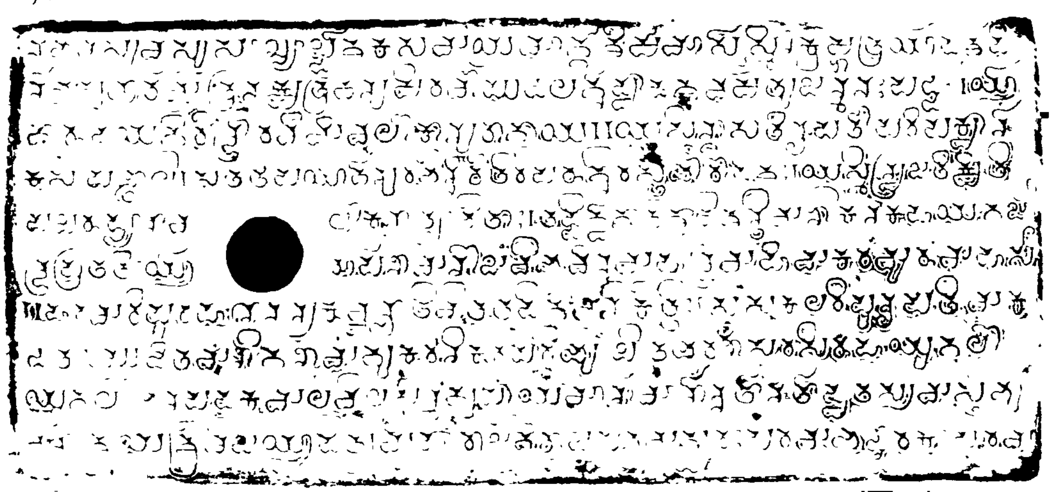
ii,a.



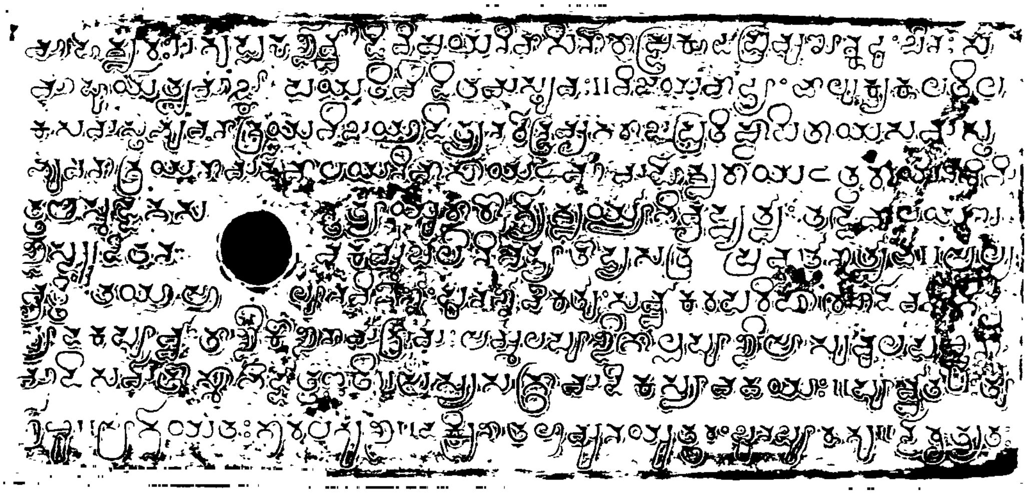
ii,b.



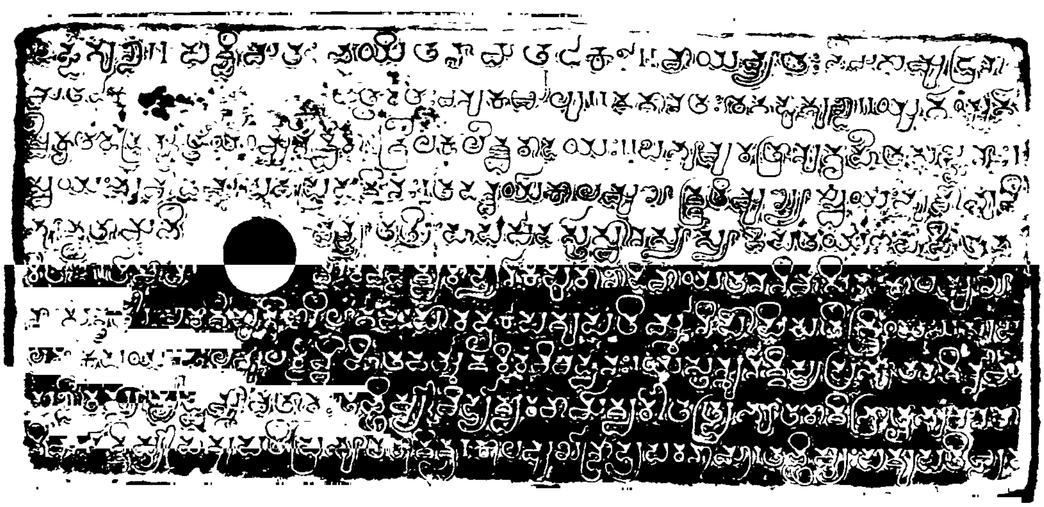
iii,a.



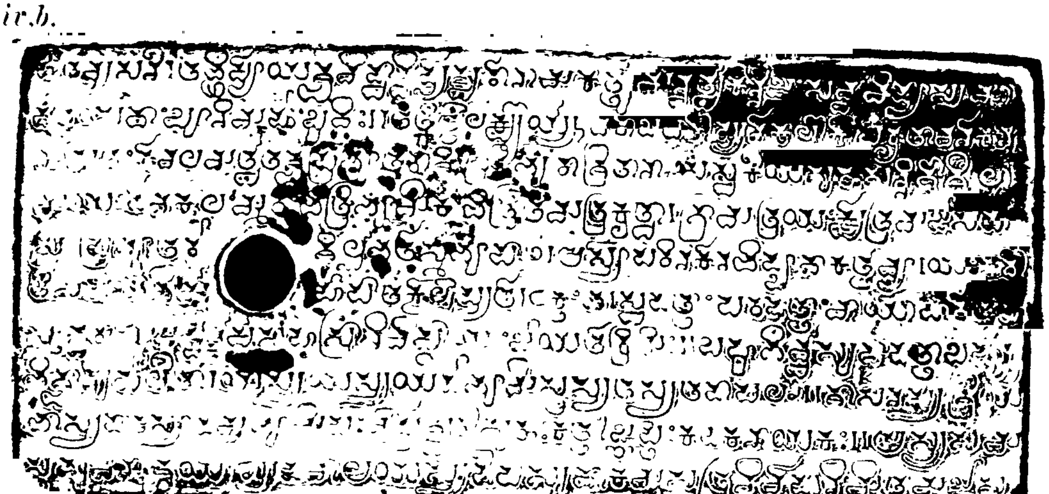
iii,b.



iv,a.



iv,b.



37 टतटघटितमणिकिरणगणमधुकरनिकरपरिचुंबितचरणसरसिरुहयुगलोऽ-

38 युगलोचनपदकमलविलसन्मधुपायमानो मानोन्नतो नतोद्धतसमस्तभु-

39 वनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परम-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

40 माहेश्वरः ॥ गुड्लकण्डेव्वाडिविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटुंबिनः स-

41 माहूयेत्थमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वः ॥ विजयवाट्यां चालुक्यकुलतिल-

42 कसमस्तभुवनाश्रयविजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजप्रतिष्ठापिताय समस्त-

43 भुवनाश्रयनामदेवालयनिवासाय उमामहेश्वराय उत्तरायणनिमि-

44 त्त अस्मद्वंशसन्तत्यायुरारोग्यैश्वर्य्याभिवृद्ध्यर्त्थं तद्देवालयख-

45 ण्डस्फुटितनवकर्म्मबलिनिवेद्यातोद्यसत्रप्रवर्त्तनार्त्थं च ॥[1] अल्प-

46 वृत्तितया आलूनविशीर्ण्णं पुनर्णवीकर्त्तुं सर्व्वकरपरिहारेण देव[भो]गी[कृ]

47 त्योदकपूर्व्वं ताण्डिकोण्डनामग्रामः अम्मलपूण्डिगोल्लपूण्डिआसुवुलपड्डुना-

48 मादिसमेतोस्माभिर्द्दत्त इति ॥ अस्य सग्राम[ा*]दिकस्यावधयः[2] ॥ पूर्व्वतः तु-

49 ण्डेऌु ॥ आग्नेयतः गारलगुण्ट ॥ दक्षिणत[:*] लामुन युत्तरंबुन बूरगु ॥
नैर(र्ऋ)त्य(त)तः



Fourth Plate ; First side.

50 ओड्डगुण्ट ॥ पश्चिमतः [3]चयितनामतटाकम् ॥ वायव्यतः भीमसमुद्रना-

51 मतटाक[म् ॥*] उत्तरतः एनुकऌालु ॥ ईशानतः रेगडुगुण्ट ॥ [4]युगे युगे

52 स्वीकृतरुद्रमूर्त्तयो मुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ॥(।) बभूवुरत्रानुगृहीतसज्जनाः ।[1]

53 स्वयंभुवो धर्म्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ।[।१५*] तदन्वये कालमुखाश्श्रुतिमुख्यास्स्वयंभुवो भुवि

54 भूभृतामभिवन्द्या[:*] तस्मिंहपर्षदस्ते स्थानस्यास्याधिपतय इह स्थितच-

55 रिताः ॥ तेषाममरवटेश्वराद्यनेकपुराणदेवायतननिवासि[नां] कालमुखा-

56 नां सन्ततौ ॥ [5]लकशिपुर्न्निखिलागमपारदृक् पशुपतिर्म्मुनिपोपि पतिश्श्रियः ॥(।) सुज-

57 लशाकपयःफलमूलकैर्व्विहितधर्म्मशरीरविवर्द्धनः ।[।१६*] यस्तन्मुनेश्शिष्य[:*] प्रभूत-
राशिर्न्नाम

58 पण्डितस्साक्षाद्धर्म्मावतारः [।*] तच्छिष्यौ विद्येश्वरवामेश्वरौ ॥ तत्प्रभूतराशि-
श्शाट्भुवनरा-

[1] Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] [The reading is correctly सग्रामटिकस्या° —N. L. R.]

[3] Could चयित be a corrupt form of चैत्य ?

[4] Metre : *Vaṁśastha.*

[5] Metre : *Drutavilambita.*

59 शिमुनेश्शिष्यो पशुपति[:*] प्रभूतराशिश्च । कालमुखेन्द्राद्यपरनामा ।[1] तच्छि-
ष्य: पशुपतिᳶपर-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

60 हितव्यसनो । तच्छिष्यो यश्च [2]विद्वान्विद्येश्वरो नाम कर्त्तुमन्वर्थकविजं [।*]
सर्व्वविद्यासमा-

61 धत्ते यथांबूनि महांबुधि: ॥[१७*] [3]तत्कीर्त्तिलक्ष्म्योश्चवराज एकोप्यनेकलोकोपक-
तावनेक [:।*] न

62 नामत: केवलमर्त्थतश्च प्रभूतराशि: प्रभुराश्रितानाम् [॥१८*] स स्वकीयगुरु-
सन्निधौ [।*] [3]शिला-

63 मयं देवकुलं म्म(म)ठं च त्रिभूमिकं चित्रितमत्र कृत्वा । ग्रामत्रयं चेत्रम-
जासद्द-

64 सं प्रभूतराशिर्न्नमते स्म भूपात् ।[।१९*] अस्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या
य: करो-

65 ति स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैर्ल्लिप्यते । उक्तं च । [2]स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो
हरेत व-

66 सुन्धराम् । षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि[4] विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमि: ॥[२०*] [2]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा
दत्ता बहु-

67 भिश्चानुपालिता । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[२१*]
[2]शासनस्य श्रि[ये]

68 चास्य दाता स्यादम्मभूमिप: [।*] विद्येश्वरो गुरु: कर्त्ताश्मशि: कटकनायक: ॥[२२*]
अस्य सम-

69 स्तभुवनाश्रयाख्यदेवालयस्य दीपधूपधाकर्म्मखण्डनिवेद्यनिमित्तमक्षय-[5]

---

1 Punctuation mark seems to be needless here.

2 Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

3 Metre : *Upajāti.*

4 Read षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि.

5 The inscription breaks off here abruptly; it is possible that it continued on the missing plate.

No. 26.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

There have been in all seven copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy :—

Ōghadēva -m. Kumāradēvī
|
Kumāradēva -m. Jayasvāminī.
|
Jayasvāmin -m. Rāmadēvī.
|
Vyāghra -m. Ajjhitadēvī.
|
Jayanātha -m. Muruṇḍadēvī.
(known dates : 174, 177)
|
Śarvanātha.
(known dates : 191, 193, 197 and 214)

The last two kings, whose copper-plates have been discovered, use the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred. Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation. The Bhumarā pillar inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Mahārāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrājaka family, many of whose records have also been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory. From the copper-plates of the latter and his son Saṁkshōbha we get the following genealogy :—

Dēvāḍhya.
|
Prabhañjana.
|
Dāmōdara.
|
Hastin.
(known dates : 156, 163, 191 and 198)
|
Saṁkshōbha.
(known dates : 199 and 209)

In these plates also the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A.D. 319-320. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrājaka family who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand, that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrājaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhumarā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanātha, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrājaka kings, specify any era, points to the same conclusion; for 'the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record ; and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them'.[1] Now the only era, to which the dates of the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.

Uchchakalpa kings could be referred, is the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A.D. 248-9. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A.D. 439-40 to A.D. 462-3, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A.D. 475-6 to A.D. 517-8. The Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha again show that he succeeded his father in the next year G.E. 199 or A.D. 518-9. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known date of Śarvanātha and the earliest of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A.D. 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A.D. 475. There would, thus, be a difference of 13 years between these two dates. The only year in this interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* is that corresponding to A.D. 472, but according to the calculation of Sh. B. Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* in that cycle was omitted.[1] We must, therefore, take the next Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* which commenced in A.D. 484. This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha. Now Śarvanātha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date, *viz.*, A.D. 462-3 and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than 439-40 is not altogether excluded; for, the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A.D. 425-6, *i.e.*, 14 years earlier.[2] We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A.D. 439-484)—perhaps 50 or even 55 years. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin, in the closing years of the latter's reign (G. E. 191 to 198). There was of course no Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* in this period but there was one only two years before, in G. E. 189. As the year 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanātha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 26 years—which does not appear improbable.

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era :—

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, earlier than A.D. 973.[3] All the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and Thāṇā District in Bombay.[4] R. B. Hiralal's theory[5] that the Traikūṭakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Trikūṭa, from which they hailed, is modern Satpura is untenable ; for not a single record of the Traikūṭakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Trikūṭa points to its location in Western India.[6]

(2) Vyāghra, the grand-father of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha, appears on palæographical evidence to be identical with the Vyāghradēva of Nachnā[7] and Ganj[8] inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II, as shown by Dubreuil[9] and Dikshit.[10] The Bālāghāṭ

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.
[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 121.
[3] Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, dated K. 724 ; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff.
[4] See Nos. 1199-1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions.*
[5] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 283 ff.
[6] Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa on the Western coast. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, verses 58-59.
[7] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.
[8] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 103 ff.
[10] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 362.

plates of Prithivishēṇa II state that the king of Mālwā was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna[1] and there is no difficulty in supposing that Prithivishēṇa's authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A.D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar[2] (who identifies the Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), *viz.*, how could Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, who, on the above supposition, were feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākāṭakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūṭakas[3] and kings of Śarabhapura[4] who were evidently their feudatories do not mention any suzerain power in their charters. It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it. The Kalachuri-Chēdi era is, for instance, found used by the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujarāt though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris, or any other power that may have founded it. The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records. Vyāghra who flourished about A.D. 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa who transferred his allegiance to the Vākāṭakas. His successors Jayanātha and Śarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas. The expression *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in the records of the Parivrājakas indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas. Hence, we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas*. Śarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhumrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it. As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified.

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era. Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter.[5] Fleet seems to have long wavered between the two alternatives. While editing the Uchchakalpa records in the *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 117 ff. he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era. When later on he came to write the introduction[6] he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, pp. 227 ff. In his last article on the subject,[7] he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dubreuil,[8] G. S. Ojha,[9] Haldar[10] and Dikshit[11] who had occasion to write on the subject have subscribed to the same view. S. K. Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradēva who caused the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D. R. Bhan-

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 224.

[3] Cf. the inscription No. 3 in the Ajanta cave XVI (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.).

[4] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.

[5] In the *Supplement* to his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (above, Vol. VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated, very probably, according to the Gupta era.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction pp. 8-10, 119, 121.

[7] *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 566.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 103.

[9] *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1923-24, p. 2.

[10] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 128.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 125-26.

darkar who points out the difficulty[1] that if the year of the Sōhāwal plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month Āshāḍha should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*ēkōna-navaty-uttarē* is intended for *eka-navaty-uttarē*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A.D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary Āshāḍha in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A.D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of Āshāḍha in A.D. 437."[2] The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real; for as Dikshit has shown[3] the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, '(which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out.[4] No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the Uchchakalpas are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the Uchchakalpa records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the Uchchakalpas rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records.[5] Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the Uchchakalpa plates are lost; but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet[6] it seems that the Uchchakalpa kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is no such resemblance noticeable between the records of the Uchchakalpas and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the **Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Gupta era** is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 27.—THE VAILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription[7] is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of **Vailūr**[8] in the Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

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[1] See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 5.

[2] Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in Āshāḍha would be expected to fall in A.D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A.D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A.D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 125.

[4] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 693.

[5] See for instance that the names of the queens are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the Uchchakalpa plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25), the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 125.

[7] No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] This village is different from Vāyalūr in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king Rajasiṁha is found. It is, however, spelt as Vāyalūr in the *A. R.* on Epigraphy for 1922, but its present name is Vailūr as given above.

The record is in **Tamiḻ** language and consists of a **prose** passage followed by five **verses** extolling the greatness of the later Pallava chief **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva**. In engraving the epigraph, each line of the verse is not metrically arranged, but the stanzas themselves are divided by punctuation marks. The verses employed are: *Paṉṉiruśīrkkaḻi-neḍilāśiriya viruttam* (v. 1), *Nēriśai-veṇba* (v. 2), *Kali viruttam* (v. 3) and *Eṇśīrkkaḻi-neḍilāśiriya viruttam* (vv. 4 and 5). The record is free from any admixture of Grantha letters except *Svasti śrī* (l. 1) and the letters *ri* in Tiribuvana (l. 16) and *ā* in *āṇai* (l. 16). The use of the word *āṇai* in this inscription requires some explanation. It is derived from the Sanskrit word *ājñā* through the Prākṛit form *āṇā* meaning 'command' or 'order'. The Tamiḻ lexicon *Piṅgaḷa-Nighaṇṭu* renders the word as 'sign' or 'insignia of authority' and the word seems to have been used in this sense here since no order is conveyed in the inscription. Analogous to the word *Śokkachchīyaṉ āṇai*, some inscriptions of this period conclude with the words *Pallavaraiyaṉ* (or *Vallavaraiyaṉ*) *sattiyam*,[1] *Avaṉimuḻuduḍaiyār āṇai*[2], *Tribhuvaṉamuḻuduḍaiyār āṇai*,[3] etc. A record from Aragaṇḍanallūr[4] ends with the words '*idaṟkku māṟu śoṉṉavaṉ Śokkanāyaṉār āṇai*', *i.e.*, 'he (who) says contrary to this (shall be a transgressor of) the authority (of) Śokkanāyaṉār,' and from a record of Tiruvēndipuram[5] we learn that such transgression was treated as a cognizable offence by the assembly.

The few verbal errors found in the record are corrected in foot-notes under the text.

The main theme of the epigraph is to celebrate a unique event in South Indian history, *viz.*, the capture and imprisonment of the **Chōḷa** sovereign along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Chōḷa territory by the **Pallava** chief **Kōpperuñjiṅga**. This is expressed in the prose passage commencing the record. The name of the Chōḷa sovereign whom Kōpperuñjiṅga imprisoned as also that of the poet[6] who composed the verses is not given. The verses themselves reveal that the poet has limited himself to facts without indulging in any far-fetched imagery.

The concluding words of the present inscription indicate that the verses had been approved by the hero[7] of the theme.

The first verse extols the greatness and prowess of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva in accomplishing the imprisonment of the Chōḷa king along with his ministers and annexing the Chōḷa territory, and further, it refers to his encounter with **Hoysaḷa** warriors, his vast army, his favourite deity in the Golden Hall at **Chidambaram** and to his love for and patronage of Tamiḻ literature. The second verse warns other kings not to oppose this chief but to submit themselves quietly by paying tribute, considering the fate of the Chōḷa king. The next verse, after referring to the exploits of this ruler in stamping the insignia of his banner on the breast and shoulders of powerful kings, refers to the langour of the Chōḷa sovereign in prison. The last two verses are addressed directly to the king describing the state of his lady-love[8] during his absence on a campaign against the Chōḷa king.

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[1] Nos. 204, 206 and 245 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] No. 152 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] No. 157 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] No. 195 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] No. 160 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[6] In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 96, the name of the poet is taken as Śokka-Śīyaṉ. Śokka- Śīyaṉ was the name of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and not of the poet.

[7] Kōpperuñjiṅga appears to have been a poet himself judging from the title *Kavi-sārvabhauma* applied to him in a record from Tirupati in the Chittoor District.

[8] Reference to love affairs in martial themes is peculiar to Tamiḻ poetry. This subject is treated at length in the *Tolkāppiyam*.

The record comes from a village close to **Teḷḷāṟu** where Kōpperuñjiṅga claims to have defeated the Chōḷa monarch. The reason for engraving the inscription in a place about twelve miles from the scene of action is not clear. Teḷḷāṟu is remembered in South Indian history in connection with the Pallava monarch **Nandivarman III,** who assumed the title 'Teḷḷāṟṟerinda-Nandi' to perpetuate his victory over his enemies in this place. Our poet seems to have been conversant with *Nandikkalambagam,* a poetical work recounting the exploits of Pallava Nandivarman, wherein the victory at Teḷḷāṟu is frequently mentioned. Some of the titles given to Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva in our inscription such as *Avaninārāyaṇa, king of Mallai, lord of Toṇḍai, lord of the land watered by the Kāvērī, patron of Tamiḻ literature,* etc., are found applied to Nandivarman in the *Kalambagam* mentioned above.

The identity of Kōpperuñjiṅga mentioned in our record must first be established. As early as 1906,[1] the late Mr. Venkayya suggested that "there must have been two or more chiefs with the name Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva". The late Mr. Krishna Sastri also accepted the existence of two Kāḍava kings of this name and identified the later one with Kāḍava-Kumāra who is stated in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record[2] 'to have driven the Teluṅgar to the north so that they may perish in the north;' but his further identification[3] of the same chief with Peruñjiṅga who captured and confined the Chōḷa king at Śēndamaṅgalam is not borne out by the latest discovery, as will be shown presently. Sewell[4] also accepted with caution the lead given by his predecessors and distinguished two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. But recently an opinion[5] has been expressed against the theory of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas and postulating only one king of the name in the period A.D. 1229 to 1278. This interval really becomes still wider because Kōpperuñjiṅga is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III[6] corresponding to A.D. 1213. The acceptance of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas so far rested on mere inference, but an important discovery made recently at Villiyanūr in the French territory when I went there at the request of Prof. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, settles this question conclusively.

A record in this village, dated in the 6th year of Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ Avaniyāḷappiṟandār Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva refers to the audit of temple accounts by Perumaṅgalam-Uḍaiyār Udaiyapperumāḷ *alias* Kāḍuveṭṭigaḷ for the period commencing from the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, *i.e.,* Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III down to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva Aḻagiyaśīyar. Since this inscription[7] which is dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva refers to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, it is evident that there must have been two Kōpperuñjiṅgas and that the earlier had at least a reign of 11 years. Probably the last year of the reign of the first Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva was the 11th, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōḷa king by imprisoning him at Śēndamaṅgalam in A.D. 1232 and that from A.D. 1243[8], another Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva counted his reign. Thus the Villiyanūr inscription establishes beyond doubt the existence of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, the **first** commencing his reign, probably from A.D. 1232 and the **second** from A.D. 1243. Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I. was probably a vassal of the Chōḷa king or a semi-independent chief from at least the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva,

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[1] *A. R. on Epigraphy,* Madras, for 1906, p. 63.

[2] No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] *A. R. on Epigraphy,* Madras, for 1913, pp. 126-27.

[4] *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* pp. 144 and 376.

[5] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 164, n. 4 and *Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume,* pp. 212-14.

[6] No. 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[7] All the dates in this record are expressed in words so that there is no doubt about their correct reading.

[8] No. 38 of 1890 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

i.e., A.D. 1215 to A.D. 1232. The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I.

The earlier Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[1], in one of which he is given the titles *Niśśaṅkamalla*, *Mallai-Kāvalaṉ* and *Bharatam-valla*[2]. The southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him[3]. The officer Śōḷa-kōṉ seems to have served under him at Chidambaram[4]. He is distinctly called **Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ** in the Villiyanūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with **Jīya-Mahīpati** of the Tripurāntakam inscription[5].

We shall next determine who the Chōḷa king was that was defeated at Teḷḷāṟu. The contemporaries of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I. on the Chōḷa throne were Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A.D. 1217[6] and the second commenced his reign in A.D. 1216[7]. For the present enquiry, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoysaḷas who came to the assistance of the Chōḷas only in the time of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III had died. The Chōḷa king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuram inscription[8].

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōḷa emperor. It states that Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva captured the Chōḷa monarch at Śēndamaṅgalam. Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōḷa king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together. The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuram records,[9] therefore, appear to be complementary to each other. If so, Rājarāja III must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars[10].

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuram record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoysaḷas, from which Kōpperuñjiṅga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Teḷḷāṟu battle was probably fought prior to the Śēndamaṅgalam incident. The latter event may be placed in A.D. 1232 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III[8]. By this time Kōpperuñjiṅga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ-dēśam' in the Tiruvēndipuram record. From the accession of Rājarāja III, Kōpperuñjiṅga never figured as his subordinate[11]. As early as A.D. 1222 Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha is said to be marching towards Śrīraṅgam in the Chōḷa country[12]. Two years later (*i.e.*, A.D. 1224), we find that Vīra-

[1] Nos. 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] No. 285 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] No. 463 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] No. 197 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[6] No. 282 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[7] No. 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167-68.

[9] Nos. 418 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[10] *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 97.

[11] From the mere mention of Kōpperuñjiṅga in a record from Vṛiddhāchalam in the South Arcot District (No. 136 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōḷa vassal till A.D. 1229. This inscription mentions as donor an *agambaḍi-mudali* of Kōpperuñjiṅga which fact need not establish the subordination of this chief to the Chōḷa. Similarly, a brother of an officer of Kōpperuñjiṅga figures as donor in the 30th year of Rājarāja III *i.e.*, A.D. 1246 (No. 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when Kōpperuñjiṅga had openly declared his independence.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 56.

Narasiṁha was called ' the establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom ' and a Kāḍava is said to have been his opponent[1]. The battle of Uratti[2] where the Kāḍava (Kōpperuñjiṅga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājarāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vīra-Narasiṁha came to the assistance of the Chōḷa monarch. The second war of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. with the Chōḷa is placed in this period[3]. From the beginning of Rājarāja III's reign, therefore, Kōpperuñjiṅga was a source of danger to the Chōḷa empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup de théâtre* by imprisoning the Chōḷa king after defeating him at Teḷḷāṟu, he signified the event by assuming the role of a monarch counting his accession from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Teḷḷāṟu, the *nāḍu* comprising this village was called **Siṁhaporuda-vaḷanāḍu**[4] *i.e.*, the *vaḷanāḍu* where Siṁha (Kōpperuñjiṅga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōḷa country about this time is necessary. The Chōḷa empire which had been assiduously built up by Rājarāja I. and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Even during the early years of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, this empire was intact, but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pāṇḍyas under Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōḷa country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of grace, to Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. In the historical introduction to his inscriptions beginning with the words ' *pū-maruviya tirumaḍandaiyum* ' etc., Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. claims to have invested with a crown the Chōḷa king's son *i.e.*, Rājarāja III, who sometimes later began to protest against his submission by refusing tribute to the Pāṇḍya king, who thereupon immediately chastised[5] him. In this plight Rājarāja III appealed for help to the Hoysaḷa monarch Narasiṁha II who forthwith despatched a contingent of forces into the Chōḷa country. When Rājarāja III was pushed north by the Pāṇḍya forces, Kōpperuñjiṅga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar[6], have joined issues with the Pāṇḍyas and defeated the Chōḷa monarch at Teḷḷāṟu. The timely assistance of the Hoysaḷas saved the Chōḷa empire for a time, but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysaḷas took deep root in the Chōḷa country by making Kaṇṇaṉūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāvērī[7]. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai when their original capital Dvārasamudra was devastated by Malik Kāfūr.

In our record Kōpperuñjiṅga is called a **Kāḍava.** The earliest reference to this term is found in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of Jaṭila-Parāntaka-Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ who is stated therein to have defeated the Kāḍava king at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the north bank of the river Kāvērī. In Tamiḻ literature the term *Kāḍava* along with *Toṇḍaiyar* and *Kāḍuveṭṭi* is invariably used to denote the Pallavas. A Kāḍava king, who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periyapurāṇam* to have built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadaravīchcharam at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The Tamiḻ poem *Vikrama-śōḻaṉ-ulā* mentions a Kāḍava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district[8]. The Kāḍavas, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly these chiefs were and what their

[1] Fleet : *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 507 ; in this record Narasiṁha is said to be ' a very Janārdana (Vishṇu) in destroying the demon Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kāḍava king '.

[2] No. 271 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This battle was fought against the Kāḍava by the Yādava Chief Vīra Narsiṅgadēva who was a contemporary of the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha II.

[3] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

[4] No. 382 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 45 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[7] No. 514 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vaikuṇṭa-Parumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, the brother of Siṁhavarman, were actually called Kāḍavas. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallavamalla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāñchī. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōḷas, the descendants of the former, under the name Kāḍava, Toṇḍaimāṉ etc.[1], seem to have drifted away from Kāñchī towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōḷa monarchs. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II, we find the Kāḍavas figuring as police officers collecting *pāḍikāval* rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District[2]. Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages[3] and by forming compacts[4] with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, *i.e.*, A.D. 1213[5] and the title *Kāvalar-Tambirāṉ*[6] indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōḷa empire exposed by Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who took the Chōḷa country and presented it back to King Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III[7]. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjiṅga to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōḷa monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysaḷas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōḷa empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōḷa was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Tribhuvanachakravarttin), his rival Kōpperuñjiṅga styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvanachakravarttin).

In the *Cambridge History of India*[8], this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pāṇḍya country in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war *viz.*, Kuḷattuḷāṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṉ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar and Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ belonged respectively to Kuḷattūr[9] (Chingleput District) and Paḷaiyaṉūr[10] (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjiṅga was a native of Kūḍal in Tirumuṇaippāḍi[11] in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjiṅga I. hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjiṅga II, it fell an easy prey to the Pāṇḍyas when they extended their power into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjiṅga is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāṭṭumaṉṉārkōyil in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjiṅga II is placed between Rājarāja III and Sundara-Pāṇḍya[12].

[1] Some of the Śambuvarāya Chiefs also called themselves Pallavas. Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāyaṉ was known as Śīyaṉ Pallavaṉ (No. 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kāḍavas, had the title 'Āḷappirandāṉ,' Aḷagiya Śīyaṉ, Araśanārāyaṇaṉ, etc.

[2] Nos. 137 of 1900, 45 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] Nos. 203 of 1902, 460 of 1905, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] Nos. 516 of 1902, 435 of 1913, 234 of 1919, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] No. 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[6] No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[7] Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] Vol. III, p. 482.

[9] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 188.

[10] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 88.

[11] No. 83 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[12] No. 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

Kōpperuñjiṅga's devotion to the God at Chidambaram and his patronage of Tamiḻ literature alluded to in our inscription are also mentioned in other records of this chief. The title *Rājakkaḷ Tambirāṉ*[1] was also assumed by Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya who calls himself 'the consuming fire to the Kāṭahaka' (*i.e.*, Kāḍava). The name Śokkachchīyaṉ, *i.e.*, Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ found in our inscription applied to the Chief, was given to the southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram which was built by him and also to other places in this village[2] which probably owed their existence to him.

Of the **places** mentioned in the present inscription, **Taḷḷāṟu** may be identified with the village of the same name in the North Arcot District. The identification of **Piṉṉi** is not certain, but judging from the title *Peṇṇānadī-nātha*[3] applied to Kōpperuñjiṅga, it seems to refer to the river Peṇṇai which flows through the South Arcot District. **Pugār** is the modern Kāvirippaṭṭiṉam in the Tanjore District. **Kaṉṉi** is the name of the river that flowed in ancient times near Cape Comorin. The town **Mallai** is Mahābalipuram in the Chingleput District.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī[||*] Sakalabuvaṉachchakkaravatti Śrī-**Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ** Śōḻaṉai=t**Taḷḷāṟṟil**

2 veṉṟu sakala parichchiṉṉamuṅ=koṇḍu **Śōḻaṉai=chchiṟaiy=iṭṭu** vaittu **Śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa A-**

3 **ḻagiyaśīyaṉ**ௌ | **Poṉṉi**-nāḍaṉum=urimaiyum amaichcharum=iruppad=uṉ śiṟaik-kōṭṭam [|] p[o]rupp-ira-

4 ṇḍ=eṉa vaḷa[r*]nda tō[ṉ[4]]valiyiṉāṟ-koṇḍadu Śōṇāḍu[|] **Kaṉṉi Kāviri Bagīrati** niṉ piriyā teṇḍuṟai vāvi[|]

5 kāval maṉṉavar tiṟaiyuḍaṉ=uṉaṅguvad=uṉ perun=tiruvāśal [|] veṉṉiḍāda[5] pōr-**kKaṉṉaḍar** veṉṉiḍā-

6 pporudad=uṉ peruñ-chēṉai viḷaṅgu śemponiṉ=ambalakkūttu nī(y) virumbiya dēvāram[|] **Piṉṉik[ā]vala**

7 **Avaṉinārāyaṇa** pēṇu śentamiḻ vāḻa-ppiṟanda **Kāḍava** Kōpperuñjiṅga ṉiṉ[6] perumai yār pugaḻvarē(y)[|| 1*]

8 Tiṟaiy=iṭṭ=irumiṉgaḷ tev-vēndar śempoṉ[|] tiṟaiy[7]=iṭṭa **Pūmpugār-chChōḻaṉ** śiṟaikiḍanda[|] kōṭṭandaṉai niṉai-

9 miṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ kamala[|]nāṭṭaṅ=kaḍai śivanda nāḷ ௌ || [2*] Mīḻ=ivaṉ koḍi viḍai-vēndar mārbiṉun[|] tōḷilu-

10 n-tīṭṭiya **Toṇḍaimaṉṉavar**[|] vāḻil veṉṟiḍu **Śiṟai-vaḷavaṉ** tūṅgiya[|] nāḻiṉum periyad=iṉ-nāḷeṉa-[p*]purambē[8]ௌ [3*]

[1] *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras for 1914, para. 21; also for 1917, p. 127. This title was also assumed by Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (*A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras for 1919, p. 83) and by another king in Kollam 761 (No. 60 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection). The Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēvarāya also had this title (No. 465 of 1913). In the variant form *Rājākkaḷnāyaṉ*, Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara or his son Rāmanātha used it (*A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras for 1910, p. 110).

[2] Nos. 197 of 1905, 285 of 1921, 467 of 1902, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] No. 286 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

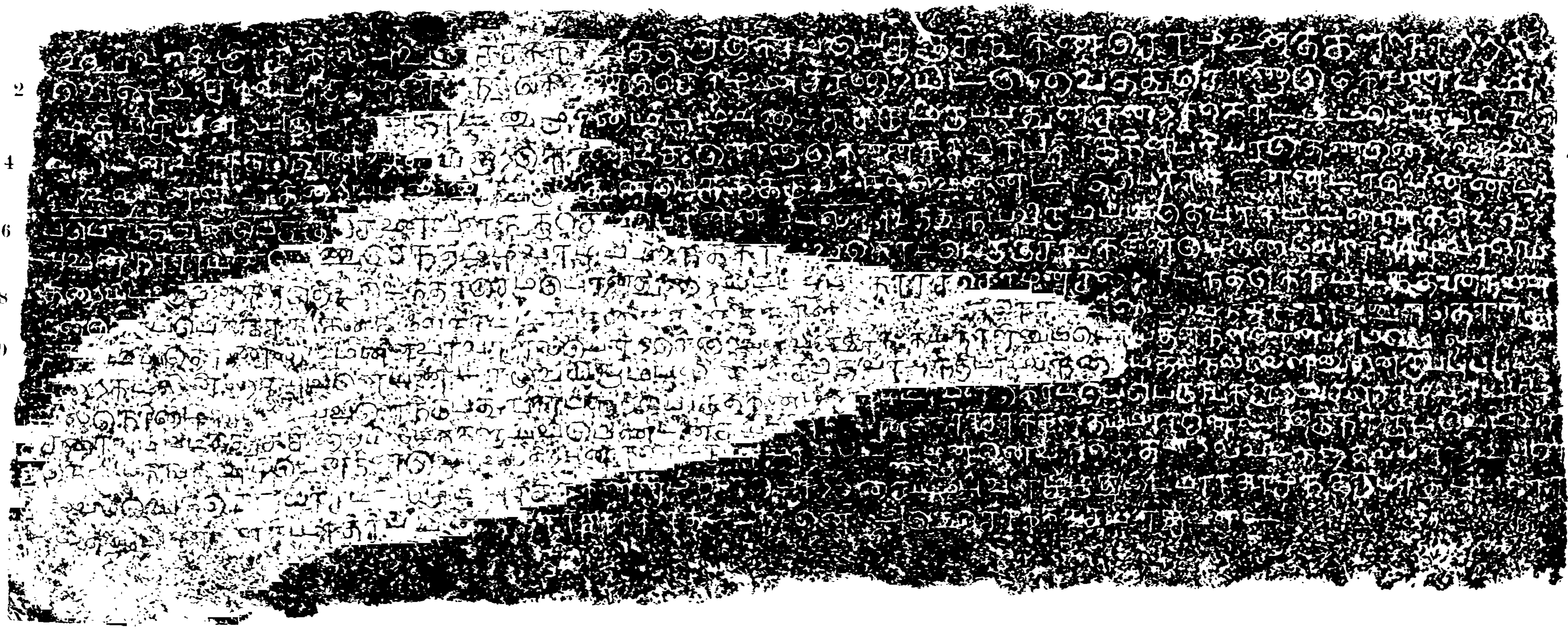
[4] Read *tōḷ°*.

[5] Read *venniḍāda*.

[6] Read *niṉ*.

[7] The letter *ti* is corrected from *tu*.

[8] Read *pulambumē*.



11 Aṟai-kaḍaliṉ=iśaiyuḍanēy=aṇḍar vēyiṉām pa[l*][li]śai śevi kavara[1] andi-mālai[.] niṟaimadiyi=nilave[ṉ]ṉu=ṉeruppu-ppaṭ-

12 ṭāl nēriḻai niṉṟ=āṟṟuvaḷ[ō] Nirupatuṅgā[!] piṟai poruda kaṉa-makara-kimpuri [va]ṉ-kōṭṭu-pperuṅkaḷuṟṟu[2]=chChōḻaṉaiyum=ama-[3]

13 chcharaiyum piḍittu=ch[!] chiṟaiyil=iḍa=kkaḷuṟu[2] viḍu miṇḍaṉ Śīyā Tiri[buva]-ṉattirāśākkaḷ Tambirāṉē௳[!][4*] Oru nāḷum vediyā-[4]

14 da ne[di]ya kaṅgul=ūḻiyeṉa[!] nīṇḍu-vara ulagiṟ=puṉ-kaṇ[ ] maruṉmālai yidu muṉṉē vandateṉṟāl vaḍandai[5] yivaḷ=āṟṟuvaḷ[ō]

15 Mallai-vēndē[!] porumālai-muḍi-araśar kaṉṉi[mādar] pōṟṟiśaiyum Buvanamuḻuḍu-ḍaiyār tāmun[!] tirumādum puṉar

16 [pu]yattu [mi]ṇḍaṉ Śīyā Tiri[6]bu[va]nattirāśākkaḷ Tambirānē ௳[!] [5*] idu **Śokkach-chīyaṉ** āṉai[7] ௳

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Hail! Prosperity! *Sakalabuvaṉachchakkaravatti*, (*the*) prosperous **Kōpperuñ-jiṅgaṉ Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ**, (*who*) conquered the **Chōḻa** king at **Taḷḷāṟu**, deprived (*him*) of all (*royal*) insignia, (*and after*) imprisoning the Chōḻa (*king*), took the Chōḻa country.

(Ll. 3-7) Protector of **Piṉṉi**, **Avaṉinārāyaṇa**, **Kāḍava** born to protect (*and*) foster Śen-Tamiḻ, **Kōpperuñjiṅga**! Who can extol thy greatness! Your prison-house is the abode of the lord of **Poṉṉi**,[8] (*his*) wife (*and of his*) ministers; by the growing valour of (*your*) shoulders (*which*) resemble two mountains the Chōḻa country was acquired; (*the rivers*) **Kaṉṉi, Kāviri** (*and*) **Bagīrati** are your favourite reservoirs (*ever having*) billows of clear water; ruling chiefs (*carrying*) tributes (*wait*) pining (*at*) your beautiful big gates; your invincible army fought with the warlike **Kaṉṉaḍar** who knew no retreat; the dancing (*god*) in the shining Golden Hall is your beloved deity.

(Ll. 8-9) (*Oh! kings!*) Live paying (*off your*) tribute, remembering (*well*) the prison-house wherein lay—on the day when the ends of the lotus-like eyes of Kōpperuñjiṅga became red—the Chōḻa (*lord*) of **Pugār** (*to whom*) the enemy kings paid (*their*) tributes in gold.

(Ll. 9-10) Let the day when the **lord of Toṇḍai**[9] conquered (*with his*) sword the haughty kings and painted the (*insignia of his*) banner on their chests and shoulders, be hailed a greater day than the one when the **Vaḷava** was sent to droop in prison[10].

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[1] With *aṇḍar vēyiṉām palliśai śevi kavara*, compare *avaṉ vāyiṉ mullaiyan tīṅkuḻal kēḷāmō tōḻī* in *Āyichchi-yarkuravai* of the *Śilappadigāram*. *Aṇḍar* may be taken with either *vēyiṉ* (flute) or *āmbal-iśai*. *Āmbal* is a kind of musical note.

[2] Read *kaḷiṟu*.

[3] Read *amai*.

[4] Read *vidiyā*.

[5] Read *maḍandai*.

[6] The letter *ri* in *tiri* is engraved in Grantha.

[7] The letter *ā* in *āṉai* is engraved in Grantha.

[8] The Chōḻa king is called *Poṉṉitturaivaṉ* in *Śēndan Divākaram*.

[9] *Cf.* the epithet 'Toṇḍamaṉṉaṉ who won the sacred Toṇḍai-nāḍu through the strength of (his) shoulders' applied to Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar in the Atti record (No. 296 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

[10] The word *tūṅgiya* is generally used in inscriptions in the sense of 'sent to a long sleep *i.e.*, death'. But since the Chōḻa king was released from prison by Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha II about 1232 A.D. and actually ruled thereafter, for about 20 years, the word *tūṅgiya* is here rendered as 'sent to droop'.

(Ll. 11-13) Oh ! **Nripatuṅga**, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful **Śīyā** (lion) (*who*) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the Chōḷa (*emperor*) (*with his*) ministers (*riding on a*) huge elephant (*whose*) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (*were adorned with*) heavy *makara*[1] and *kimpuri*[2] (*jewels*) ! (*Consider how your*) lady-love could endure (*in your absence*) the heat(!) of the full-moon in the evening (*when her ears were*) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute.

(Ll. 13-16) Oh ! **lord of Mallai**, powerful Śīyā (lion), lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused[3] by Bhuvanamuḻududaiyār (*i.e.*, the goddess of Earth) (*who is*) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (*i.e.*, the goddess of Wealth) ! (*Consider also*) whether this *maḍandai* (*i.e.*, your lady-love) could (*further*) bear (*in separation*) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a *yuga* (*especially when*) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world.

This (*is the*) order of **Śokkachchīyaṉ**.

No. 28.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA : SAKA 1329.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at **Saṅgūr** in the Haveri Taluk of the Dhārwār District. The record is published here for the first time, from the estampages secured by me in 1932-33.[4] The writing covers an area of 2′ 2″ by 7″ and the size of each letter is approximately ¾″ in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse-back, which closely resembles the one found at Hosa Kummaṭa near Ānegondi.[5] The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are **Kannaḍa** of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and do not call for any comment except that *th* in *pruthvī* (l. 1) and *Rāmanātha* (l. 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. **Orthography** is generally free from errors. In line 4 *vinōgādhipati* is written through mistake by the engraver for *niyōgādhipati*. The **language** of the inscription is Kannaḍa prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the **Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya I, son** of Harihara-Mahārāya, who is given the Western Chāḷukya epithets *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Pṛithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara* and *Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka*. It then states that the statue of **Kumāra-Rāmanātha** was installed by **Mādarasa**, son of *Sēnādhipati* **Saṅgama** and grandson of **Baichaveggaḍe** who was the *Bāhattara-niyōgādhipati* and a devout servant of **Kampilarāya**, at **Chaṅgāpura** included in **Chandragutti-nāḍu** which belonged to **Gōveya-rājya**. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

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[1] *Makara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

[2] The Tamiḻ lexicon *Chūḍāmaṇi-Nighaṇṭu* defines *kimpuri* as an ornamental band fixed to the tusks of a royal elephant.

[3] Here the Pallava chief with his consorts Bhuvanamuḻududaiyār and Tirumādu is compared to Vishṇu with his consorts Bhūdēvī and Śrīdēvī.

[4] B. K. No. 173 of 1932-33.

[5] Its photograph is given in *Qart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, Vol. XX, between pages 266 and 267.

Sunday, the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja in the cyclic year Sarvvajit which fell in the **Śaka year 1329.** The details of the date regularly correspond to **Sunday, 11th September, A. D. 1407, f. d. t. ·23.**

The inscription is important in more respects than one. Firstly, this is a rare epigraphical instance of the Vijayanagara period which attributes the epithets of the Western Chāḷukya kings of Kalyāṇa to king Dēvarāya. It is not possible to understand the exact significance of this departure since we are not in possession of any evidence connecting politically or otherwise with the Western Chāḷukyas, the Vijayanagara kings of the Saṅgama dynasty who rose into power nearly one hundred and fifty years after the downfall of the former. It may, however, be suggested that the locality where the inscription is found was fed strongly with the tradition that the Vijayanagara kings were the rightful successors of the Imperial Chāḷukyas inasmuch as they held the entire Chāḷukya territory, or the composer of the record had access to some political document of the Chāḷukyas and inadvertently copied its preamble while describing the king. It is, however, hazardous to surmise any blood relationship between the two families from a solitary record like the present one.

Secondly, the present record is the **first epigraph** so far known which bears a reference to **Baichaveggaḍe** the minister of **Kampilarāya** and furnishes two generations after him, *viz.*, his son *Sēnādhipati* **Saṅgama** and grandson **Mādarasa.** These officers are known to us for the first time, though Baicha-Daṇḍanāyaka figures as a minister of Kampiladēva in the Kannaḍa works *Paradāra-sōdara-Rāmana-charite* and *Kumāra-Rāmanāthana Sāṅgatya* of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.[1] It further lends epigraphical confirmation to the authenticity of Kumāra Rāmanātha who is not mentioned in the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period, though his relationship with Kampilarāya is not disclosed in the record. The Kannaḍa works mentioned above supply us the information that he was the son of Kampila, waged successful wars against the Hoysaḷa, Turushka and Teluṅga kings during the life time of his father and at last was killed in a battle with the Turushkas at Kummaṭa. An undated inscription[2] in a Śiva temple in Hēmakūṭa at Hampi records that Vīra Kampiladēva, son of Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka constructed the Śiva temple and set up the *liṅgas* therein in memory of his mother Mādā-Nā[ya*]kiti, Siṅgeya-Nāyaka and Perumeya-Nāyaka. Perumeya-Nāyaka's relationship to Siṅgeya is not stated in the record, though from the way in which he is mentioned, he appears to be Siṅgeya's father. It is not improbable that Siṅgeya-Nāyaka installed the *liṅgas* for the merit of his father and grandfather. If this suggestion proves to be correct, one more generation would be added to the genealogy of Kampila which, from the records known so far, is given below :

Perumeya-Nāyaka
?
Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka, *m.* Mādā-Nāyakiti
|
Vīra Kampiladēva
|
Kumāra Rāmanātha

[1] For further historical details gathered from these works, see the articles entitled *Studies in Vijayanagara History* and *King Kampila and Kumāra-Rāmanātha* by Mr. M. H. Rama Sharma in *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX and Supplement to it pp. 1-18 and Dr. N. V. Ramaṇayya's *Kampila and Vijayanagara.*

[2] No. 353 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* Vol. I, p. 305, No. 335 evidently refers to this inscription. The cyclic year Saumya mentioned there is evidently a mistake as no cyclic or Śaka year is quoted in it. This mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. Rama Sharma and Dr. Ramaṇayya.

So far, only two dates namely A.D. 1280[1] and 1282[2] are known for Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka who, on the former date, defeated and killed Yādava Rāmadēva's subordinate *Mahāpradāna* Chāvuṇḍarasa when the latter had invaded Doravadi in Kurugōḍu-nāḍu. From a hero-stone at Lakshmēśvar[3], it is learnt that Dāme-Nāyaka, son of Mahādēvarāya despatched a general Sa.... Rāṇeya who was stationed at Huligeṛe, to Kummaṭa against Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka in the 17th year of the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra corresponding to A.D. 1287-88. It may be noted that this is the **first epigraphical reference to Kummaṭa** which is the same as Cryna-mata of Nuniz. Kummaṭa must have been, as the capital of this chief, situated in Doravadi-nāḍu over which he was ruling. It has been rightly identified with Kumāra-Rāmana Kummaṭa situated at a distance of about eight miles from Ānegondi.[4] It is clear from the above account that the rebellion raised by Mummaḍi Siṅgeya in defiance of the suzerain power at Dēvagiri was quelled on two occasions by the Yādavas, by despatching a force to the very heart of his chiefdom. The insurrection being thus subdued, Siṅgeya himself was probably made to acknowledge the Yādava overlordship. We find his son Kampiladēva, also called Khaṇḍeya-Rāya,[5] figuring as a subordinate of Yādava Rāmachandra in A.D. 1300 and renewing the gift of Hariharapura which had been formerly granted to Brahmans by king Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra. Since the Huligeṛe country was held by the viceroys appointed by Rāmadēva in A.D. 1287-88[6] and 1295-96[7] and since portions of the Chitaldrug District, especially Dāvaṇagere, were held by this king till at least A.D. 1300, it is evident that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's chiefdom did not extend beyond Doravadi and never included the Noḷambavāḍi province[8] after the killing of Vīra-Chāvuṇḍarasa mentioned above. It is not unlikely that after the death of Mummaḍi-Siṅgeya, Vīra-Kampila was entrusted with the government of the country extending up to the northern border of the Hoysaḷa kingdom, so that he might not only stem the Hoysaḷa invasion on the Yādava kingdom but also acquire new territory by making fresh conquests in the enemy's country. Kampila is accordingly seen fighting with the Hoysaḷa subordinates in the latter's territory in A.D. 1303[9] and 1325[10], and Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa (III) opposing Ka[ṁ*]pila in Doravadi in A.D. 1320[11] and marching against Siruguppe[12] where Kampila met him with a big force and probably killed his general Chamba-Daṇḍanāyaka. When the Yādava power was weakened by the invasion of Malik Kafur, Kampila might possibly have declared independance in the ensuing political chaos.

In one of the inscriptions of Lakshmēśvar,[13] reference is made to the death of Kampila and Siḍila Bomma in a military campaign from Diḷḷi. The inscription is unfortunately not dated;

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Channagiri 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Hiriyūr 86. In the published text of this record, however, the name Siṅgeya is not fully preserved.

[3] B. K. No. 23 of 1935-36.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 5 ff. Mr. Rama Sharma, depending upon a verse in *Chenna-Basava-purāṇa* thinks that the fortress of Kummaṭa was built newly by Kampila (*ibid.*, p. 11). This is not tenable as the Lakshmēśvar inscription of A.D. 1287-88 mentions Kummaṭa as the capital of Mummaḍi Singeya. Kampila might, however, have strengthened the fortification by fresh constructions.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26 ; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1923, No. 121.

[6] The Lakshmēśvar inscription quoted above.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 530.

[8] See Dr. Ramaṇayya's *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire*, p. 81. He holds that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's territory included the Noḷambavāḍi province. But from *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26, 59, 81, etc., it is evident that this was held by the Yādavas.

[9] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Hoḷalkere 106. The name of the chief is given in the published text as Kaṁdilidēva, which may be a wrong reading for Kampilidēva.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tiptur 24.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 19.

[12] *Mys. A. R.* 1923, No. 121.

[13] B. K. No. 21 of 1935-36.

but it may be assigned on paleaographical grounds to the first half of the 14th century A.D. According to the Muhammadan historians, Kaṁpila was slain by Khwājā Jahān, the leader of the Muhammadan army in A.D. 1327.[1] The *Kumāra-Rāmana Sāṅgatya* gives a graphic account of the fight between the forces of Kaṁpila and of the Turushka king at Kummaṭa and states that Kumāra-Rāmanātha's head was cut off from his body and despatched to Diḷḷi. The fact that his statue is set up at Saṅgūr in the Hāvēri taluk indicates that Kaṁpila's sway was recognised in that part of the country, which was probably under the enjoyment of his minister Baichaveggaḍe and continued to be held in his family for at least two generations more. In fact, in another[2] inscription, at Saṅgūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya I. and dated in the Śaka year 1334, mention is made, among the ancestors of a local chief (name lost), of a certain Baichaveggaḍe as the *Kāvamūli* (chief guard or officer) of Saṅgūru included in the Eighteen-Kaṁpaṇa province of Gutti. It is just possible that this Baichaveggaḍe is identical with the minister of Kaṁpila.[3] It is not known what circumstances actuated Mādarasa to set up the image of Rāmanātha after a lapse of 80 years from the latter's death.

Among the places mentioned in the record, Gōveya-*rājya* and Chandragutti-*nāḍu* are too well-known to require identification. **Chaṅgāpura** is the modern Saṅgūr where the inscription is found.

TEXT.[4]

1 Svasti (|) Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī-pru(pṛi)thvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara **Satyā-**

2 **śraya-kuḷa-tilaka** śrī-Vīrapratāpa Harihara-Mahārāyara kumāra **Dēvarāya-**

3 **ru** suka(kha)diṁ rājyaṁ-geyvuttirddallu [|*] **Gōveya-rājyakke** saluha(va) **Chaṁdra-guttiya-nāḍoḷagaṇa**

4 **Chaṁgāpuradalu Kaṁpilarāyana** Bāhattaravinōgādhipati[5] pati-kāryya-dhuraṁ-

5 dharanum-appa **Bayichaveggaḍeya** moṁma Sēnādhipati **Saṁgamana** kumāra **Mādarasru**

6 **Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēvara** pratishṭheya **Śaka-varsha 1329** neya **Sarvva[ji]tu** saṁvatsarada **Ā-**

7 **śvayuja suddha 10 Ādityavāradalu** māḍisida[ru] [|] Maṁgaḷa mahāśrī

8 Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ! When **Dēvarāya**, an asylum of the whole world, the illustrious *Prithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, an **ornament of the family of Satyāśraya** and son of Vīrapratāpa Harihara-Mahārāya was ruling in happiness,

(Ll. 4 to 8) **Mādarasa** son of the *Sēnādhipati* **Saṅgama** and grandson of **Baichaveggaḍe** who was the devout servant and *Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati* of **Kaṁpilarāya** set up (*the image of*) **Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva** at **Chaṁgāpura** in **Chaṁdragutti-nāḍu** belonging to **Gōveya-rājya, on Sunday, 10th** (*day*) **of the bright half of Āśvayuja** of the (*cyclic*) year **Sarvvajit** (*falling in*) the **Śaka year 1329.**

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[1] See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 140.

[2] B. K. No. 170 of 1932-33.

[3] It is now held by some scholars that the first Vijayanagara dynasty grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Kaṁpila (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX). For different views on the subject, see Dr. Ramaṇayya's thesis *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire* where previous opinions also are summarised. See also Dr. Salatore's article, *Theories concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara* in the *Vijayanagara Sex-centenary Commemoration Volume* (1936), pp. 139 ff.

[4] From ink impressions.

[5] Read *-niyōgādhipati*.

No. 29.—FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN UDDALLADEVI: V. S. 1294.

BY M. M. NĀGAR, M.A., SARNATH MUSEUM, BENARES.

The inscription was secured by Mr. B. M. Vyas from Nagod State,[1] Central India, for the Allahabad Municipal Museum wherein it is now preserved, and was kindly placed at my disposal by him together with an estampage for editing it. I am here publishing it for the first time.[2]

The Inscription is incised on a rectangular block of buff-coloured sandstone measuring 18½″ by 12¾″ and is broken at the top. Consequently, some of the opening lines of the record have been lost; what may have been their exact number cannot be ascertained.

The writing which is in 22 lines covers a space of 18½″ by 12″ and is in a fairly good state of preservation excepting some letters of the last four lines which are only partly preserved. The opening and concluding letters of some of the lines are also much worn out. The letters are cut shallow and being much corroded at places present some difficulty in decipherment. Their average size is ¾″. The **characters** belong to the Northern variety of alphabets of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. They resemble modern Nāgarī, the exceptions being the letters *ch*, *rō* (l. 8), *j* (l. 12), *m* (l. 16), etc. The **language** is Sanskrit and up to the first half of line 12 it is in verse and thereafter in prose. The **orthography** is regular and calls for no remarks.

The epigraph refers itself to the time of one **Uddalladēvī**, the chief queen of the illustrious **Mahamandadēva**, and the daughter of the illustrious *Mahāsāmanta* Bharahadēva of the Rāshṭrakula(kūṭa) family. Mahamanda was a feudatory of the illustrious **Āḍakkamalla** who seems to have belonged to the Gahaḍavāla family. It records the erection of a shrine for the illustrious Vindhyēśvara Śiva on **[Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, Saṁvat 1294,** corresponding to Thursday, 12th March, A.D. 1237. To judge from the description of the temple it seems to have been an imposing structure. The eulogy was composed by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara.

Line 2 of the extant record eulogizes some lady but it is not certain who she is as the major part of the verse has been lost. Supposing she be Uddalladēvī, even then, owing to the lacunae in the epigraph it is not possible to ascertain the exact relation between her and the illustrious Lakshamaṇa of ll. 3-4 and the overlord Dharmadēva[3] of l. 5.

The inscription shows that even after the extermination of the Imperial Branch of the Gahaḍavālas of Kanauj by the Muslims, local chiefs of the same dynasty were in existence in various parts of Central India and Rājputāna. One such chief was Āḍakkamalla and that he was of some importance is clear from the mention of Mahamanda as his feudatory.

King Hariśchandra (c. A.D. 1197-1200)[4], the last known ruler of this dynasty, meeting his final defeat in A.D. 1226 at the hands of Iltutmish, fled with his family towards Farrukhābād

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[1] Mr. A. Ghosh mentions Mau (U. P.) as its findspot, which is denied by the discoverer. [Mr. Vyas told me that he had got the inscription from Unchahra in Nagod State.—Ed.]

[2] A note on this inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July 1935, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, pp. 21-23, by A. Ghosh, M.A., who is referred to in the notes below as A. G.

[3] [According to the context *Rāṇaka* Dharmadēva belonged to the mother's family of Lakshmaṇa and was probably his maternal uncle.—Ed.]

[4] Though A.D. 1200 is the last date hitherto known of Hariśchandra from his Macchlishar Grant (above, Vol X, p. 95), it appears that his power lingered in the more inaccessible parts of Kanauj up to A.D. 1226 when it was finally captured by Iltutmish. Dr. H. C. Ray seems to be correct in his assumption that the battle of Chandwar gave to Muslims ' only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds; the countryside beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule ' (*Dynastic History of N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 547).

(U. P.) from where after a short time his son's son Sīhājī is said to have gone to Mārwār and with the assistance of the Brahmins of that place to have established a principality of his own after defeating the Muhammadan marauders of Multan.[1] Tod also records that ' in S. 1268 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Siahji and Setram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert..........'.[2] His date regarding the final overthrow of Kanauj and the exact relation of Saitrām and Sīhājī may be accepted with a grain of salt, nevertheless the fact that Sīhājī moved towards Mārwār remains unquestioned.

Mahamandadēva, who was certainly a Hindu ruler, adopted this Muslim-like name[3], obviously to please the sensibilities of his Muslim overlord (Iltutmish or Queen Raziyya) of Delhi. This is by no means a solitary instance of the assumption of a Muhammadan name by a Hindu ruler. We also know that a Chauhān king of Raṇathambhor (c. A.D. 1283-1301) called himself Haṁmīra (हंमीरभूपतिरविंव(द)त भूतधात्र्या)[4] which is a Muslim name[5] and was used by certain Sultans of Delhi on their coins.[6]

TEXT.

1 . . . . — — —

2 न गुणेन भान्ति भुवने सर्व्वे [त]या न्यकृतास्तस्मा — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —

3 त्वविचलं राज्यं प्रशास्त्वद्भुतम्[7] ॥ [१*] सामन्तराजतिलकः प्र[थि]तः पृ[थि]-

4 व्यां श्रीलक्ष्मणो [◡ ◡ ◡*][8] लक्ष्मणतुल्यकीर्त्तिः । यस्मादपच्च इह रा[ण]-

5 कचक्रवर्त्ती याथार्थ्यतः खलु तथा स च धर्म्मदेवः[9] ॥ [२*] श्रीविन्ध्ये-

6 श्वरशूलिनोद्भुततरः स्तम्भावलीशोभितः प्रासादीय[मने]-

7 कभद्र[ख]चितो[10] नानापताकान्वितः । य[च्छृ]ङ्गेण दिवंस्पृ[शा ग]-

8 तिहरो विन्ध्यो रवेरुत्थितो व्याजाद्य(द्यो) [ध्व]जपंक्तिपातित[नति]-

9 र्भी(र्भ्री)तो गुरोर्व्वाक्यतः[7] ॥ [३*] प्रासादोयं तयाकारि श्रीविन्ध्येश्व-

10 रधूर्ज्जटेः । पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्यै(त्त्यै) पितॄणान्तारणाय च[11] ॥ [४*]

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[1] Reu's *Prācīna Bhārata ke Rājavaṁśa* (in Hindī), Vol. III, pp. 114-115 and 118-119.

[2] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed. Crooke), Vol. II, p. 940.

[3] Bhandarkar *List of Inscriptions of N. India*, No. 682 wherein Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq has been called Mahamanda Sāhi.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 50, l. 8. [This was also the name borne by a ruler of Chitor.—Ed.]

[5] Badāun Inscription of Lakhaṇapāla, above, Vol. I, p. 62, n. 5, and Mahoba Inscription, *ibid.*, p. 221.

[6] S. Lanepoole : *Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in British Museum.* Coins Nos. 9, 24-26, 32-33, 38-42, 51-52, 63-66, 70-72 and 96-98.

[7] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Three syllables have been left out probably by the engraver through oversight.

[9] A. G. reads *Varmadēva.* Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[10] May be [र]चितो in which case the translation of कनेकभद्ररचितो would be ' made of or containing much gold '.

[11] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

11 प्रशस्तिरचनाश्चक्रे पण्डितः श्रीसुखाकरः । सुजनांघ्रिसरोज-

12 न्मरजोरञ्जितमूर्ह(र्द्ध)जः[1] ॥ [५*] इति श्रीकान्यकुब्जदेशोद्भूतया रा[ष्ट्रा(ष्ट्र)]-

13 कुल(कूट)वंशप्रदीप[2]महासामन्तराजश्रीभरहदेवसुतया श्रीम-

14 द्गहडवालकुलकमलविकाशनसहस्रांशु[3]श्रीश्रा[डक]मल्ल-

15 सामान्तशरणागतवज्रपञ्जर[4]श्रीमन्महमन्ददेवपट्ट[रा]-

16 ज्ञ्य श्रीउद्दल्लदेव्या स्वकुलैकविंशतिपुरुषसंतारणार्थमा[त्मनः

17 प]रमनिःश्रेयसप्राप्त्यै पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै संव[त्स][रा-

18 णां] द्वादशशतेषु चतुर्न्नवत्यधिकेषु दमनकचतुर्द्दश्यां[5] [गु-

19 रु*]वारे श्रीविन्ध्येश्वरदेवस्य स्वप्रा . . . . . [प्रा*]-

20 सादोयं कारितः प्रतिष्ठापितश्च ॥ वा . . . .

21 रिणा पण्डितश्रीसुखाकरेण प्रशस्ति[र्लिखिता*]

22 . . . . [हि*]तमस्तु सर्व्वस्य स . . . .

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) ....all being eclipsed by her in merit, do not shine in the world..............may rule [her] firm and unique kingdom.

(Verse 2) The illustrious Lakshamaṇa, the ornament (lit. mark on the forehead) of the great feudatory chiefs, is renowned on the earth (*and*) possesses a fame like that of Lakshamaṇa......, ...on whose mother's side (*was born*) in this world the foremost of the *Rāṇakas* who was justly (*called*) Dharmadēva.

(Verse 3) This temple of the illustrious Vindhyēśvara Śūlin (lit. the trident-holder, lord of the Vindhyas) is beautified by series of pillars, is carved with many auspicious [scenes] and is endowed with many banners. It stands as the very Vindhya (mountain) with its summit touching the sky and obstructing the movement of the sun (*but*), taking fright at the command of the preceptor (*i.e.*, the sage Agastya) [has bent down ?] under the semblance of the series of banners.

(Verse 4) This temple of Śiva, the illustrious Vindhyēśvara, has been caused to be erected by her for the prosperity of (*her*) sons, sons' sons, etc., as well as for the deliverance of (*her*) forefathers.

(Verse 5) The learned, the illustrious Sukhākara whose hair is tinged by the pollen of the lotus flowers that are the feet of good-men, effected the composition of [this] eulogy.

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[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Cf. 'सोमवंशप्रदीप' of Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpasēna of Bengal. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. II, p. 84.

[3] Cf. 'कुलकमलविकासभास्कर' *ibid.*, and 'श्रीधूमराजदेवकुलकमलद्योतन' of Hāthal plates of Dhārāvarsha. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 193, l. 3.

[4] Cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. II, p. 84, l. 3 and *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 329.

[5] दमनकचतुर्दशी is the particular चतुर्दशी falling in the bright half of Chaitra. See कृतिकौस्तुभ (Bom. ed.), p. 23. Also see S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 60.

(Lines 12-20) Thus this temple of the illustrious God Vindhyēśvara has been caused to be erected and consecrated on [Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, in the (Vikrama) **Saṁvat 1294**, for the deliverance of twenty-one generations of her own family, for the attainment of the supreme bliss for herself and for the prosperity of *(her)* sons, sons' sons, etc., by the illustrious **Uddalladēvī**, born in the country of Śrī-Kanyakubja, daughter of the illustrious Bharahadēva, the prince of the *Mahāsāmantas* and a lamp to the family of the Rāshṭrakulas(°kūṭas) and the chief queen of the illustrious **Mahamandadēva**, who was a cage of adamant to those seeking refuge *(in him)* and a feudatory of the illustrious Āḍakkamalla, the very sun causing to bloom the lotus of the illustrious family of the Gahaḍavālas.

(Line 21) The eulogy [was composed] by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara............

(Line 22) Let there be welfare to all.

No. 30.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA MAHADEVARAYA: SAKA 1186.

By R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., Madras.

Saṅgūr which is variously called as Saṅgavūru, Saṅgūr, Chaṅgūra and Chaṅgāpura in the inscriptions of the place, is situated at a distance of about 8 miles south west of Hāvēri on the road to Sirsi in the North Kanara District. The inscription[1] edited below is engraved on the Nandi pillar standing near the temple of Vīrabhadra in the village. It covers an area of 3′ 7″ by 1′ 4″ and contains sixty-six lines of writing. The size of each letter is approximately between ⅜″ and ½″ in height. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The **characters** are medieval Kannaḍa of the 13th century A. D. to which the record belongs. The secondary forms of *y*, *v* and *m* are used in *deseya* (l. 48), *vuṁbaḷi* (ll. 63 and 64) and *maduve* (l. 61). It is noteworthy that the record indicates the aspiration of *ḍh*, *th* and *dh* in *prauḍha* (l. 24), *tathya* (l. 31) and *nidhānaṁ* (l. 31) by a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. In respect of **orthography** it may be remarked that vowel *i* is wrongly used in the body of the word *koṇḍoivudu* (l. 55) and the *anusvāra* is employed superfluously in some cases before conjunct consonants as in *puṁṇya* (ll. 9, 17), *hiraṁṇya* (l. 44) ; *b* is used for *v* in *dharmma-byayāya* (l. 38), *sarbba* (l. 42), *pūrbbakam* (l. 44), etc. ; the consonants coming after a *rēpha* are doubled as in *āchāryya* (l. 6), *urvvī parvvi* (l. 4), *dharmma* (l. 38), *Mallikārjjuna* (l. 9), *vartti* (l. 39), etc. ; dental *s* is used in place of *ś* throughout the record which may be due to the influence of Kannaḍa phonetics on Sanskrit vocabulary. *Ś* is used for *sh* in *puruśa* (l. 26) and *Puśya* (l. 43), etc.

Excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 1-3 and 57-58, the whole record is in **prose.** Lines 4-19 and 45-57 comprising the two *vachanas* of Siddharāma and lines 59 to 66 giving the specification of certain estates to be enjoyed by private persons are in **Kannaḍa,** while the description of the king and the minister and the grant portion (ll. 19-44) are in **Sanskrit.** In respect of the Sanskrit language, it may be noted that its vocabulary is influenced by the Kannaḍa phonology as for example *paduma* for *padma* (l. 26), *labudha* for *labdha* (l. 33), etc. ; the insertion of the Kannaḍa word *neya* in the date portion in Sanskrit (ll. 42-43) may also be noted The language of the two *vachanas* is rhythmic, elegant and simple Kannaḍa. There are, however, several redundant expressions used perhaps for the sake of alliteration and balance as *e.g.*, *eṁb-ātana ātana mātā mātā pitru* (ll. 13 and 50), *vaḷeyadoḷage voḷage* (l. 48f.), *chaturāsrayada nālkuṁ deseya* (l. 48), *bēga sīghraṁ* (ll. 16 and 53).

[1] B. K. No. 172 of 1932-33.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of the **Yādava** king **Mahādēva** who began to rule in A. D. 1260. It introduces his minister **Dēvarāja** whose pedigree for three generations is given as follows: **Chāvuṇḍarasa** was born in the family of Vasishṭha and was a devotee of Śiva. To him was born **Amitarasa** who begot **Dēvamantrīśa.** This Dēvamantrīśa is described as having obtained a great boon from god Sōmanāthadēva and as protecting the southern region at the command of king Mahādēva. The record states that the *Mahāpradhāna* Dēvarāja visited **Sonnalige-nagara** which had been formerly the residence of the saint **Siddharāma** and feeling himself purified at the sight of the god **Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva** there, made a gift of the village **Chaṅgūr** included in **Bāsūra**-*vishaya* together with a right over all treasure-troves, etc., and with various incomes accruing from fines and *śulkas*, to provide for worship and offerings to the deity and for the expenses of renovation of the temple, maintenance of the poor and the orphans and for conducting several charities such as watersheds and daily oblations. Lines 59-66 contain a stipulation that certain estates and incomes of the village specified therein must be enjoyed by the *Gauḍas*, *Hiṭṭukāṛas* and Chauḍarasa, the *Heggaḍe* of the temple (*dēvara mane*).

The record is dated on the day of *arddhōdaya* in **Pushya** of the cyclic year **Raktākshin** falling in the **Śaka year 1186.** *Arddhōdaya* is an astronomical combination of "Śravaṇa", Vyatīpāta and Sunday on the new moon day of Pushya.[1] These details coincided in the year quoted in the record and regularly corresponded to **Sunday, 18th January, A.D. 1265** on which day the *nakashatra* Śravaṇa ended at ·88 of the day.

The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it contains two *vachanas* (ll. 4-19 and 45-57) of saint **Siddharāmanātha** who is one of the famous *vachanakāras* of the Vīraśaiva sect. *Vachanagaḷu* in Kannaḍa literature denotes a particular class of works embodying sayings of great saints, particularly of the Lingāyat sect, who flourished in and after the 12th century A. D. From the *Siddharāmapurāṇa* of Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1165), it is learnt that Siddharāma constructed a tank at Sonnalige, installed therein several *Liṅgas* and defeated a mendicant Karpara in disputation, who had borne the biruda *Vidyāsamudra.*[2] Other Vīraśaiva works add that he received *dīkshā* from Chennabasava, the sister's son of Basava who flourished in about A. D. 1160. Prabhudēva *alias* Allama (A. D. 1160) is also credited with having taught the Śaiva doctrines to Siddharāma.[3]

The first of the two *vachanas* is reproduced in an inscription from Sorab[4] which records the gift of a village by a local chief Bīrarasa for the benefit of the temple of Kapilasiddha-Mallikār-

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[1] S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I. Part I, p. 64.

[2] *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. I (Revised Edition), p. 183.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 180. For further details regarding the life and works of this saint, see *ibid.*, under Siddharāma.

Mr. Murugaiya Jangina, a leading Lingāyat gentleman of Bagalkot (Bijāpur District), whom I had addressed, has kindly communicated to me the following information on Siddharāma: Siddharāma was born at Sonnalige, one of the sixteen hamlets of the modern Sholāpur. A stone image of this saint still exists there. Close to the place where he attained *samādhi*, is planted a stone with *shaḍakshara-mantra* which is still worshipped by all the devotees. In front of this *samādhi* over which are set up two *liṅgas*, stands the extensive temple of Siddhēśvara. Just behind this temple there stood formerly a shrine of Mallikārjuna-Liṅga, the *upāsya-dēva* of Siddharāma. But during the Muhammadan rule some difficulty was experienced in offering worship to the deity on account of the mosque built in its vicinity and the *liṅga* was therefore removed from its place and installed in a temple in the town which is now known as the temple of Mallikārjuna. The present temple is at the most one hundred years old. Siddharāma is credited with the authorship of more than a lac of *vachanas* of which only a few hundreds have appeared in print.

[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII. Sorab 561. This same *vachana* is found in the beginning of the unpublished inscriptions at Koṭbāgi (No. 447 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and Yaḍihaḷḷi (B. K. No. 95 of 1928-1929) in the Bombay-Karnatak. The second *vachana* is only partially reproduced in the imprecatory portion of an inscription of Bukkarāya, dated in Śaka 1278 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Chitaldroog 4). But it is not specified there as the *vachana* of Siddharāma.

junadēva of Sonnalige in Śaka 1176, *i.e.*, exactly ten years before the date of the present epigraph. But the text given in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* is mutilated and corrupt. Both the *vachanas* given in the present inscription relate to the merit or sin of protecting or destroying the gift of land or money made to the temple of Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva of Sonnalige. From their wording, it would appear as if Siddharāma composed them as a preamble to some grant to the temple made during his time. They are incorporated in the present record to serve as passages enjoining the protection of the gift under all circumstances.

Only a few inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty—and none of Mahādēva[1]—have been edited so far. The subjoined inscription will, therefore, be **the first document of the king** to be published. Mahādēva is described here as " a goad to the elephant of the Gūrjara king, a three-eyed God (*i.e.*, Śiva) to the Cupid of the Māḷava king and the shatterer of the skull of the Teluṅga king ". In his Koṭbāgi inscription[2] dated in the same year as the present record, he is given the additional epithet *Hoysaṇarāya-kōlāhala.* Thus it would appear that the Yādava monarch Mahādēva had to contend for power and territory with the four neighbouring kings namely the Hoysaḷas in the south, the Kākatīyas in the east, the Gūrjaras, *i.e.*, the Chauḷukyas of Aṇhilvāḍa in the west and north-west and the Paramāras of Māḷava in the north. It may be noted that these epithets are borne with slight modifications by every king from Bhillama[3] downwards, which would only indicate that in their attempt to expand their empire by fresh conquests, the Yādavas had to fight with these neighbouring powers since the very beginning of their political career.

From a close study of the stone and copper-plate documents of the family, we learn that Bhillama,[4] Jaitugi,[5] and his son Siṅgaṇa waged constant wars with the kings of Māḷava, *i.e.*, the Paramāras of Dhārā. According to his Bahal inscription[6] and the Paiṭhan plates[7] of Rāmachandra, Siṅgaṇa defeated one Arjuna who has been identified with the Māḷava king Arjunavarman[8]. The *Hammīramadamardana*, a Sanskrit drama of the 13th century A. D., records an additional fact that he defeated and killed the Māḷava king's feudatory, Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa[9]. The *Vasantavilāsa*, a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* of the 13th century A. D., contains another historical fact that Sindhurāja's son Śaṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and was subsequently released by Siṁhaṇa[10]. On a later occasion, Śaṅkha sued Siṁhaṇa for help and with his army marched[11] against Vīradhavala, the king of Gujarāt who had forcibly occupied Cambay in Lāṭa[12]. Simultaneously with this, the Māḷava king Dēvapāla also invaded Gujarāt, apparently to assist his feudatory chief of Lāṭa in wresting back the lost Cambay. As stated in the *Hammīramadamardana*, the Gujarāt king appears to have managed to break the coalition through the strategic skill of his minister Vastupāla and turned the events of war in his favour[13]. This is testified to by the Dabhoi fragmentary inscription[14] which records that Vīradhavala routed a combin-

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[1] A date of his Hulgūr inscription is noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 128.

[2] *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1926, No. 447 of Appendix C.

[3] Above, Vol. XV. pp. 34 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 314.

[4] Above, Vol. XV. pp. 34 ff. Bhillama must have entered the territory of Kēlhaṇa, the Chāhamāna king of Nāḍōl, after defeating the Māḷava and Gūrjara kings on the way (*ibid.*, Vols. IX. pp. 72 and 77, and XI. pp. 72 and 73).

[5] Above, Vol. V. p. 31.

[6] Above, Vol. III. p. 113.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 316.

[8] Above, Vol. III. p. 111.

[9] Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X, Act II. p. 17.

[10] *Ibid.*, No. VII, *Sarga V.* Verse 42.

[11] *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. vi. f.

[12] *Vasantavilāsa*, Introduction, p. ix.

[13] *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. viii and ix.

[14] Above, Vol. I. p. 28.

ed attack of the lord of Dhārā and the king of the Deccan who must be Yādava Siṁhaṇa. This enmity between the Yādava and the Māḷava kings[1] is continued in the time of Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra and Mahādēva who are described in their inscriptions as the destroyers of the Māḷava king.

The attitude of the Yādavas towards the Gūrjaras, *i.e*, the Chauḷukyas of Aṇhilvāḍa is one of frequent warfare. Vīradhavala's son Vīsaladēva (A. D. 1243-1263) wanted to take revenge on the Māḷava and the Yādava kings who had invaded Gujarāt during his father's time. He is described in his inscriptions as 'a submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Siṁhaṇa's army '[2]. The Paiṭhan plates of Rāmachandra attribute the defeat of Vīsala to Mahādēva which would show that the latter had to cross swords with Vīsala within two or three years of his accession to the throne. We have seen above that the Gūrjara king had seized Cambay and portions of Lāṭa from Sindhurāja, a feudatory of Dēvapāla. It is not impossible that he carried his arms still further to the south as a result of which north Koṅkaṇ came under his sway. Or, Koṅkaṇ must have been annexed to Gujarāt during the time of the Chauḷukya king Kumārapāla (A. D. 1143-74)[3], though its northern portions had been occupied by the Māḷava king in the intervening period. An inscription of Arjunavarman (A. D. 1233), the predecessor of Dēvapāla, states that the king was encamped at Bhṛigukachchha at the time of the grant[4]. This shows that the Paramāra kingdom extended up to the Broach District on the west in the early part of the 13th century A. D. According to Marco Polo (A. D. 1290)[5], the chiefs in the west coast of north Koṅkaṇ were dependent on the Aṇhilvāḍa kings. Rashid-ud-dīn (A. D. 1300)[6] states that Gujarāt included at the close of the 13th century A. D. Cambay, Somnath and Koṅkaṇ-Thāṇā. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Koṅkaṇ was dislodged and the Gurjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. Hēmādri records in his *Vrata-khaṇḍa*[7], Mahādēva's fight with Sōmēśvara who was the Silāhāra chief of north Koṅkaṇ and refers to the latter's drowning in the sea as a result of ship-wreck. Since Sōmēśvara's inscriptions[8] dated in Śaka 1171 (A. D. 1249) and Śaka 1182 (A. D. 1260) are found in Ranvad and Chadiche near Uran, his fight and death must have taken place some time after 1260 A. D. As the last year of Vīsala is known to be A. D. 1263, the defeat of Vīsala and Sōmēśvara might possibly have formed part of a single campaign undertaken by Mahādēva soon after his accession to the throne.

The epithet *Teluṅgarāya-śirash-kamaḷa-mūlōtpāṭana* borne by the king is significant as it indicates that Mahādēva had crossed arms with the Kākatīya king of his time and inflicted a crushing blow on his power. It is noteworthy that his brother Kṛishṇa is called ' the establisher of the Teluṅga king ' in his Mamdāpur inscription[9] of Śaka 1172 and the Arjunvāḍ inscription[10] of Śaka 1182 which was the last year of his reign. According to the chronology of the Kākatīya kings, the Teluṅga contemporary of Mahādēva was Rudramāmbā, the daughter of Gaṇapati whose latest known year is Śaka 1183. Since Hēmādri says that the Āndhras placed a woman on the throne thinking that the Yādava king Mahādēva would not deign to fight with her, the crushing

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[1] For particulars see also D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 208-217.

[2] *Early History of the Dekkan* by Bhandarkar, p. 242.

[3] *History of the Koṅkaṇ* in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part 2, p. 24.

[4] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII. p. 33.

[5] *History of the Koṅkaṇ*, p. 25.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Early History of the Dekkan*, App. C.

[8] *History of the Koṅkaṇ*, p. 21, n. 1.

[9] Above, Vol. XIX. p. 29.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 9 ff.

of the Teluṅga power suggested by the above epithet must have a reference to the wars conducted in the time of Gaṇapati especially after A. D. 1260[1]. Mahādēva must have taken away from him (the title of) *Pañchamahāśabda* and the elephants of war as recorded by Hēmādri, soon after his accession to the throne.[2] It is not, however, possible to understand the exact circumstances which favoured the rising of the Silāhāra, Gūrjara and Kākatīya kings immediately after the death of Kṛishṇa.

Mahādēva, like his predecessors, entrusted the government of his southern country to his minister Dēvarāja[3] apparently to guard against the Hoysaḷa invasion into his territory. The Hoysaḷas of Dōrasamudra who had lost considerable territory in the north-west of Mysore to the Yādavas under Siṁhaṇa and Kṛishṇa must have endeavoured to wrest back from them their past possessions and the struggle seems to have continued till the last quarter of the 13th century A. D. when we find some Yādava regiment stationed at Hāvēri[4] marching against Dōrasamudra. The Mamdāpur inscription of Kṛishṇa (Śaka 1172) records the defeat of Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara by the king, perhaps in conjunction with his brother Mahādēva who was the *Yuvarāja* under him The epithet *Hoysaṇarāya-kōlāhala* may bear reference to this or any subsequent fight undertaken by Mahādēva against the Hoysaḷas.

Incidentally, the record throws some light on the extent of the **Kannaḍa language** in the north in the **12th and 13th centuries A.D.** Sonnalige which was the home of Siddharāma now forms part of the modern Sholāpur, the headquarters of the Sholāpur District in the Bombay Presidency. The Kannaḍa language must have been prevalent in this part of the country in the 12th century A. D.[5] This view finds confirmation from the statement in the Marāṭhī work *Līlācharitra* of the Mahānubhāva school, written in A. D. 1190 that the sixty-lac Mahārāshṭra country extended as far as Tryaṁbaka-kshētra (*i.e.*, Nāsik) on the bank of the Gaṅgā (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī) in the west[6]. Jñānēśvara the celebrated saint of Mahārāshṭra who flourished about 1290 A. D., praises in his *abhaṅgas* the god Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharpur as the deity of Kannaḍa and Karṇāṭaka and also remarks in his *Gītābhāvadīpikā* that the southern limit of Mahārāshṭra in his time was the south bank of the Gōdāvarī[7]. This would show that even as late as the 13th century A. D. Kannaḍa which is a southern neighbour of Marāṭhī, extended up to at least Nāsik and the Gōdāvarī, not to speak of Sholāpur and Paṇḍharpur on the bank of the Bhīmā in the farther south There can, therefore, be no doubt about the veracity of the statement contained in the *Kavirājamārga* that the northern limit of the Kannaḍa language in the 9th century A. D. was the Gōdāvarī[8].

[1] This was the last year of Kṛishṇa. See Fleet, *Dynasties, etc.*, p. 527.

[2] The Yādava sway in the territory of the Kākatīyas is testified to by the discovery in 1922 of a pot of treasure buried in the earth at Rāchapaṭnam in the Kaikkalur Taluk of the Kistna District. The pot contained 43 gold coins known by the name of *padma-ṭaṅkas* which bear the legends Siṅghaṇa, Kānhapa, Mahādēva and Śrī Rāma in Dēva-Nāgarī script (*J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXI—Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX, pp. 6 ff). The find may be taken to support the epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the defeat of the Kākatīyas by the successive Yādava kings from Siṅghaṇa downwards.

[3] Dr. Fleet thinks that he may be identical with Toṛagaleya Dēvarasa appearing in an inscription at Hāvēri. See *Dynasties, etc.*, p. 528.

[4] B. K. No. 75 of 1932-33.

[5] Poet Chauṇḍarasa (cir. 1300 A. D.) is supposed to have lived at Paṇḍharpur. *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. I. p. 403.

[6] *Marāṭhī-bhāshā-udgama va vikāsa* by Mr. Kulkarni, pp. 191-2.

[7] *Mahārāshṭrada-mūla* by Mr. S. B. Joshi of Dhārwār, pp. 40 and 49-50.

[8] *Parichchhēda I. Kumāra-Rāmana-kathe* of Nanjuṇḍa (cir. A. D. 1525) also states, in conformity with the evidence of the Marāṭhī literature, that Karṇāṭaka was bounded on the north by the Gōdāvarī and on the south by the Kāvērī in his time.

The following **geographical places** are mentioned in the record : Kaviḷāsa, Sonnalige-nagara, Bāsura-*vishaya* and Changūru. **Kaviḷāsa** which is mentioned under this form in an inscription of Chaḷḷakere[1] is evidently the Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva. It should not be confounded with Kaviḷāsapura whose greatness is extolled in ll. 50 to 55 of the Arjunavāḍa inscription and which is identical with the modern village of the same name near Nūlegrāma, in the Hukkeri taluk of the Belgaum District[2]. **Sonnalige** which is called *abhinava-Śrīśaila* is, as stated above, a part of the modern Sholāpur. **Bāsura-vishaya,** which included the gift village Changūru, comprised 140 villages and included the southern part of the Hāvēri taluk of the Dhārwār District. **Changūru** is the modern Sangūr where the inscription is found. It may be noted that this village was included in the Chandragutti-*nāḍu* during the Vijayanagara period[3].

TEXT.[4]

1 ◎ Śrī-Siddharāmanātha saraṇu || Namas=tuṅgasī(śi)-
2 ras(ś)-tuṁbhi(chuṁbi)-chandra-chāmara-chāravē ◎ trailōkyaṁ(lōkya)-nagar-ā-
3 raṁbhāya(bha)-mu(mū)la-stambā(bhā)ya Sa(Śa)ṁbhavē ||౿||
4 Svasti Śrī Ōṁ[|*] Jaya Paramēsvara Paramātma Yī(Ī)svaran=urvvī-parvvi[y=a]-
5 ḍaṁgikoṇḍippanu vōrbbaṁṇnigey=āgi yōgigaḷa manada koneya
6 jōtīsvaranuṁ Vrisabhana rūp=āgi [ya]jamānanuṁ āchāryyanuṁ tā-
7 ney=āgi yōgādi-saṁpaṁna-[ba]ḷeyaṁgaḷ=ellavaṁ saṁpādisī(si) yō-
8 ga-[taru]ṇiya kshētravane staḷav-iṭṭu salākhe-viḍidu abhinava- Srīsaiḷavane mā-
9 ḍi Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjjunadēvane nelasi niṁdu puṁṇya(puṇya)-pāpaṁgaḷaṁ
10 baraṁ pēḷdu [be]saṁ pēḷuttav-iralu ēṁ besa dēvā enalu yī stā-
11 nadalu mānyav=āgi vūrugaḷam bhūmigaḷaṁ dhanaṁgaḷaṁ yī Liṅgakke
12 hast-ōdukavaṁ māḍi koṭṭuduvaṁ manaṁ pēsade kaḷadukoṇḍape-
13 n=eṁbātana ātana mātā-mātā-pitrugaḷ=ellaṁ=eppattēḷu-kōṭi varusaṁ-
14 baraṁ puḷu-goṁḍada narakadoḷag=ikki nīn=āhuti-goḷuttiru gaṁḍā e-
15 le pāpavē || Yī dēvana bhūmi-dhanakk=ān=aṁjuven=eṁdu paṁdeyaṁ
16 pāv=aḍarddaṁte manaṁ bedari poḍavaṭṭanaṁ bēga sīghraṁ koṁḍu bā kaṁḍā
17 ele puṁṇyavē Kaviḷāsake [|*] yiṁt=eraḍara beṁge puṁṇya(puṇya)-pāpaṁga-
18 ḷuṁ pārddu koṁḍoyvudu tappadu ḍitha ḍithaṁ satyaṁ=gaṁḍire || yeṁbu-
19 du **guru Siddharāmanāthadēvara vachana** || Svasti[|*]Śrī-prithvī-vallabhaṁ **(vallabha)-**
20 Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Dvārā-
21 vatī-pura-var-ādhīśvara-Yādava-kuḷa-kamaḷa-kaḷikā-vikāś(s)a-bhā-
22 skara-**Gūrjjararāya-vāraṇāṁkuśa-Māḷavarāya-Madana-Trinētra-**
23 **Teluṁgarāya-si(śi)rash(ḥ)-kamaḷa-mūl-ōtpāṭana**-Rāya-jhaga-jhaṁpa-**Rā-**
24 ya-Nārāyaṇ-ēty-ādi-nāmāvaḷī-virājamāna-Prauḍha-pratāpa-
25 Chakravartti-śrī-**Mahādēvarāya**-vijaya-rājy-ōdaē(dayē) || Tat-pā-
26 da-padum(padm)-ōpajīvinō Dēvarājasya pūrbha(vva)-puruśa(sha)-varṇṇanaṁ | Sa-
27 majani Vasishṭha-vaṁśē |[5] Chauḍarasaḥ Śiva-pad-ābja-madhu-bhriṁgaḥ(bhṛiṁgaḥ) [|*]
28 tasmād-Amitarasō=bhūd=anupama-guṇa-ratna- sāgaraḥ suja-
29 naḥ [|*] Tatō=bhūd=Dēva-maṁtrīśaḥ kshīr-ābdhēr=iva Chaṁdramāḥ [|*] **yatu(t)-ka-**
30 rō vibudh-ānaṁda-karaḥ sarvv-ābhayaṁkaraḥ || Svasti [|*] śrī=manu(n)-m-
31 hāpradhānaṁ(ḥ) sakaḷa-jana-tathyō-nidhānaṁ(ḥ) niyōga-Yōgaṁdharaḥ

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Chaḷḷakere 22.
[2] Above, Vol. XXI. p. 11.
[3] B. K. No. 173 of 1932-33.
[4] From ink-impressions.
[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

32 pati-käryya-du(dhu)raṁdharaḥ sarbb(rvv)ädhikäri(ī) sujan-ōpakäri(ī) samärā-
33 dhī(dhi) ta-bhūdēvaḥ śrī-Sōmanāthadēva-labudha(bdha)-vara-prasādō **Dēvarājō(jaḥ)**
34 śrī-Mahādēva-nru(nṛi)p-ājñayā dakshiṇāṁ bhuvaṁ pālayaṁnu(pālayan)
35 śrī-**Siddharām-ādhishṭhitaṁ** (|) **Soṁnalige-nagaram**=avalōkya **śrī-Kapilasiddha-**
36 **Mallikārjjuna**-ālōkana[1]-pūt-āṁtaraṁgō dhaṁrmmē (dharmmē) manō
37 nidhāya tasya dēvasy=āṁga-raṁga-bhōg-ārthaṁ jīrṇṇōddhār-ānātha-
38 saṁrakshaṇa-vāri-satra-nitya-hōm-ādy-anēka-dharmma-b(v)ya-
39 yāya || **Bāsūra-vishaya**-madhya-varttinaṁ prasiddha-sīmā-samaṁ(ma)nvitaṁ **Chaṁgūra**-nāmdhēyaṁ grā-
40 maṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāś(sh)āṇa-samaṁ(sama)nvitaṁ daṁḍa-su(śu)-
41 lk-ādi vividh-āy-āṁnvitaṁ (ānvitaṁ) rāja-purushair=anaṁguli-prē-
42 kshaṇīyaṁ sarbba(vva)-namasyaṁ kru(kṛi)tvā || Śaka(Śakā)d=ārabhya **1[1]86 ne-**
43 **ya Raktākshi-saṁvatsarasya Puś(sh)ya-māsē arddhōdaya-**
44 **tithau** hiraṁṇy(hiraṇy)-ōdaka-pūrbba(vva)kaṁ pra(ā)dāt ||※||
45 Yiruḷuṁ pagaluṁ pariva koḷḷi-kaḷḷan=ādoḍaṁ maṁneya
46 mahāmaṁḍalēsvaran=ādaḍaṁ dhareyan=āḷva Chakravarttiy=āda-
47 ḍaṁ śrīmanu-mahā-mahima Kapilasiddha-Mallēsvaradēvara
48 kshētrada chaturāsrayada nālkuṁ-deseya vaḷeyadoḷage vo-
49 ḷage hoṛag=ippa dhanakke arasugaḷoḷ=akku koḷḷi-kaḷḷaroḷ=akku manaṁ pēsa-
50 de kaḷadukoṁḍen=eṁbātana ātana mātā-mātā-pitrurgga(pitṛiga)-
51 ḷ=ellaṁ° The rest of the *vachana* is a reproduction of ll. 13-19 of the previous *vachana*
to 57 (ll. 4-19) with slight orthographical variations.
57-58 Imprecatory verse beginning with *dāna-pālana*
59 [Sō]dara Sōma-Gauḍa Sōdara Sōma-Gauḍa Hiṭṭukā-
60 ṛarige aṛuvaṇa mattariṁge haṁneraḍu hoṁna mariyā-
61 de kōlu koḷaga dēvarige || Maduvey=āya mān=eṁṇne (eṇṇe) haḍiyade
62 tippe-suṁka ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-sāṁmya (sāmya) [gau]ḍugalige Hiriya-
63 Sōma-Gauṁḍana vuṁbaḷi mattaru eraḍu Chikka-Sōma-Gauṁḍana vuṁ-
64 baḷi mattaru eraḍu yī Gauḍu Hiṭṭukāṛara beḷada beḷasin=āya-
65 vu taṁmadu || Dēvara-maneya Heggaḍe Chauḍarasaṁge mattaru eraḍu
66 maneyumaṁ śrīmāṁnya(mānya)v āgi koṭṭaru ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Line 1) Invocation to Siddharāma.

(Ll. 2-3) Invocation to Śaṁbhu.

(Ll. 4-19) A *vachana* of **Siddharāma.**

(Ll. 19-25) While *Prauḍhapratāpachakravartin* **Mahādēvarāya** who was *Pṛithvīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka,* a chosen lord of Dvārāvatīpura, a vanquisher of **Gūrjara, Māḷava** and **Teluṅga** kings, a Rāya-Nārāyaṇa was ruling the earth, (*and*)

(Ll. 26-34) his minister, the *Mahāpradhāna* **Dēvarāja**, son of Amitarasa and grandson of Chauḍarasa of the Vasishṭha family was governing at his command the southern country, (*the latter*)

(Ll. 35-44) visited **Sonnalige-*nagara***, the former residence of **Siddharāma** and being pleased at the sight of god Kapiḷasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva made a gift of the village **Chaṅgūra** in **Bāsura-*vishaya*** together with a right over treasure-troves and the incomes derived from

[1] Read *Mallikārjjun-ālōkana-*.

fines, *śulka*, etc., for the worship of the deity, renovation of the temple and for water-shed and daily oblations, etc., on the occasion of *arddhōdaya* **on the new moon day of Pushya in the** (*cyclic*) **year Raktākshin, the Śaka year 1186.**

(Ll. 45-58) Another *vachana* of Siddharāma.

(Ll. 59-66) Specifies certain estates and incomes in the village to be enjoyed by some *Gauḍas*, *Hiṭṭukāṟas* and **Chauḍarasa,** the *Heggaḍe* of the temple (*dēvara-mane*).

No. 31.—A NOTE ON THE TIRIYAY ROCK INSCRIPTION.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

This interesting epigraph was brought to light in the year 1931.[1] The rock on which it is engraved is situated on the north-eastern sea-coast, near the village of Tiriyāy, in Ceylon. The inscription has recently been published by Mr. S. Paranavitana.[2] It is written in the Pallava-Grantha script and in the Sanskrit language: both these features are rather uncommon in Ceylon. It is not dated, but is palaeographically assigned to the late seventh century A.D. Like the other few Sanskrit records discovered in the island, the present one also is associated with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Its contents constitute a hymn in praise of a sanctuary, called in the inscription itself *Girikaṇḍi-chaitya*, which had apparently been set up by a guild of sea-faring merchants. The principal deity in the shrine is Sugata (*i.e.*, the Buddha) attended by Avalōkitēśvara and Mañjuvāg. For a detailed discussion on these and kindred points, the reader is referred to the exhaustive study of the record made by Mr. Paranavitana.[2] In the present paper, special attention is drawn to what has somehow escaped the notice of that scholar concerning the text.

Mr. Paranavitana has taken the inscription to be entirely 'in prose', whereas to my observation it has revealed itself to be almost wholly in verse, the last line apparently being the only exception. It will be seen that the composer has displayed his peculiar taste in employing throughout one and the same metre and that of a very rare occurrence, namely *Nardaṭaka*. The engraver, on his part, has exhibited a like trait by allotting one line to each stanza. Thus the first ten lines of the text, the whole of which consists of eleven lines, comprise ten stanzas.

The above discovery has led me to a further conclusion that the record is not fragmentary as Mr. Paranavitana has shown it to be. 'Lines 1 to 4', says he, 'are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged'. One does get such an impression while glancing at the illustration of the record. On comparing the text, however, it becomes manifest that, in spite of its irregular appearance, the document has reached us almost in its entirety. Thus, in contradiction to Mr. Paranavitana's remarks, I may state that no inscribed portion has been lost at the ends of lines 4 to 10. The same can be said of the beginnings of the lines 1 to 4, with only this reservation that the portion in question does seem to have originally contained some sort of engraving on it,[3] and that about eight

[1] *An. Rep. on Arch. Survey of Ceylon for 1931-32* (Pt. IV.—Education, Science and Art (J)), p. 19; *An. Bibliography of Ind. Arch.* (Kern Institute, Leyden), Vol. VII (1932), pp. 34-35; *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 12.

[2] *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and Plate.

[3] I may add that the portion might have contained some letters. The second line of our text begins from [*sa*]*līla*, but before these letters the stone shows traces of at least two more syllables, though as such they are superfluous in our text. It may also be pointed out that there are three signs, one below the other, facing the extremities of the lines 4-6, but they do not have any bearing on the text, although they have the appearance of regular letters *dha*, *dhi* and *ghaḥ* respectively.

aksharas at the commencement of the fourth line have peeled off along with the engraving above.

The space occupied by the inscription roughly corresponds to this shape , the upper rectangle containing the first three lines of the writing and the lower the remaining eight. It will further be noticed that there are some natural cracks and rough patches which existed on the stone even at the time of the incising of the inscription and which the engraver has carefully avoided. For example, blank spaces between *vishāda-haraḥ* and *kanaka-vibhūshaṇa*, l. 6, and *gandha-jalāḥ* and *kara-bhṛita*, l. 7, are original gaps and not the lacunae in the text.

It is obvious that in the light of the observations made above, the task of deciphering the record has become particularly easy, as it always happens in case the composition of a document turns out to be metrical. It is, I believe, possible now to restore the text more or less completely by examining either the original epigraph or a good estampage of it, neither of which has been at my disposal. The photographic reproduction accompanying Mr. Paranavitana's paper being too inadequate for the purpose, it has not been possible for me to amend all the doubtful readings or to read all the portions left undeciphered. Below I suggest some alterations and additions in the text given by Mr. Paranavitana :

L. 2. At the end we may read *[Girikaṇḍi]kam=ity=uditē.*

L. 3. Instead of *-nagara-ja[na*]-* I would read *-[nā]ga[rā]ja-*.

L. 4. The reading appears to be *-nataṁ* where *-nata-* has been read.

L. 5. Perhaps we have to read *siddha-* instead of *sadā*, and *-pūjyatamaḥ* ¦ in place of *-pūjya-tam[ō]*. Before *Girikaṇḍika* we may read *namāmi*. The last letter is final *m*, so indicated by its smaller size. Thus we have to read *=aham* and not *=aham=a(pi)*.

L. 6. The reading is *=madana-dōsha-vishāda-haraḥ* and not *=manō-dōsha-visha-dahara*. So also *-ruchir=nniyatam=* and not *-ruchin=niyatam-* ; *-varam* and not *varaṁ*.

L. 7. Read *-jalāḥ* instead of *-jala*, and *pūjanāṁ* for *pūjāni*. The two letters after *Girikaṇḍi* seem to read *jushaḥ*.

L. 8. Instead of *praṇipātaṁ kurutē* the reading is probably *praṇipatan=kurutē*.

L. 9. The *anusvāra* indicated within square brackets is not found in the original, nor is it necessary. Read *-kāraṇam=* for *-karaṇa[m]=*, and *-gataṁ Sugataṁ(tam)* for *-data-sugata*.

L. 10. The last word is *jagat* and not *jagataḥ*.

It may also be pointed out that after the first half of each stanza, except perhaps the third, fourth and sixth, a single *daṇḍa* is clearly visible on the stone. A superfluous *daṇḍa* is found after the first quarter of the second verse. In certain places Mr. Paranavitana's reading is not tenable as warranted by the metre, *e.g.*, *Buddhāṁkurō* (l. 5). His translation will naturally have to be considerably modified after so many changes in the text.

No. 32.—FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO.

By N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

These copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were unearthed at Badkhuri near **Sōrō** in the Balasore District of Orissa, and recently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, Cuttack. Prof. N. C. Banerji of the College brought the plates to me for decipherment in March 1937, and as they had a thick incrustation of verdigris they were chemically treated in the Indian Museum, Archæological Section. I am obliged to the authorities of the Ravenshaw College Museum for the loan of the plates, as also for the permission to edit them in this Journal.

These are **four plates** (A, B, C and D), **representing four separate documents, each complete** in itself. Their respective sizes are as follows:—A, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$; B, $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$; C, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ and D, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. The plates are engraved on both sides, there being 19 lines of writing in A, 21 lines in B, 18 lines in C and 21 lines in D. Originally each plate had a seal attached to it at the left hand side, but the seals of plates A, B and C are missing. Plate D still retains the **seal,** but it is very much worn out and its details are completely obliterated.

The **characters** are a form of the Northern alphabet, representing an earlier phase of the writing as compared with the Gañjām plates of Śaśāṅka.[1] Palæographically, Plate A, which shows slightly earlier forms of letters, should be placed first in the series, while Plates B, C and D between A and the Gañjām plates. The chief points of difference between the Gañjām and the Sōrō plates in respect of alphabet may be noted. The characters of the Gañjām plates are of 'the acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which, as pointed out by Bühler,[2] forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet. These acute-angled letters are absent in the present records. In the Gañjām plates the medial *i* and *ī* strokes are more developed and often extend below the head of the letter; and the letter *j* is of the later type in which the top bar is reduced to a mere stroke, and the bottom bar, and often also the middle bar, hang down, in which respects it resembles the same letter in Plates B and C. Some examples showing these tendencies of the letter *j* occur also in Plates A and D; but in Plate A, and in some cases in Plates B, C and D, the top bar is not reduced. The letter *r* in the Gañjām plates has a stroke added to its base on the left side, which is absent in the Sōrō plates. Plate A shows uniformly the earlier tripartite form of *y*, while in Plates B, C and D it is of the later bipartite type akin to that used in the Gañjām plates. The letter *ś* in the Gañjām plates shows in the majority of cases an oval loop at the top, while in the Sōrō Plates it still retains its angular form, often having the shape of a perfect rectangle. The Gañjām plates are dated in the Gupta year 300, *i.e.*, A. D. 619-20. Plates B, C and D, which should be placed somewhat earlier than this date, may be assigned to the **second half of the sixth century,** while Plate A which must be still earlier, to the **first half of the sixth century.** Palæographically, Plate A closely resembles the Paṭiākellā grant of *Mahārāja* Śivarāja.[3]

The **language** of the copper plates is Sanskrit. Each has the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, but the rest of the document is in prose. As regards **orthography,** a final *m* is occasionally joined to the following consonant, a consonant following or preceding *r* is occasionally doubled, and both *b* and *v* are uniformly expressed by the sign for the latter, the only exception being in Plate A, in which the two letters are clearly distinguished in *bahubhir=vvasudhā* (l. 16).

The **general character** of the four plates, so far as their phraseology is concerned, is more or less uniform. This is to be expected in view of the fact that they belong not only to the same age but also to the same locality. First is mentioned the place of issue of the charter, which is followed by the name and titles of the donor. Next is introduced the name of the province or subdivision wherein the grant is made, and in this connection are enumerated the various officers forming the administrative machinery of the province to whom the document is addressed. The name of the village as well as the names of the donees in whose favour the charter (*tāmrapaṭṭa*) is issued is then given. The prose portion of the plates recording all these details of grant is followed by benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the names of persons entrusted with drafting of the document, mechanical execution of the copper sheet by heating, and also

[1] Above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 144.

[2] *Indian Palæography*, English translation, p. 49.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 285 and Pl.

(in Plate C) with engraving. The date of the grant is specified either at the end (in A), or immediately before the names of the draughtsman and others (in Plates B and C), or just before the commencement of the metrical portion (in Plate D)

Plate A records a grant of eight *timpiras*[1] of land by *Mahārāja* **Śambhuyaśas** of the **Mudgala family** in a village called **Ghaṇṭākarṇṇakshētra** adjoining **Sarēphā**, evidently the headquarters of the same *vishaya*, in **Uttara-Tōsalī.** It was issued from the royal camp at **Tamparavaḍama** to a Brahmin named **Bharaṇasvāmin,** belonging to the Bharadvāja-*gōtra* and the Kāṇva-*śākhā* (of the Yajurvēda). The draft was made by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Nārāyaṇa** and the plate was 'heated' by the *Mahattara* **Vidēśasvāmin.** It is dated in **the year 260, the 30th day of Kārttika.** This date in view of the palæography is referable **to the Kalachuri era** and becomes therefore equivalent to A. D. 508-9.

Plate B records the grant of a village called **Aḍayāra** situated in the **Sarēph-***āhāra-vishaya* in **Uttara-Tōsalī** which again formed a part of the **Ōḍra-***vishaya.* The donees are **Dhruvamitrasvāmin, Āruṅgasvāmin** and others of the Vātsya-*gōtra* and the Vājasanēya-*charaṇa* (of the Yajurvēda). The grant was issued by the *Mahābalādhikṛita, Antaraṅga* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Sōmadatta,** from his camp at **Āmratakshaka.** It was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Kēśava** and 'heated' by the *Mahattaraka* **Sūryadēva.** It is dated in **the year 15, the 13th day of Vaiśākha.**

Plate C is another grant of the same *Mahābalādhikṛita, Antaraṅga, Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Sōmadatta.** It was issued from a place called **Śāñchāṭaka,** the grant consisting of a village called **Bahirvvāṭaka,** situated in **Varukāṇa**[2]-*vishaya* in **Sarēph-***āhāra.* The donees are **Dhruvamitrasvāmin** and **Āruṅgasvāmin** of the Vātsya-*gōtra* and the Vājasanēya-*charaṇa* (of the Yajurvēda). The grant was written by **Śubhasiṁha** and 'heated' by the *Pēḍāpālaka* **Divākara,** while the engraving was carried out by **Nārāyaṇa.** It is dated in **the year 15, the 24th day of Māgha.** It should be noted that in this plate Varukāṇa-*vishaya* is said to have been within Sarēph-*āhāra* which itself was also a *vishaya,* as we know already from Plates A and B.

Plate D was issued from a place called **Virañjā** by the *Mahāpratīhāra, Mahārāja* **Bhānudatta.** The same **Bahirvāṭaka** village, which is mentioned in Plate C as having been granted to Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgasvāmin, is hereby granted once again. The donees this time are **Priyamitrasvāmin, Vāṭamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin** and **Āruṅgamitrasvāmin,** all of them belonging to the Vatsa-*gōtra* and Vājasanēya-*charaṇa.* In this plate the village is stated as being within the **Sarēph-***āhāra-vishaya* and not Varukāṇa-*vishaya* as in Plate C. The grant was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Aruṇadatta** and 'heated' by the *Pēḍāpālaka* **Pratishṭhitachandra.** The date is **the year 5, the 17th day of Phālguna.**

It has been already stated that the year 260 of Plate A, which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* Śambhuyaśas, should be assigned to the Kalachuri era of A.D. 248, the date thus corresponding to A.D. 508-9. The difficulty in assigning the year to a later reckoning such as the Gupta or the Harsha era is obvious, because palæographically the record is not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. The same difficulty also arises in the case of the Paṭiākellā plate of *Mahārāja* Śivarāja of the year 283. R. D. Banerji, who has edited it, refers the date to the

[1] The word *timpira* which occurs also in the Pārikud and Nivinā grants (above, Vol. XI, p. 286, l. 44 of the text and Vol. XXI, p. 35 and n. 1) denotes a unit of land measurement.

[2] [See below p. 201 n. 5.—Ed.]

Gupta era,[1] but as pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] the palæography of the record is not in favour of this assumption. The latter has accordingly suggested that the year 283 should be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to this view, with which I entirely agree, the Paṭiākellā plate should be placed twenty-three years after the present record.

The **Paṭiākellā plate** records a grant of land in Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī by *Mahārāja* Śivarāja. In line 3 of the plate occurs a passage containing the name of the immediate overlord of Śivarāja, which has been read by Banerji as *Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Śagguyayyanē śāsati*. This he translated as, "when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayyana . . . . was ruling". In an editorial note on Banerji's article Dr. Sten Konow observed, "I am unable to see *Śagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Śaṁbhuyayyē=nu*." The plate which is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was subsequently re-examined by Banerji, but he found himself unable to accept Konow's emended version.[3] Recently I had occasion to examine the record very closely in connection with my study of the Sōrō plates, when I found that neither of the two readings could be accepted. The actual text in the Paṭiākellā plate is *Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Śambhuyaśasy=anuśāsati, i.e.*, "during the rule of the illustrious **Śambhuyaśas**, the great devotee of Mahēśvara". There is no doubt that this Śambhuyaśas, who also belonged to the Mudgala family, is identical with *Mahārāja* Śambhuyaśas of the Sōrō plate. The expression *Paramadēvat-ādhidaivata* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* used in reference to him in line 4 of the Paṭiākellā plate shows that Śambhuyaśas held the position of a paramount ruler. It should be noted that he has only the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* prefixed to his name in this grant, while in the Sōrō plate he is described as a *Mahārāja*. It is difficult to say what position he precisely held in the year 260 when the latter record was issued. It is likely that he enjoyed a sort of independent status. The combined evidence of the Sōrō and Paṭiākellā plates shows that King Śambhuyaśas ruled over the whole of Tōsalī. The expression *Paramadaivata-va*(*ba*)*ppa-pādānudhyāta*,[4] *i.e.*, 'meditating on the feet of his father who was (*to him*) like a great divinity,' used in reference to him in line 5 of the Sōrō plate may be compared with similar phrases occurring in the land grants of the kings of Kaliṅga, *e.g.*, the Komarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman[5] which describe him as *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ*.

Mahārāja **Bhānudatta** of Plate D, who calls himself also *Mahāpratīhāra*, must have been a vassal chief like Śivarāja of the Paṭiākellā plate. That he was under some *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *i.e.*, a sovereign ruler, follows from lines 8-9 and 13 of Plate D, although we do not know who this ruler was. Of a somewhat lower rank was **Sōmadatta,** the donor of Plates B and C, who is styled *Mahābalādhikṛita*, *Antaraṅga* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. His overlord, who likewise remains unknown, is referred to as *Paramadaivat-ādhidaivata* or *Paramadaivata*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Neither Bhānudatta nor Sōmadatta is known from any other sources. There could not be a difference of more than a generation between these two persons, as the donees Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgasvāmin of Plate C issued by Sōmadatta were evidently identical with the donees of the same names mentioned in Plate D of Bhānudatta.

As is well known, **Tōsalī** is first mentioned in Aśōka's Rock Edicts at Dhauli near Bhuvanēśvara in Purī District which itself must have been comprised in that province. From several copper plates from Orissa it appears that the province was divided into two sections, namely,

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 287.

[2] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160 (No. 1203) and n. 2.

[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 118.

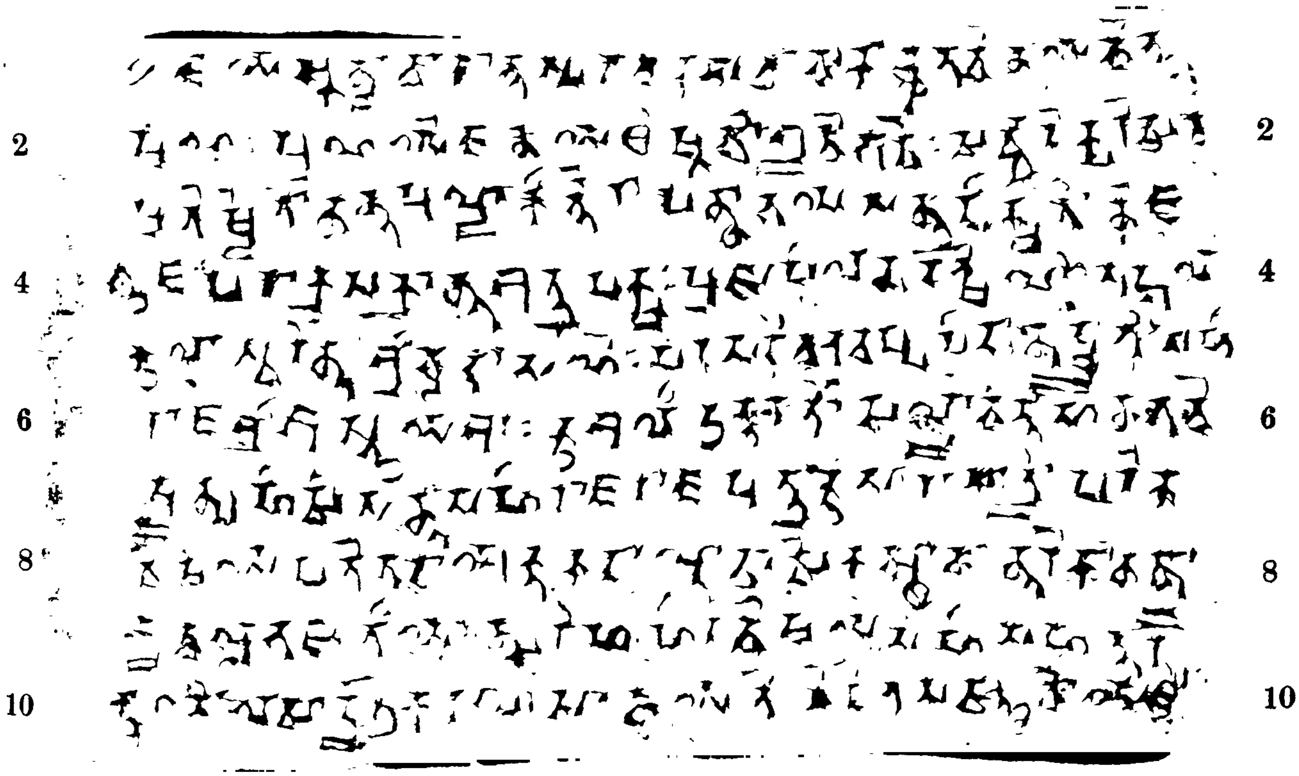
[4] For similar expressions used in other records see Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 186-187, note.

[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

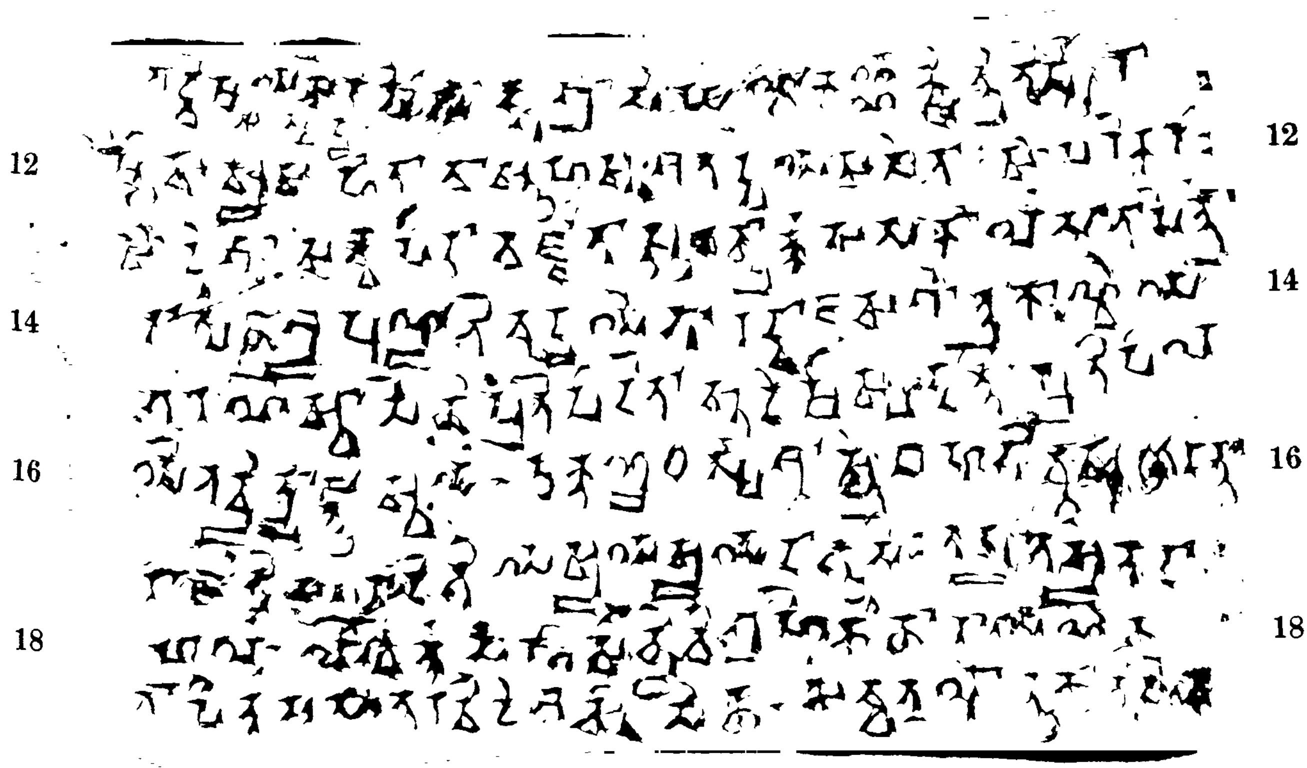
FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO:

A. PLATE OF MAHARAJA SAMBHUYASAS; THE YEAR 260.

Obverse.



Reverse.

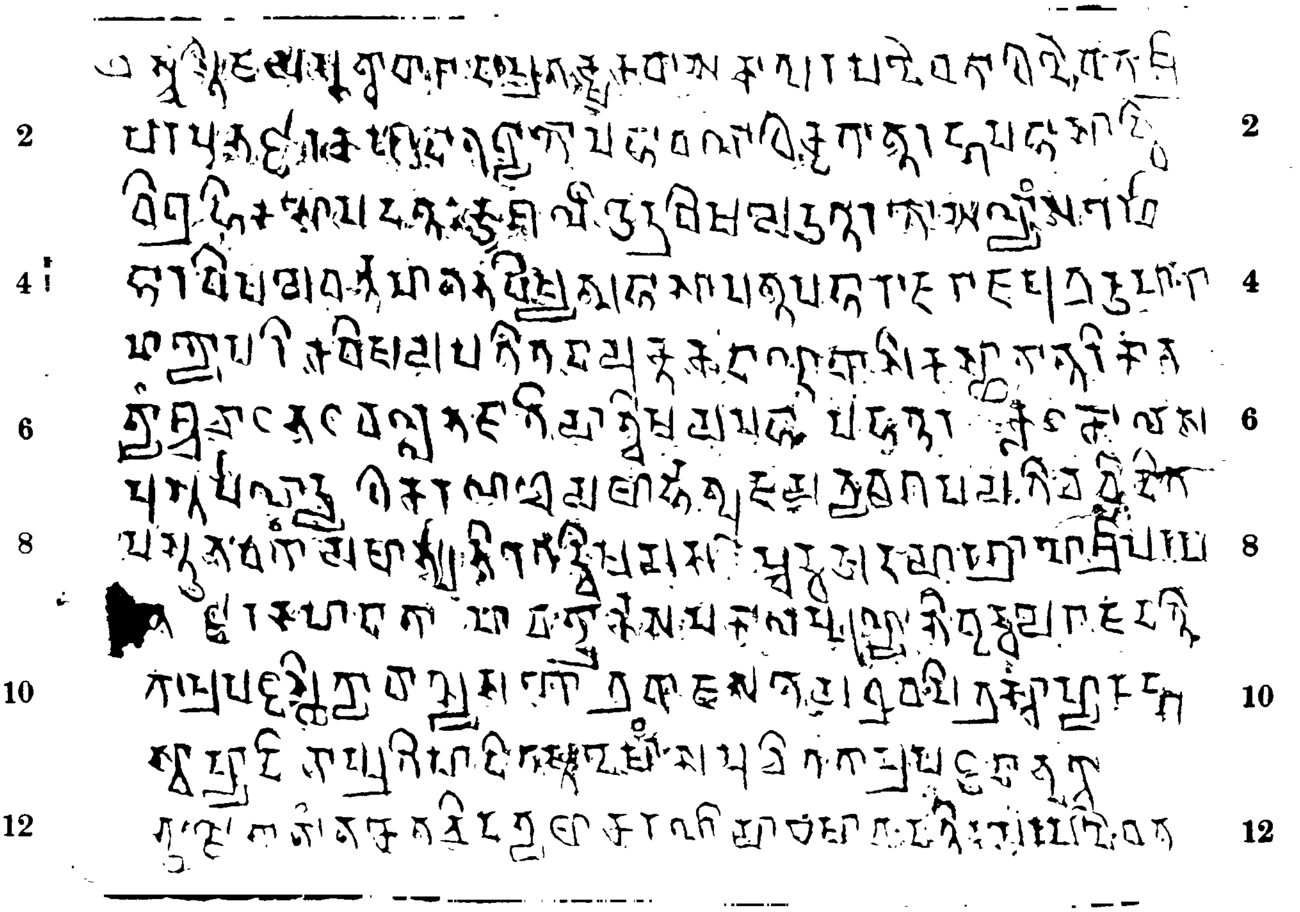


N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

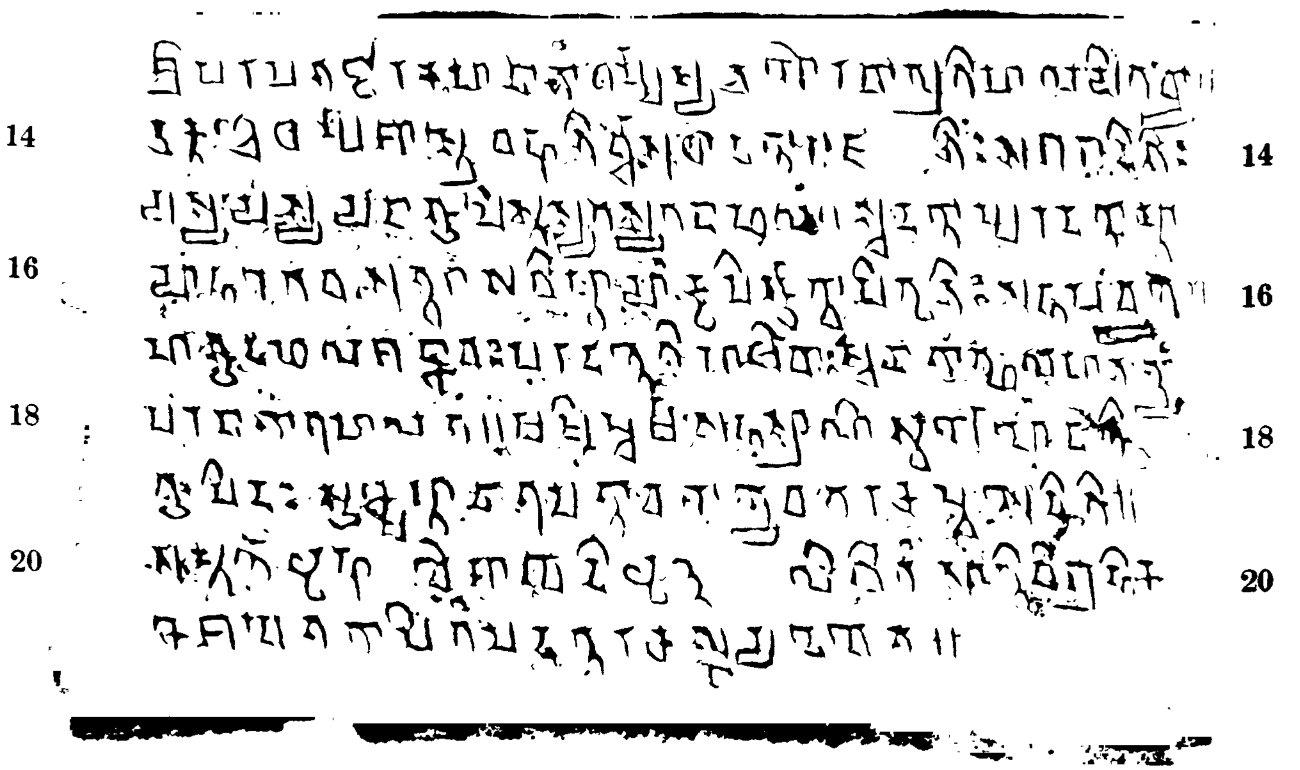
REG. No. 1493 E'37-705

B. Plate of Somadatta; the year 15.

Obverse.



Reverse.



SCALE: SEVEN-EIGHTH

Uttara-Tōsalī and Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī. The latter included Kōṅgōda-*maṇḍala*, which according to some scholars was to the south-west of Purī and might have extended as far as the borders of the Gañjām District.[1] As regards the extent of Uttara-Tōsalī, light is thrown by the Neulpur grant of Śubhākaradēva[2] and also by the present copper plates. The Neulpur plate records the grant of certain villages in Uttara-Tōsalī which are to be located in the Balasore District.[3] All the four plates published here refer to grants of land in Sarēph-*āhāra* which also was situated in Uttara-Tōsalī. **Sarēphā** (or Sarēpha) should be identified with Sōrō in Balasore, in the vicinity of which the present copper plates were discovered. In the Revised Rent-roll of Shah Sujah (*circa* A.D. 1650) Sōrō appears as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesar. It is also mentioned as Sōrō-daṇḍapāṭa in the *Mādaḷā-pāñji*.[4] Even now Sōrō is an important station in the Balasore District. **Varukāṇa,**[5] the name of the adjoining *vishaya*, is perhaps to be identified with the present Baruā̃ pargana which appears as Barwa, a *mahal* under Sarkar Bhadrak, in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.[6] The other localities I am unable to identify.

A.—Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas ; the year 260.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[7][|*] jaya-skandhāvārāt=**Tamparavaḍama**(?)-vāsakāch=chhruta-vinaya-vibhū-
2 shaṇaḥ praṇayi-jana-yathēshṭa-bhōgya-vibhavaḥ sarvva-dik-parisara-
3 pratishṭhit-ānanta-puṇya-kīrttir=āpann-ābhaya-mantra-dīkshitō nija-
4 bhuja-parākrama-krānta-śattru-pakshaḥ prajā-pālana-dakshiṇō **Mudgala**-[8]
5 kul-āmva(mba)r-ēndu-śrī-chūḍā-maṇiḥ paramadaivata-va(ba)ppa-pād-ānuddhyātō Mahā-
6 rāja-śrī-**Śambhuyaśāḥ** kuśalī **Uttara-Tōsalyāṁ** varttamāna-bhavi-
7 shyan-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmāty-ōparika-
8 vishayapati-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-sthānāntarikān=anyā[ṁ]-
9 ś=cha vallabha-jātīyān=**Sarēpha-(ph-ā)hāra**-vishaya-mahāmahattara-
10 [kū]ṭakōlas-ādy-adhikaraṇaṁ mānayati viditam=astu vō yath=ai-

Reverse.

11 tad-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha[9]-**Sarēph**-āsaṅga-grāmē[10] **Ghaṇṭākarṇṇa-kshēttrē** timpir-ā-
12 shṭau sasya-sahitā vāstu-hasta-śata-dvaya-samētāḥ s-ōparikarāḥ
13 s-ōddēśā[ḥ] sarvva-pīḍā-varjjitā ā-chandr-ārkka-samakālaṁ mātā-pittrō-
14 r=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Bhāradvāja-sagōttra-Kāṇvēya-
15 **Bharaṇasvāminē** pratipāditās=tad=ēsh=āsmad-dattiḥ pratipāla-

[1] *Cf.* above, Vol. XXI, p. 38.

[2] Above, Vol. XV, p. 1.

[3] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 1934, p. 3.

[4] M. Chakravarti, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1916, pp. 46, 48.

[5] [The reading may be Vāru(or Varu)kōṇa. Names of villages ending in *kōṇa* are not uncommon ; cf. *Bukudravakōṇa* in the ' Indian Museum Plates of Dēvēndravarman ' (above, p. 74) and *Vārahakōṇā* in the ' Saktipur copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasēna ' (above, Vol. XXI, p. 214). It may be pointed out that there is a place called Mārkona (on the B. N. R.) only ten miles to the south-west of Sōrō.—Ed.]

[6] See *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1916, p. 44.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] For this reading I am indebted to the Editor.

[9] This word, which was omitted at first, has been added below.

[10] [Reading appears to be *Sarēph-ō[tsa]ṅga-grāmē*, *i.e.*, in the village in the vicinity of Sarēphā.—Ed.]

16 yitavy=ēty=ājñā svayaṁ | uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā
17 rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā
18 phalaṁ(m) [|*1] likhittaṁ(taṁ) mahāsāndhivigrahika-**Nārāyaṇēna**
19 tāpittaṁ(taṁ) mahattara-**Vidē[śa]svāmin[ā]** | **saṁvva(va)t 200 60 Kārtti di 30**

B.—Plate of Sōmadatta ; the year 15.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[1] svasti | jaya-skandhāvārād=**Āmratakshaka**-vāsakāt=parama-daivatādhidaivata-śrī-
2 Para[ma]bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātō mahāva(ba)lādhikṛit-āntaraṅga-mahāsāndhi-
3 vigrahika-**Sōmadattaḥ** kuśalī **Ōḍra-vishayē Uttara-Tōsalyāṁ Sarēph-ā-**
4 **hāra**-vishayē varttamāna-bhavishyan-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputra-kumārā-
5 māty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyū(yu)ktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-sthānāntarikān=a-
6 nyāṁś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyān=vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūṭakōlasa-
7 pustapāl-ādy-adhikaraṇañ=cha yath-ārham=pūjayaty=avagamayati cha vidita-
8 m=astu bhavatāṁ yath=āsmābhir=ētad-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-**Aḍayāra**-grāmō(maḥ) śrī-Parama-
9 [bha]ṭṭāraka-pādānām=ā-chandr-ārka-sama-kālam=puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē rāja-datti-
10 tāmra-paṭṭa-sthityā Vātsya-sagōtra-Vājasanēya-**Dhruvamitrasvāmy-Āruṅga-**
11 **svāmy**-ādīnām=pratipāditas=tad=ēshāṁ samuchita-tāmra-paṭṭa-dā[na*]n=datvā(ttvā)
12 bhuñjānānāṁ na kēnachid=anyathā karaṇīyā ēshā cha dattiḥ paramadaivata-

Reverse.

13 śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā ||
14 uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*]
15 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(m)|| [|*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā
16 yō harēta vasundharāṁ(m) [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [2*]
17 Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ[|*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ
18 para-dān-ānupālanaṁ(m) || [3*] Shashṭim=varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati
19 bhūmidaḥ [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēd=iti || (t || [4*]iti)
20 **samvat 10 5 Vaiśākha di 10 3** likhitaṁ sāndhivigrahika-
21 **Kēśavēna** tāpitaṁ mahattaraka-**Sūryadēvēna** ||

C.—Another Plate of Sōmadatta ; the year 15.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[1] svasti[*] **Śāñchāṭakāt**=paramadaivata-śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-
2 va(ba)lādhikṛit-āntaraṅga-mahāsāndhivigrahika-**Sōmadattaḥ** kuśalī **Sarēph-āhāra-**
3 samba(mba)ddha-**Varukāṇa**[2]-vishayē varttamāna-bhavishyan-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rāja-
4 puttra-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-sthānāntarikā-
5 n=anyāṁś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyān=vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūṭakōlasa-
6 pustapāl-ādy-adhikaraṇaṁ cha yathārham=pūjayaty=avagamayati cha viditam=astu bhava-

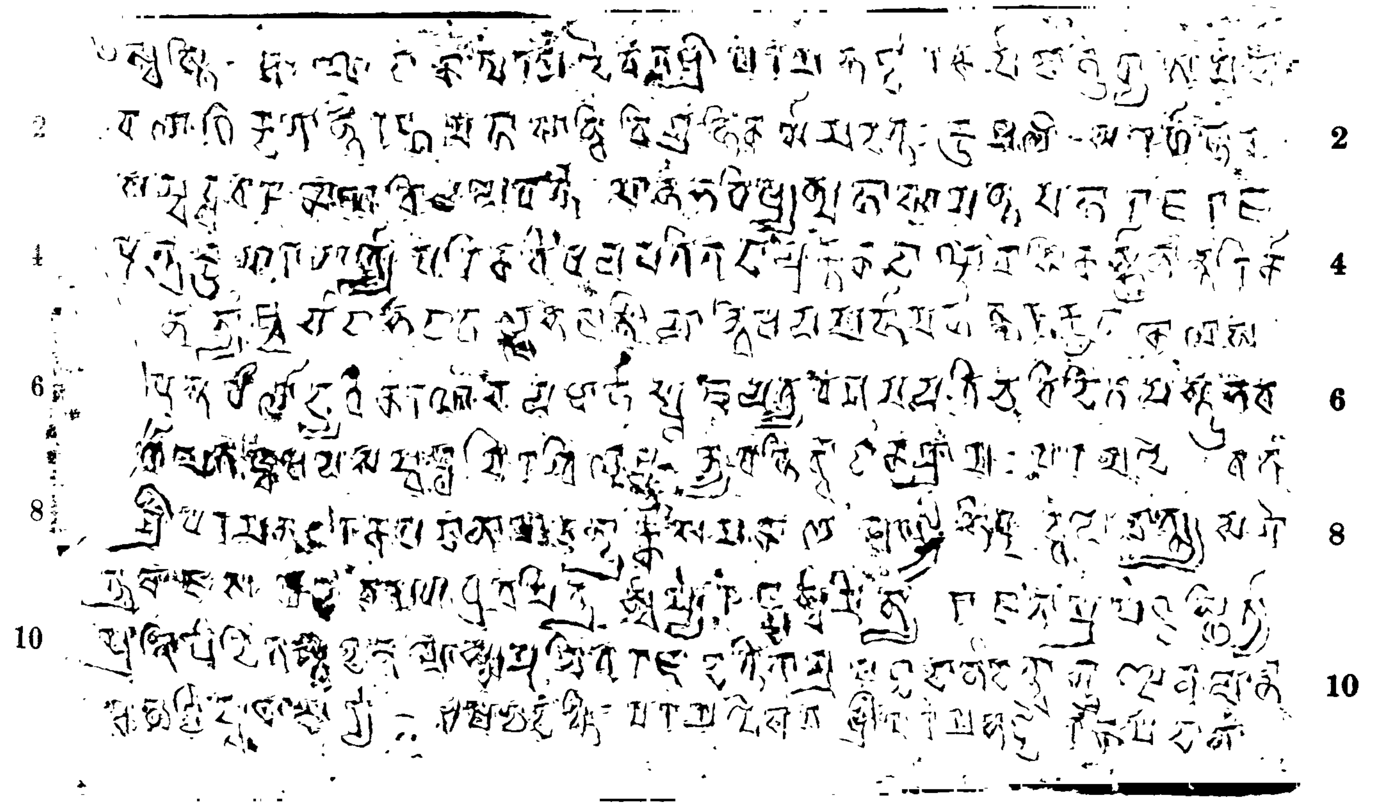
[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] [See above, p. 201 n. 5.—Ed.]

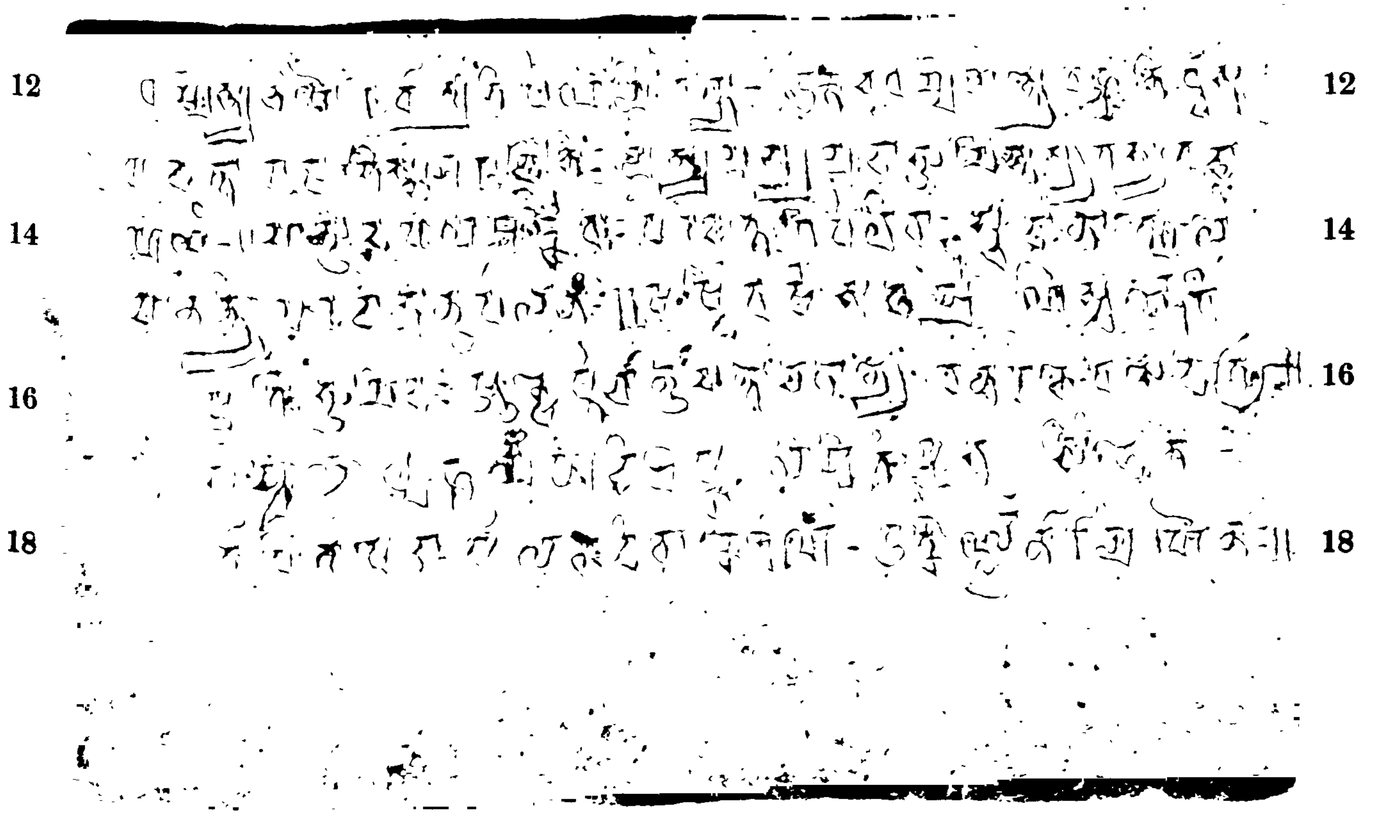
Four Copper Plates from Soro:

C. Another Plate of Somadatta; the year 15.

Obverse.

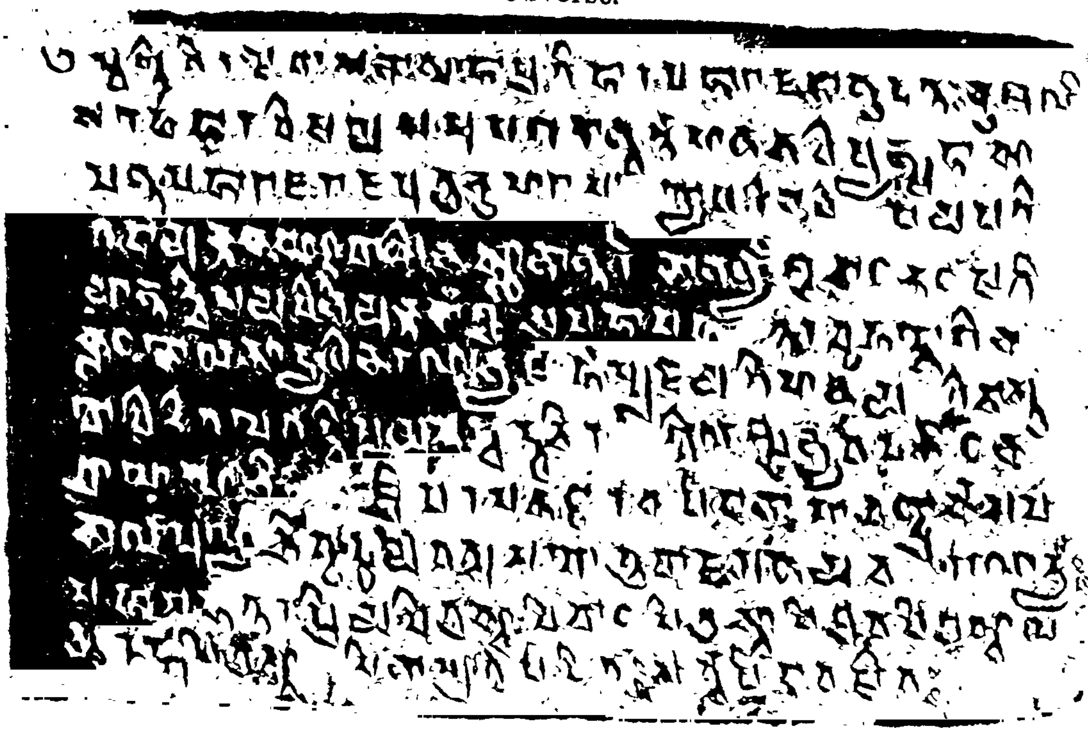


Reverse.

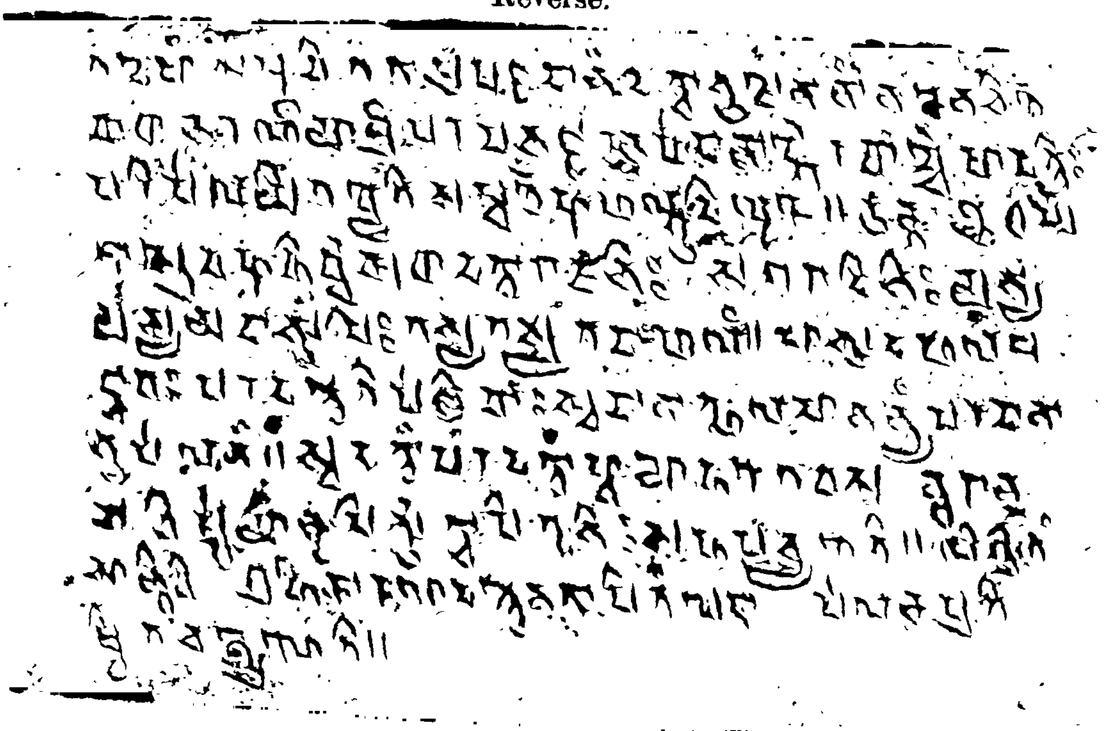


D. Plate of Maharaja Bhanudatta; the year 5.

Obverse.



Reverse.



ALMOST ACTUAL SIZE.

7 tām=ētad-vishaya-saṁva(mba)ddha-chira-khila-[śū]nyō **Va(Ba)hirvvāṭaka**-grāmaḥ parama-daivata-
8 śrī-Paramabhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-pa(pā)dānām=ā-chandr-ārkka-samakālaṁ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vātsya-sagō-
9 ttra-Vājasanēya-charaṇa-**Dhruvamitrasvāmy-Āruṅgasvāmibhyāṁ** rāja-tāmra-paṭṭa-sthityā
10 pratipāditas=tad=anayōs=samuchita-rājadatti-tāmra-paṭṭa-dānaṁ dattvā bhuñjānayōr=na
11 kēnachid=vā(bā)dhā käryā ēshā cha dattiḥ paramadaivata-śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ

Reverse.

12 dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā I uktaṁ cha dharmma-śāstrē[I*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasu-
13 dhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ[I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
14 phalaṁ(m) || [1*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ[I*] sva-dānāt=phala-
15 m=ānantyaṁ para-dān-ānupālanaṁ(m) || [2*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē ti-
16 shṭhati bhūmidaḥ[I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti(t || || [3*] iti)
17 **saṁvat 10 5 Māgha di 20 4** likhitaṁ **Śubhasiṁhēna** I
18 tāpitaṁ pēḍāpālaka-**Divākarēṇa** I utkīrṇṇaṁ **Nārāyaṇēna** ||

D.—Plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta ; the year 5.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[1] svasti[I*] **Virañjā**-vāsakān=mahāpratīhāra-mahārāja-**Bhānudattaḥ** kuśalī
2 **Sarēph-āhāra**-vishayē samupagatān=varttamāna-bhavishayan-mahāsā-
3 manta-mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishayapati-
4 tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-sthānāntarikān=anyāṁś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-jātī-
5 yān(yāṁs)=tad-vishaya-viniyuktakāṁś=cha sa-mahāmahattara-vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgika-
6 kūṭakōlas-ādy-adhikaraṇān=yathārham=pūjayati mānayati ch=āstu
7 vō viditaṁ=ētad-vishaya-saṁva(mba)ddha-chira-khilā(la)-śūnya-**Va(Ba)[hirvā]ṭaka**-
8 grāmō=smābhiḥ śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānām=ā-chandr-ārka-sama
9 kālaṁ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vatsa-sagōttra-Vājasanēya-charaṇēbhyaḥ
10 mahāmahattara-**Priyamitrasvāmi-Vāṭamitrasvāmi-Dhruvamitrasvāmi-**
11 **Āruṁgamitrasvāmināṁ**=pratipāditaḥ[2] sarvva-pīḍā-varjitaḥ[I*]

Reverse.

12 tad=ēshāṁ samuchita-tāmra-paṭṭa-dānaṁ datvā(ttvā) bhuñjānānāṁ na kēnachit
13 vā(bā)dhā karaṇīyā śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṅ=gauravāch=ch=aishā dattiḥ
14 paripālayitavy=ēti **saṁvat 5 Phalgu di 10 7** || uktañ=cha dharmma-
15 śāstrē[I*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[I*] yasya
16 yasya yadā bhūmiḥ(mis=)tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [1*] Mā bhūd=aphala-sha(śa)-
17 ṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ[I*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-dān-ā-
18 nupālanaṁ(nam) || [2*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām[I*]
19 sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē=ti[3] || [3*] likhitaṁ
20 sāndhivigrahik-**Āruṇadattēna** tāpitaṁ pēḍāpālaka-**Prati-**
21 **shṭhitachandrēṇ**=ēti ||

[1] Expressed by a symbol. [2] Read *-svāmibhyaḥ pratipāditaḥ.* [3] Read *pachyatē* ||[3*] *iti.*

No. 33.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Two sets of copper-plates, each consisting of three plates, complete with ring and seal, were discovered in 1935 in the possession of a Muhammadan of **Sirso,** a village two miles north of Murtizāpur, the head-quarters of a *tālukā* of the same name in the Akōlā District, Berār. They have since been acquired by the Local Government and deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur. I am obliged to the Curator of the Museum for permission to edit them. To distinguish the sets, both of which were found at Sirso, I name them here as Sīsavai grant and Lōhārā grant after the villages granted by them.

A.—Sīsavai grant of Gōvinda III ; Śaka Year 729.

These are **three copper-plates** each measuring about 12·6″ in length and 6·5″ in breadth. Their ends are either raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side and the second on both the sides. About ·6″ from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about ·9″ in diameter for the ring which has joined it to other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about ·5″ in thickness and 2·9″ in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round **seal** 1·6″ in diameter. The latter contains in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuḍa, facing full front and squatting on a lotus. He carries a serpent in each hand. The ring was cut before the plates reached the Museum, but there is no reason to doubt its connection with the grant. The weight of the three plates is 213 *tolas* and that of the ring and the seal 56 *tolas*.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there and especially in the centre of both the sides of the second plate are damaged by verdigris, but they can be read without much difficulty from the traces left behind. There are sixty-two lines in all, of which sixteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. Some of them can be marked on the back of the first and the third plate. Their size varies from ·2″ to ·3″. The writer has treated ornamentally the *mātrās* for medial *ē*, *ai*, and *ō* and the curve for medial *i*, especially in the last line on each inscribed surface. It may be noted in this connection that the encircling curve for medial short *i* resembles that seen in the Khāmkhēḍ plates.[1] A floral device is incised to fill up the empty space to the left of the hole opposite ll. 24-26. The writer has inadvertently omitted letters and even words in some places ; see *e. g.*, °*py=akṛishṇa-charitō bhuvi* in l. 2. In some cases these mistakes are corrected by incising the omitted letter immediately below ; see *e.g.*, *va* in *dṛishṭ-āśā-vadhayaḥ* in l. 17, *ni* in *nijāṁ* and *pa* in *naya-parō* both in l. 25. In a few cases letters are unnecessarily repeated ; see *e.g.*, °*py=amalayā* in l. 7.

The **characters** are of the North Indian alphabet and resemble those of the Nēsarī[2] and Rādhanpur[3] plates of Gōvinda III. The forms of the initial *i* in *iva* (l. 8), the rare *jh* in *nirjhara* (l. 11), *th* in *yathā* (l. 33) and of *ph* in *phalakē* (l. 22) are noteworthy. The superscript *r* everywhere appears above the line ; see *e.g.*, *iṁdur=yathā* (l. 15). The form of the superscript *ñ* is not different from that of *ṇ* ; see *chañchalañ=cha* (l. 50). A final consonant is generally indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of its vertical. The sign of *visarga* is in many places used as a mark of

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 93.

[2] G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I., pp. 15 f.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff.

punctuation. The **language** is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines and part of the thrity-fourth, which contain the eulogistic portion, are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The record ends with a line in prose which states the names of the writer and the *dūtaka*. In respect of **orthography** we may note that (*a*) the consonant following *r* is in some cases doubled, *e.g.*, in *anyair=nna*, l. 8, *durmmārggaṁ*, l. 12 ; (*b*) one of the two similarly sounding members of a conjunct is often dropped ; see *e.g.*, *rudhvā*, l. 10, *mataṁ* for *mattaṁ*, l. 12, *-valabhō* for *vallabhō*, l. 14 ; (*c*) the final consonant is wrongly omitted in many places ; see *e.g.*, *Pallavā*, l. 11 ; (*d*) the final *n* is either dropped (*e.g.*, in *vidvā*, l. 25) or changed to *anusvāra* as in *tasmiṁ*, l. 19, *śilīmukhāṁ*, l. 23, etc. ; (*e*) the final *visarga* is omitted, in accordance with a *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII,3, 36, in *Karṇṇ-ādha-sthita*, l. 7 and *-vibhūshitā sphuṭam-*, l. 18, etc.; but wrongly in some cases ; see *e.g.*, *pāda sutaḥ*, l. 15 ; (*f*) the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in many places (*e.g.*, *śṛiyam*, l. 29) and *vice versâ*, though rarely, as in *vriti*, l. 30 ; (*g*) *y* is used for *j* in *yēshṭhō*, l. 6 and *vice versâ* in *ākalajya*, l. 50 ; (*h*) *v* is used for *b* throughout (*e.g.*, *vāṇāsana-*, l. 23), and the palatal *ś* for the dental *s* ; see *e.g.*, *śudūram*, l. 13, and *vice versâ* in *śva-śarm-ēchchhayā*, l. 30. In one case the lingual sibilant takes the place of the palatal in *prāvēshya*, l. 43. As instances of wrong *sandhi* may be cited *Viṁdhy-ādrēsh=kaṭakē*, l. 26, *pūrvaish=paraiḥ*, l. 27, *narakavāsō syāt*, l. 57, etc.

The plates were issued from **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda (III)**, who is described in ll. 34-35 as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* with the *birudas* the illustrious *Pṛithvīvallabha*, the illustrious *Prabhūtavarsha* and the illustrious *Vallabhanarēndra*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Dhārāvarsha.** The **object** of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village **Sīsavai** together with the site of habitation in another named **Mōragaṇa** on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the **full moon day of Bhādrapada in the cyclic year Vyaya in the (expired) Śaka year 729** (expressed in words only). This date corresponds to Saturday the 21st August A.D. 807, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated. The cyclic year according to the southern luni-solar system was, however, Sarvajit and not Vyaya[1] The latter cyclic year can be connected with the expired Śaka year only by the so-called northern luni-solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,[2] was current in the south down to Śaka 855.

The donated village was situated in the Māṇaka *vishaya* and was bounded on the east by the village Haripura, on the south by Khairaḍē, on the west by Athakavāḍa and on the north by Lakhaipari. The **donee** was the illustrious **Risiyapabhaṭṭa** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a religious student of the Ṛigvēda, who was the son of Annasāvi-bhaṭṭa and the grandson of Vishṇu who had studied the four Vēdas. He is described as a resident of Dhārāśiva and a member of the community of the *Chāturvidyas* of that place. The charter was written by **Aruṇāditya,** the son of Vatsarāja. The *dūtaka* was the illustrious **Jaḍavulabhaṭṭa.**

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[1] If notwithstanding the wording *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta*, etc., we take the Śaka year as current as proposed in some cases by Kielhorn (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 266) the date would correspond to the 1st September A.D. 806, on which day also there was a lunar eclipse. Besides, the cyclic year was Vyaya, as required, according to the southern luni-solar system ; but as in all other dates of Gōvinda's reign the Śaka years cited are expired and the system followed is the so-called northern luni-solar system, I prefer to interpret the date as above.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 268-269. The cyclic year mentioned in the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri plates also is Vyaya. As we find the northern luni-solar system used regularly in all other records of Gōvinda III, the same was in all probability adopted in the Waṇi-Diṇḍori plates. The expired Śaka year intended to be mentioned in that grant was, therefore, 729 as in the present plates, but the word *ēkōna°* was inadvertently omitted before *triṁśat* in l. 46 of that record. Or, the year 730 may be taken as current, notwithstanding the wording *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta*. The lunar eclipse which, on no hypothesis, occurred on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 11) was another mistake of the scribe. The nearest lunar eclipse was that which occurred in the previous Phālguna.

Unlike the earlier Paiṭhan[1] and Añjanavatī[2] plates the present plates contain a long description of the conquests of Gōvinda III. They do not, however, make any addition to our knowledge of the events in his reign as the draft followed here is identical with that used in the Rādhanpur plates, the number of introductory verses being exactly the same. The earliest record in which this draft is known to have been adopted is the Maṇṇē plates[3] of Śaka 724 recording a grant of Gōvinda III's brother Śaucha-Khambha (or Stambha). The draft continued to be used regularly in all the plates issued subsequently by Gōvinda III from his capital.[4] It was also generally used by the Governors of the Karṇāṭaka. The longest form of this draft is that seen in the Nēsarī plates where we find five verses (*viz.*, vv 21-25) not occurring in any other grant. As shown below, the same draft is used in the Lōhārā grant. Its importance in fixing the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign will be discussed later on.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Śrībhavana** has now been satisfactorily identified with Sarbhōn in the Broach District.[5] Vēṅgī, the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas, is too well-known to need identification. I have elsewhere[6] suggested an identification of **Mayūrakhaṇḍī**, the capital of Gōvinda III, different from the one originally proposed by Bühler. **Sīsavai**, the donated village, is evidently Sirso where the plates were discovered. **Mōragaṇa**, which must have been situated in its vicinity, cannot now be traced. Its site may have been occupied by modern Mūrtizāpur. **Māṇaka** which gave its name to the district in which the donated villages were situated is probably Mānā, a station on the Bombay-Nagpur line of the G. I. P. Railway, 8 miles east of Mūrtizāpur. Most of the boundary villages mentioned in the present grant can still be identified in the neighbourhood of Sirso. Thus **Haripura** is undoubtedly modern Hirpur two miles to the east, **Khairaḍē** may be Kharbādi three miles to the south-east, and **Athakavāḍa** Atkalī about three and half miles to the west of Sirso. **Lakhaipari** is clearly Lākhpuri five miles north of Sirso. **Dhārāśiva**, where the donee resided cannot be definitely identified, but may be Dhārur in the Akōṭ *tālukā* of the Akōlā District.[7]

TEXT.[8]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 6 and 9 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 21 *Āryā*; vv. 24 and 27 *Indravajrā*; v. 29 *Śālinī*; v. 30 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate.

1 [ओँ[9] । स वो[10]]व्याद्वेधसा धाम यं नाभि[11]कमलं क्षतं(तम्)[।*] हरश्च यस्य कांतेंदुकलया:[12] कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥[१*] — —[13] [भव]-

[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 105. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

[3] *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala Taluka inscriptions, p. 51.

[4] It is not used in the British Museum plates and the Kaḍab plates; but the former were granted not at the capital, but at the Rāmēśvara *tīrtha* on the Tungabhadrā, and the latter are suspected to be spurious.

[5] This identification first suggested by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 123) has been shown to be satisfactory by Dr. Altekar (see his *Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., pp. 67-68).

[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 12 f.

[7] [Dhārāśiva may with greater probability be identified with the village of the same name (spelt Dharaseo in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas Plate 42) now changed to Osmanabad, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Nizam's Dominions, and famous for its caves described by Burgess in the *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. III (pp. 4 ff.)—N. L. R.]

[8] From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] Only faint traces of the *aksharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

[11] Read यन्नाभि. [12] Read कलया. [13] Supply भूपी.

2 [हृ(हृ)ह]दुरस्थलराजमानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठः [।*] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
विनिर्जितारि[चक्रो]-

3 प्यकृष्ण[1]राजः [॥२*] यत्तच्छेदभयाश्र(श्रि)ताखिलमहाभूभृत्कुलभ्राजितात्[2] दुर्लङ्घ्याद-
परैरनेकविमलभ्राजि[ष्णुरत्ना]-

4 न्वितात् [।*] यस्मालुक्यकुलादनूनवितु(बु)धव्राताश्रयो वारिधेर्लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)मंदरवत्स-
लीलमचिरादाकृष्टवान्वल्लभः [॥३*] तस्या-

5 भूत(त्त)नयः प्रतापविसरैराक्रांत[3]दिङ्मण्डलश्चण्डांशो[:*] सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादित-
क्ष्मातल[: ।*] धीरो धैर्यधनो विप-

6 [क्षव]नितावक्त्रांवु(बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिक्नायिकाभिर्ध्रितं[4]
[॥४*] ये[ष्ठो][5]लंघनजातया[प्यम]लया

7 प्यमलया[6] लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सं[7]न्योभूत्निर्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [।*]
कर्णाधस्थितदान[संततिभृ]-

8 तो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा[नं][8] वीक्ष्य सुलजि(ज्जि)ता इव दिशां प्रांते स्थिता
दिग्ग[जा]: [॥५*] यन्यैर्न जातु विजितं गुरुश-

9 क्तिसारमाक्रांतभूतलमनं(न)न्यसमानमानं(नम्) [।*] येनेह वध(बद्ध)मवलोक्य
चि[रा]य गंगं(गम्) ।[9] दूरं स्वनिग्रहभि-

10 येव कलिः प्रयातः [॥६*] एकत्रात्मव(ब)लेन वारिनिधिनां(ना)प्यन्यत्र रुध्वा-
(द्ध्वा) घनं ।[9] निष्कृष्टासिभटोद्धतेन विहरदुग्राहातिभीमेन च ।

11 मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्झरमुचः प्राप्यान(न)तात्पल्लवा[त्*] तच्चित्रं मदलेशमप्यनुदिनं
य स्पृष्टवां[10] न क्वचित् [॥७*] हेलास्वी(स्वो)कृ-

12 तगौडराज्यकमलामतं(त्तं) प्रवेश्याचिरात् दुर्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(ब)लैर्यो वत्स-
राजं व(ब)लैः [।*] गौडीयं शरदीदु[11]पा-

[1] The writer has omitted seven *aksharas* here by haplography as his eye caught only the second of the twice occurring word कृष्ण. Read °प्यकृष्णचरितो भुवि कृष्णराजः.

[2] Read भ्राजिताद्. [3] Read °राक्रान्त-. [4] Read धृतम्.

[5] Read ज्येष्ठोल्लंघन-.

[6] These four *aksharas* are redundant.

[7] The *anusvāra* is redundant.

[8] The engraver at first cut न्यं, and afterwards cancelled the subscript य्.

[9] Mark of punctuation superfluous.

[10] Read स्पृष्टवान्. [11] Read शरदिंदु-.

13 दधवलं च्छत्र[1]हयं केवलं ।[2] तस्माना(न्मा)[ह्ल]त तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्रांते
स्थितां(तं) तत्क्षणां(त्क्षणम्) ।[।८*] लब्ध(ब्ध)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं शु(सु)-
दूरमू(मु)-

14 च्छा(त्सा)र्य शुध(द्ध)चरितैर्द्धरणीतलस्य [।*] क्ट[त्वा] पुन[:*] क्रतयुगा:(गा)श्र(श्र)यम-
प्यशेषं चित्रं कथं निरुपम: कलिवल(ल्ल)भोभूत् ।[।९*] प्राभूर्षे(द्वै)र्यंव-

15 तस्ततो निरुपमादिंदुर्यथा वारिधे: शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरौनत[3]शिर:संसक्तपाद[:*]
सुत: ॥(।) पद्मानंदकर[4]प्रतापस[5]हि-

16 तो नित्योदय: सोन्नते: पूर्व्वाद्रेरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविंदराज[:*] [6]सतां ।
[।१०*] यस्मिं[7] सा(स)र्व्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्री-

Second Plate; First Side.

17 राष्ट्रकूटान्वयो जातै[8] यादववंशवंन्म[9]धुरिपावासीद[लं]घ्य: परै: [।*] दृष्टाशाव[10]धय:
क्रता[:*] स्यु(सु)श(स)दृशा दानेन येनो[द्ध]ता

18 मुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(नाम्) ।[।११*] यस्याकारममानुषं
तृ(त्रि)भुवनव्यापति(त्ति)रत्नोचितं क्रष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति

19 पितै(त)र्यैकाधिपत्यं भुव: [।*] आस्तां[11] तात तवैतदप्रतिहता दता(त्ता) त्वया
कण्ठिका किं नात्रेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं वचो योभ्यधात् [॥१२*]
तस्मिं[12]

20 [13][स्मिं]र्गंविभूषणाय जनके जा(या)ते यश:शेषतां[14]मेकीभूय समुद्यतां[15] वसुमतीसं-
हारमाधिच्छया[16] [।*] विच्छायां[17] सहसा व्यधत(त्त) नृपतीने-

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[1] Read कृत्र-.

[2] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

[3] Read परमेश्वरोन्नत-.

[4] It would be better to read पद्मानंदकर: प्रताप- as in the Rādhanpur plates.

[5] स which was first omitted is written below the line.

[6] What looks like an *anusvāra* on *sa* may be due to a fault in the plate.

[7] Read यस्मिन्.

[8] The engraver at first cut तौ but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial आ.

[9] Read वंशवन्मधु-.

[10] व which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

[11] The *anusvāra* here is a little displaced.

[12] Read तस्मिन्.

[13] The engraver first cut स्मिं which he afterwards tried to change into स्व without cancelling the curve for medial *i* and the *anusvāra*. Read स्वर्गं-.

[14] The *anusvāra* is redundant.

[15] Read समुद्यतान्.

[16] Read माधित्सया.

[17] Read विच्छायान्.

21 को[पि] यो द्वादश ।[1] ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरै[:*] संवर्त्तकार्क्कानिव । [।१३*] येनात्यंतदयालुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपाश्यायतात्[2] स्वं देशं

22 गमितोपि दर्प्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकु(कू)ल्ये स्थितः [।*] यावं न[3] भ्रुकुटी लला- [ट*]फलके यस्योन(न्न)ते लक्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्व(द्ब)द्ध[:*] स

23 गंगः पुनः ।[।१४*] संधायाशु शी(शि)लीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(द्बा)णासनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वर्ध्दितव(बं)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिवध्या(द्ध्या)न्वितं(तम्)[।*] संन[4]च्चत्रमुदी-

24 क्ष्य यं शरदृतुं पर्ज्जन्यवद्गूर्ज्जरो नष्ट[:*] क्कापि भय(या)त(त्त)था न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा [॥१५*] यत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामा-

25 लोक्य लच्मिं(क्ष्मीं) [5]निजां दूरां[6]श्मालवनायको नयप[7]रो यं प्राणमत्प्रांजलिः [।*] को विद्वा[न्*] व(ब)लिनो(ना) सहात्मव(ब)लकः स्पर्द्धां वि[ध*]ते(त्ते) परां

26 नीतेस्त्वधि(द्धि) फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्यसंवेदनं(नम्) [॥१६*] विंध्याद्रे[8]ष्कटके निविष्टकटकं श्रुत्वा चरैर्य्यै(र्य्यं) निजै[:*] स्वं देशं समुपा-

27 गतं ध्रु[व]मिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरित[:।*] माराशर्व्वमहीपतिर्द्रुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्व्वै[9]र्य्यरैः यस्येच्छामनुकूलयां[10] कुलधनैः पा-

28 दौ प्रणामैरपि ।[।१७*] नीत्वा श्रीभवने [11]घनो घनघनव्याप्तांव(ब)रं प्रावृषं तस्मादागतवं(वान्) समं निय(ज)व(ब)लैरातुंगभद्रात-

29 टं(टम्) [।*] [त]त्रस्थ[:*] [12]स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनः निश्शेष[13]माक्रष्टवां विक्षेपैरपि चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल(ल्ल)वानां श्रयं(श्रियम्) [॥१८*] लेखाहारसुखो-

30 दिताह(र्ह)वचसा [14]यत्रैत्य वे(वें)गीश्वरो नित्यं की(किं)करवद्यथादविरत(तं) कर्म्म श्व(स्व)स(श)मेंच्छया [।*] वाह्याली[व्रि](हृ)तिरस्य येन रचिता व्ये(व्यो)-

[1] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.
[2] Read °दपास्थायतात्.
[3] Read यावन्न.
[4] Read सन्नक्षत्र-.
[5] नि which was first omitted is written below the line.
[6] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.
[7] प which was first omitted is written below.
[8] Read विंध्याद्रेः कटके.
[9] Read पूर्व्वैः परैर्य्यस्ये°.
[10] Read °मनुकूलयन्.
[11] Read घनाघनघनव्याप्तांबरां as in the Rādhanpur plates.
[12] स्व which was first omitted is incised below.
[13] Read निःशेषमाक्रष्टवान्.
[14] The engraver at first cut या but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial आ.

31 माग्रलग्नारुचद्र[1]ात्रै(त्रौ) मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता मूर्द्धस्थतारागणै [:॥१९*] संचा-
सात्परचक्रराजकमगात(त्त)त्पूर्वसेवा-

32 विधिव्याव(ब)द्धांजलिशोभितेन शरणं मूभ्रा(र्ध्ना) यदंह्न(ङ्घ्रि)द्वयं(यम्) [।*] यद्य-
दत्त[2] प[रा]र्द्ध्यभूषणगणैना(र्ना)लंकृतं तत(त्त)था मा भैषी-

33 रिति सत्यपालितयशःस्थित्या यथा तद्गिरा ।[।२०*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)ञ्चलम-
वलोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्)[।*] क्षितिदा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

34 नपरमपुण्य[:*] प्रवर्तितो व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) ॥[।२१*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरम(मे)श्वरश्रीमद्धारावर्षदे-

35 वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमत्प्रभूतवर्षश्रीवल्लभन-
रेंद्रदे-

36 व[:*] कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथास(सं)[ब*]ध्यमानकं(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटा-
युक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत(त्त)-

37 रादी[न्*] समादिशत्यस्तु[3] व[:*] संविदितं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमयूरखण्डीसमा-
वासितेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिका-

38 मुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृध(द्ध)ये ।[4] धारासि[5]वा[स्त]व्यतच्चातुर्विद्यसामाख्य(न्य)कास्य(श्य)-
पसगोत्रव(ब)हृचमव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारि-

39 विष्णुचतुर्व्वेदपौत्राय अवसाविभट्टसुताय श्रीरिसियपभट्टाय माणकविषयांतर्गतो
मोरगणग्रामधा-

40 नसमंन्वितो[6] सीसवै[7] नाम ग्राम[:*] तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः हरिपुरग्रामः
दक्षिणतः खैरडे पश्चिमतः अ-

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[1] In the Rādhanpur plates also the reading was *=aruchad=* but Kielhorn proposed to amend it as *=arachad=* for reasons stated above, Vol. VI, p. 245, f. n. 1. I would read लग्नारुचद्रात्रौ मौक्तिकमालिकेव विधृता, etc. The Nom. singular धृता which is evidently intended as an adjective of मौक्तिकमालिका shows that the latter also must have originally been in the Nom. singular. अरुचत् is aorist, third person singular form of रुच्. The intended sense is that the circular enclosure of the royal camp looked beautiful at night like a garland worn by clusters of stars.

[2] Read यद्यद्दत्त.

[3] Read समादिशति । अस्तु.

[4] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

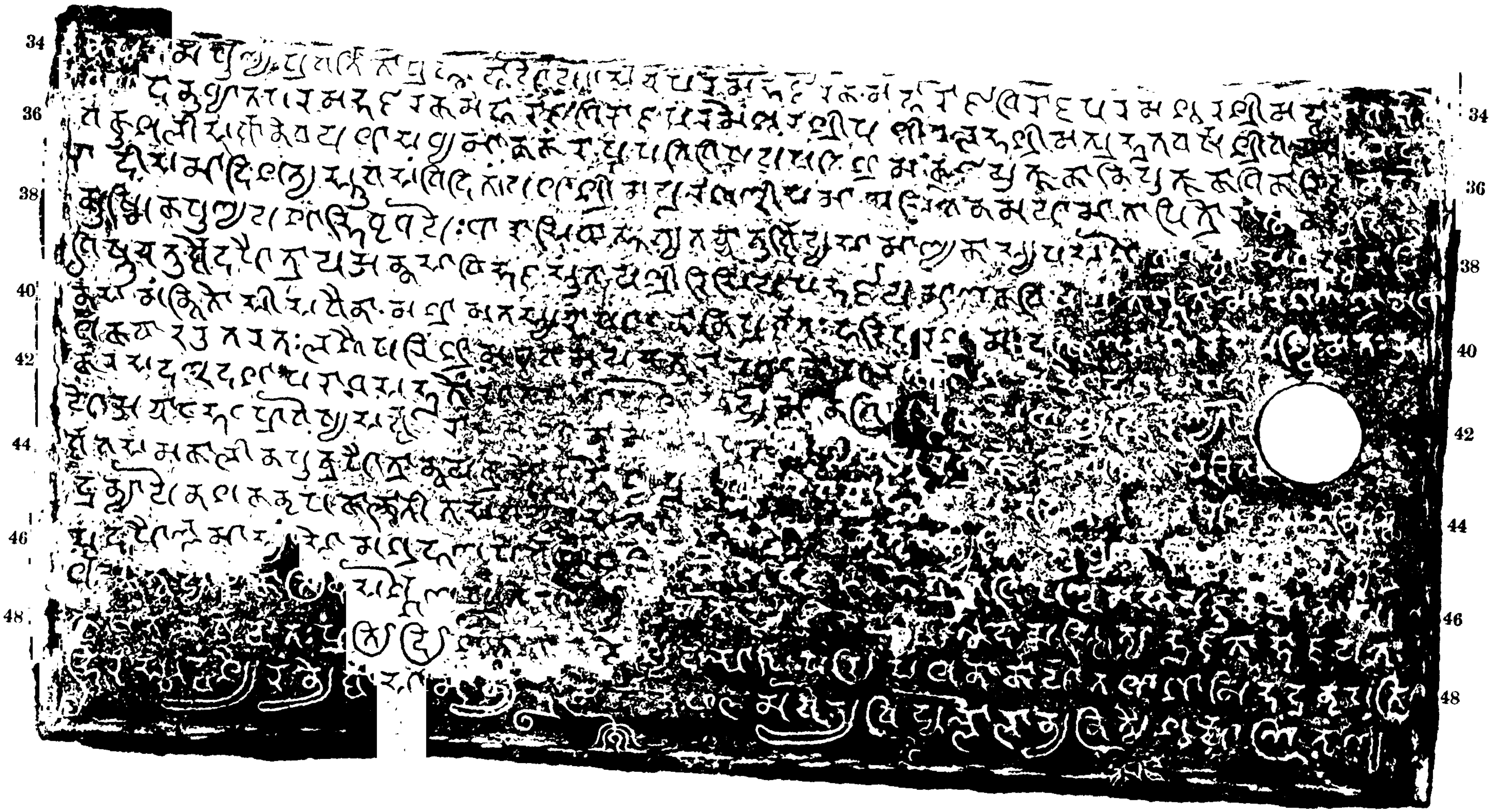
[5] Read धाराशिववास्तव्य as in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala and Lōhārā plates.

[6] Read समन्वितः.

[7] What looks like a slanting stroke on the top of *sa* is an accidental scratch.

A.—Sisavai Grant of

iib.



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SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

iii.



41 थकवाड उत(त्त)रत: लखैपरिग्राम एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्राम[:*] सोद्रंग: सपरो(रि)-

42 कर[:*] सदण्डदशापराध[:*] सभूतोपात(त्त)प्रत्याय[:] शो(सो)त्पद्यमानविष्टिक[:*] सधाण्य(न्य)हिरण्या-

43 देयो[1] अचाटभटप्रावेश्य(श्य:) सर्व्वरा[जकीयानामहस्त]प्रक्षेपणीय आचंद्रार्क्कार्णवक्षिति-
सरित्प-

44 र्व्वतसमकालीन[:*] पुत्र[2]पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य[:*] पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म[दा]यरहित-
म(तो)भ्यंतप(र)सिध्या(द्ध्या) भूमिच्छि-

45 द्रन्यायेन शकनृपका[ला]तीतस(सं)वच्छ(त्स)रस(श)तेषु सप्तषु(सु) [3]एकूनतृंषत्यधिकेषु
व्य[य*]नाम्नि [संवत्सरे] [भा]द्र-

46 पदपौर्ण्णमास्यां सोमग्रहणपर्व्वणि व(ब)लि[चरु]वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्र-
(क्रि)योत्स[र्प्प]णा-

47 र्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादि[तो][4] यतोस्योचितया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या
भुंजतो भोजयत:

48 कृषत: कर्षयत: प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या तथा-
गामिभद्रनृपति-

49 भिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणा-

Third Plate.

50 ग्रलग्नजलविं(बिं)दुचञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकलज्य(य्य) स्वदायनिर्व्विसे[5]षोयमस्मदा(द्दा)यो-
नुमंतव्य[:*] प्रतिपा-

51 ल[यि*]तव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमान[कं वा]-
नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापात-

52 कैश्चोपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्या[6] इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [*] षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठ-

53 ति भूमिद: । आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमा[7]ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२२*]
विंध्याटवीष्व(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*] कृ-

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[1] Read देयोचाट.

[2] The engraver at first cut न and then changed it into त्र.

[3] Read एकोनत्रिंशदधिकेषु.

[4] Read प्रतिपादित: ।

[5] Read निर्व्विशेषो°.

[6] Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

[7] Read चानुमन्ता.

54 ष्याह्यो हि जायंते भूमिदानं हरंति ये ॥[२३*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं
भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गाव: [।*]

55 लोकत्र[1]यं तेन भवेधि(द्धि) दतं(त्तं) य: काञ्चनं गाश्च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[२४*]
व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादि-

56 भि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२५*] सुवर्ण्ण-
मेकं गामिकां भूमेम(र)प्येकमंगुलं(लम्)[।*] ह-

57 रं [2]नरकवासो स्यात् यावदाहु(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥[२६*] यानीह दता(त्ता)नि पुरा
नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*]

58 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[:*] पुनराददीत[॥२७*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । मही[3] महिम-

59 तां श्रेष्ठ दाना[4] श्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥२८*] तथा चोक्तं रामभद्रेन(ण) [॥*]
सर्व्वानेतां[5] भाविन[:*] पार्थिवेंद्रां[6] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-

60 द्र[: ।*] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुन्न(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: [॥२९*]
इति कमलदलांवुविंदु[7]लोलां स्त्र(श्रि)यमनुचिं-

61 त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैन(नं) हि पु[रु*]षै[:]
परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: [॥३०*] लिखि-

62 तं श्रीवत्सराजसूनुना श्रीअरुणादित्येन । श्रीजडवुलभट्टदूतकं ॥[8]

B.—Lōhārā grant of Gōvinda III ; Śaka Year 734.

These also are **three copper-plates,** each measuring 10·6″ in length and about 7·7″ in breadth. The first two plates are thinner than the third. Though their total weight is exactly the same as that of the Sisavai grant, they are smaller in length and larger in breadth than the latter. All the edges of the third plate and the proper right edge of the other two are raised, while the rest are flat. The first is inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides, but as the record ended about the middle of the outer side of the third plate, its lower portion measuring about 3·2″ in breadth is blank. About ·4″ from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about ·9″ in diameter for the ring which joined it to the other plates of the set. The ring and the seal attached to it, though more substantial, resemble those of the Sīsavai grant. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Museum. The **seal** contains a worn out figure of Garuḍa larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Sīsavai grant described above. The plates weigh 213 *tolas* and the ring and the seal together 86 *tolas*.

[1] The engraver first cut क and then changed it into व.

[2] Read हरन् नरकवास:.

[3] Read महीं.

[4] Read दानाच्छ्रेयो°.

[5] Read सर्व्वानेतान्.

[6] Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्.

[7] Read कमलदलांबुबिंदु.

[8] The punctuation mark is followed here by several dots and an ornamental figure indicating completion of the record.

The plates are generally in a state of good preservation. Only a few letters at the end of lines 7-14 have been completely damaged by rust and two letters, one in the beginning of line 24 and the other at the end of line 40, have been lost on account of the subsequent widening of the hole for the ring ; but these can be easily supplied from cognate records. There are seventy-two lines in all, of which sixteen occur on each inscribed surface except the second side of the second and third plates which have fifteen and nine lines respectively. The letters are deeply engraved, but do not show through on the back of the plates. Their average size is ·3″. The **characters** are of the North Indian alphabet. As we shall see below, the writer of the present record is stated to be Aruṇāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who, as stated above, was also the writer of the Sīsavai grant, but to judge from the formation of letters, the present inscription seems to have been actually written by a different person. We do not, for instance, find here any ornamentation of the *mātrās* such as that noted above in the case of the Sīsavai plates. The formation of several letters, again, is different. The stroke for medial *u* is not round as in the other inscription and is added not at the lower end of the vertical stroke but a little above ; see *vṛihad-ura-* and *vipula* both in l. 2. The forms of *i, th* (whether independent or subscript), *v, ś,* the subscript *ṇ* of the conjunct *ṇṇ* and the final *t* are considerably different from those occurring in the earlier record ; see *e.g., iva* (l. 10), *kathaṁ* (l. 16) and *pratyartthinō* (l. 21), *vinirjit-* (ll. 2-3), *sadṛiśō-* (l. 6), *karṇṇ-ādha-* (l. 9) and *bhrājitāt* (l. 3). *R* as the first member of the conjunct *rya* does not rise above the line but appears as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top ; see *dhairya-* (ll. 6 and 16), °*m=utsārya* (l. 15), etc. The **language** is Sanskrit and like the previous record the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. It shows many of the **orthographical peculiarities** noticed in connection with the previous record and though not altogether free from orthographical and other kinds of mistakes is, on the whole, more correctly written than the latter.

The plates were granted by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III,** residing at **Mayūra-khaṇḍī.** His genealogy, titles and *birudas* are identical with those in the previous record. In fact the text of the whole inscription, with the exception of the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the *dūtaka,* the date and some minor details and with the omission of seven verses three of them being from the eulogistic portion,[1] generally agrees with that of the Sīsavai grant edited above. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the royal gift of the village **Lōhārā** in the **Murumba** district to Bhaṭṭa **Rishiyappa** of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra,* who was a religious student of the Ṛigvēda, the son of Aṇṇamabhaṭṭa and the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Māsōpavāsin. He is described as residing at **Dhārāśiva** and belonging to the community of the Traividyas of that place. The donated village was bounded on the east by the smaller Lōhārā village, on the south by two villages[2] named Mudupa, on the west by the villages Pipparikā and Mārurika and on the north also by two villages Sāmaripalla and Khēḍa. It is also recorded that Rishiyappa, reserving 400 *nivartanas* of the land in the afore-mentioned village for himself, divided (the revenue of the remaining land) into 120 parts of which he assigned sixty to Mādhava, Śrīdhara, Dōdhāma, Aghakuṭi and others and the remaining sixty to Lōkabhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara Dīkshita, Madhuka Dvivēdin, Pṛithivibhaṭṭa and others. These transactions took place on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Mārgaśīrsha in the expired Śaka year 734** (expressed in words only). No cyclic year is mentioned in the grant. We find that in the expired Śaka year 734 there was a solar eclipse on the previous day which was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha was current at sunrise of and therefore civilly connected with the next day, Tuesday the 9th November, A.D. 812,

[1] These are vv. 7, 16 and 17 of the Sīsavai grant.

[2] These were probably the smaller (*laghu*) and the larger (*bṛihat*) Mudupa.

which is thus the date of the present plates.[1] The charter was written by **Aruṇāditya,** the son of Vatsarāja. There were two *dūtakas* **Chandiyamma** and **Vayama.**

It will be noticed that the donee of the present plates is, in spite of slight discrepancies in his description, identical with that of the Sīsavai grant. He is also the donee of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala plates[2] of Gōvinda III. The provenance of the latter is not known but it is not unlikely to be some place in Berār. The villages[3] mentioned in the plates were, therefore, probably situated somewhere in Berār, not very far from Sirso (Sīsavai of the previous plates) where he or his descendants seem to have lived, and not in distant Gujarāt as surmised by the editor of the above plates. It may also be noted that Aruṇāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who is mentioned as the writer of this grant whether he actually wrote it or not, figures in that capacity in five other sets of plates, *viz.*, the Nēsarī plates[4] of Śaka 726, the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri plates[5] of Śaka 730 (for the expired Śaka 729), the Sīsavai grant of Śaka 729, the Bahulāwāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for the expired Śaka 731)[6] and the B. I. S. M. plates of Śaka 732. He was also probably the writer of the incomplete Rādhanpur plates of Śaka 730, judging by the writing on them which resembles that on the Nēsarī and the Sīsavai plates. He was thus the official writer in Gōvinda III's secretariat at least from Śaka 726 to Śaka 734.

Having disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the **historical information** furnished by it. The charters granted by Gōvinda III fall into two main groups. Under the first of these come the Paiṭhan plates of Śaka 716 and the Añjanavatī plates of Śaka 722. The second group includes almost all the rest.[7] The draft of the genealogical and eulogistic portion adopted in the two grants of the first group consists for the most part of old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the earlier records of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa and Dhruva. To the glorification of the reigning king, the draft devotes only two verses which mention no historical event except that he obtained the kingdom from his father in supersession of his brothers. No exploits of Gōvinda III,—not even his victory over the twelve kings headed by

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[1] [There are instances of the *tithi* which commenced some time after sunrise being cited as the current *tithi*. (See *e.g.*, Nos. 215 and 269 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918, whose dates have been calculated by the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai on pages 84 and 85 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1919.) It is, therefore, not necessary to take Tuesday the 9th November A.D. 812 as the date of the record for, the *pratipat-tithi* commenced at 5½ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise on the previous Monday which was also the day of the eclipse. The latter, *viz.*, A.D. 812 November 8 Monday may thus be the date of this charter.—N. L. R.]

[2] These plates were first noticed by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the *Journal of Indian History* for 1925, pp. 100 f. and subsequently edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27 f. The grandfather of Rishiyappa is called Vishṇu in the Sīsavai grant, but Māsōpavāsin in the B. I. S. M. plates as in the present plates; his father is called Aṇṇama in the present record, but Aṇṇasāvi (not Saṇṇasāvi as Mr. Khare has read in the B. I. S. M. plates) in the other two records. Rishiyappa is said to belong to the community of the Chāturvidyas in the Sīsavai grant, but to that of the Traividyas in the other two records. His name, *gōtra*, Vēda and place of residence (which both Mr. Gupte and Mr. Khare seem to have incorrectly read as Vārāśiva) are the same in all the records.

[3] The plates record the grant of the village Daśapura which was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountain. This is likely to be Dasur in the Ellichpur tahsil of the Akōlā District, situated only two miles to the south of the Sātpurā hills which were in ancient times called Vindhya. Some of the places mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Dasur. Thus Lāḍāvallikā, Pimparikā and Khēḍa of the grant are probably modern Ghāt-lāḍki, Pimpri and Kheḍ in the neighbourhood of Dasur. The Ambili *kuṇḍa* at which the king bathed before making the grant was probably a *kuṇḍa* at the source of the holy river Payōshṇī (modern Pūrṇā) not far from Dasur.

[4] G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 160.

[6] *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 13 f.

[7] The only exceptions so far known are the British Museum and the Kaḍab plates, for which see above, p. 206, n. 4.

Stambha and the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga king, events which we know happened soon after his accession[1]—are alluded to. And this is but natural; for that draft is found used as early as Śaka 716, within a year of his father's death. When it was prepared, none of the afore-mentioned disturbances may have occurred. The same draft is again used in the Añjanavatī plates issued six years later, without adding any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's achievements. It would scarcely be correct to infer from this that these six years in the beginning of Gōvinda's reign were altogether uneventful. At least the revolt of Stambha and the Gaṅga prince and their subsequent defeat must have happened during this interval;[2] but for some reason or other we find Gōvinda using the same old draft even in his Añjanavatī plates. Only two years later in Śaka year 724 we find his brother Stambha issuing his Maṇṇe plates[3] with his consent. Here we find for the first time the other draft describing the brilliant exploits of Gōvinda III,—his victory over twelve kings, the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga prince, the complete rout of the Gūrjara and the submission of the Mālava king, the presentation of the choicest heir-looms to him by Mārāśarva, his stay at Śrībhavana during the rainy season and his subsequent march to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, the despoilment of the fortune of the Pallavas, the humiliation of the lord of Vēṅgī and finally the submission of the enemy's feudatories. It is incredible that all these events or even a majority of them occurred during the brief period of two years from Śaka 722 to Śaka 724. We have, therefore, to suppose either that the Maṇṇe plates are spurious or that some of these events occurred even before Śaka 722, the date of the Añjanavatī plates. The first of these two alternatives will appear more plausible to the historian who knows the abundance of spurious records of this period in Mysore, to which Fleet has called attention.[4] Again, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any record before Śaka 730, in which year we find it adopted in the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri[5] and Rādhanpur plates. Besides, one of the events mentioned in that draft, *viz.*, Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king, seems to have occurred only a short time before Śaka 726 in which year he granted the British Museum plates while he was encamped on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā after levying tribute on the Pallava king. How then can that event be referred to in the Maṇṇe plates issued two years earlier? To add to these suspicious circumstances, the date of the above mentioned Maṇṇe plates, though Sewell has declared it to be sound,[6] appears to be irregular. The grant purports to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the asterism being Pushya in the expired Śaka year 724. Sewell takes this as equivalent to the 13th November A.D. 802. He, therefore, evidently takes the lunar eclipse to be that which occurred on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha. But the asterism on that *tithi* was Rōhiṇī and not Pushya. One is therefore naturally led to conclude that the plates are spurious. As stated above, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any genuine record before Śaka 730. It was, of course, known from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king had occurred before Śaka 726; but as his other exploits have not been mentioned in any genuine record dated before Śaka 730, Dr. Altekar in his history of the

[1] See *e.g.*, v. 12 of the present grant.

[2] I do not now hold the view which I previously advocated from the mention of Chākirāja as *dūtaka* in the Añjanavatī plates that the revolt of Stambha must have taken place after Śaka 722 (or A.D. 800); see above, p. 11.

[3] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX (Nelamangala), p. 51.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 204 and 212.

[5] The date of the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri plates is more likely to be the expired Śaka year 729 as shown above, p. 205, n. 2.

[6] 'These plates have a sound date, naming the eclipse of the moon on the day stated.'—Sewell in *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Aiyangar), p. 33. My attention to this apparent irregularity was drawn by Dr. Altekar.

Rāshṭrakūṭas[1] has placed Gōvinda III's expeditions against the Pallava and Eastern Chālukya kings before his northern conquests which according to him occurred during the period A.D. 806-808. The draft adopted in the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri and Rādhanpur plates states, however, that from Śrīvardhana Gōvinda marched with his forces to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, where he despoiled the Pallavas of their riches and humiliated the lord of Vēṅgī. Dr. Altekar, therefore, supposes that this was a second expedition of Gōvinda III against them, which must have been necessitated by their revolt during his absence in the north. According to him[2] this second southern campaign may have terminated in A.D. 810 or 811.

The discovery in recent times of several records of Gōvinda III, in which the second draft descriptive of his glorious achievements has been regularly used, must lead to a revision of the above conclusions regarding the chronological order of events in his reign. Besides the Maṇṇe plates (first set) of Śaka 724, we have nine other records with dates ranging from Śaka 727 to Śaka 734 in which the same draft is met with, *viz.*, the Nēsarī plates of Ś. 727, the Sīsavai grant of Ś. 729, the Waṇi-Diṇḍōri plates of Ś. 730 (for 729), the Rādhanpur and the Badanguppe[3] plates, both of Ś. 730, the Bahulāwāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731)[4] the B. I. S. Maṇḍala and the Maṇṇe plates (second set),[5] both of Ś. 732, and the present Lōhārā grant of Ś. 734. Of these the Badanaguppe plates, like the Maṇṇe plates of Ś. 724, were issued by Gōvinda III's brother Stambha, while the rest were issued by Gōvinda III himself. The combined testimony of so many plates from different parts of the country renders probable the genuineness of Maṇṇe plates of Ś. 724. It may be noted again, that the first of these, *viz.*, the Nēsarī plates[6] were issued only three years after the Maṇṇe plates of Ś. 724 and clearly show that all the important campaigns of Gōvinda III had been completed, in any case, before Ś. 727 (A.D. 805). As for the other arguments which seemed to render the authenticity of the Maṇṇe plates open to question, it may be pointed out that they are not inexplicable. A careful study of the British Museum plates of Śaka 726 will show that it was the second time[7] that Gōvinda was encamped at the *tīrtha* of Rāmēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā when he had gone to exact tribute from the king of Kāñchī in Ś. 726. Obviously his first visit to the *tīrtha* must have occurred when he was encamped on the bank of that river in the course of his earlier expedition against the Pallavas as stated in the Maṇṇe, Nēsarī and other later inscriptions of his reign.[8] This second expedition must have been necessitated by the refusal or failure of the Pallava king to pay the tribute which had been forced on him when he was vanquished. The date of the Maṇṇe plates also is not so suspicious as might appear at first sight. It is clear that some

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[1] See his *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 64, n. 42 and p. 65, n. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[3] *Mysore Archæological Survey Report* for 1927, pp. 112 ff.

[4] *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 13. The name of the cyclic year Sarvadhārin shows that the Śaka year 732 is a mistake for Śaka 731 (according to the Northern system); or the year may be taken as current. It may be noted that the plates were issued from Mayūrakhaṇḍī and the writer was Aruṇāditya. So the system adopted here was the northern luni-solar as in other similar cases.

[5] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 88.

[6] The Nēsarī plates have undoubtedly a sound date. The cyclic year according to the northern luni-solar system was Tāraṇa as stated in the grant. The *saṅkrānti* took place 55 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on the 21st December, A.D. 805, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha was current as stated in the grant. The *tithi* ended 42 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on the next day when the religious rites must have been performed and the gift made.

[7] See Fleet's translation—....'when having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tīrtha* called Rāmēśvara he came (*there again*) to spear the boars, etc.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

[8] See *e.g.*, v. 15 of the present inscription.

words like *Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the record.[1] As for the discrepancy of the *nakshatra* Pushya not being current at the time of the eclipse as mentioned in the record, it can be explained by supposing that though the grant was made at the lunar eclipse the plates were actually issued four days later when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Analogous instances in justification of this explanation can be easily cited from the records of the period.[2] There are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Maṇṇe plates of Śaka 724 to be genuine. All the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

It seems that soon after Gōvinda III's accession the twelve kings headed by Stambha rose in revolt against him. Gōvinda released the Gaṅga prince apparently to create a rival in the Karṇāṭaka to his rebellious brother, but as he seems to have joined Stambha and his allies, Gōvinda III defeated them all and put the Gaṅga prince into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were attained are graphically described in two stanzas included in all records of the second group.[3] These operations could not have taken more than two years (Ś. 716 and 717) after his accession. The next four or five years seem to have been occupied by his campaigns in the Northern and Central India at the end of which[4] his son was born in *circa* Ś 721. In Āshāḍha of the next year we find him again at his capital Mayūrakhaṇḍī, issuing his Añjanavatī plates. Engrossed in planning and fighting wars as he was during all these years, he had apparently no time to think of getting a new draft prepared for the plates which he issued in that year. His expedition against the southern kings[5] may have occurred in Ś. 722 and 723. At the end of it when his position was supreme both in the north and in the south, he seems to have caused a new draft descriptive of all his important conquests to be prepared which we find him adopting in all his later charters. This draft is composed in an ornate *kāvya* style recalling, as Kielhorn has shown,[6] 'many expressions and poetical devices ' used in the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Noticing the king's predilection for it, his governors in the Karṇāṭaka also seem to have adopted the same draft in their charters issued during his lifetime.

If the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign as stated above is correct, his son Amōghavarsha must have been a fairly grown-up youth of about sixteen, when he ascended the throne in *circa* Śaka 736. In that case the statement in the Sanjān plates[7] that Gōvinda III went to heaven, because he felt sure that his son was able to bear the burden of the three worlds, need not be taken as exaggerated. Amōghavarsha I, must, therefore, have been nearly eighty at the time of his death.

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[1] See the wording of the grant—' चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरेषु सप्तशतेषु शकवर्षेषु समतीतेष्वात्मन: प्रवर्द्धमानविज[य]संवत्सरे मान्यपुरमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे सोमग्रहणे पुष्यनक्षत्रे शुभलग्ने......'

[2] As shown above, the present plates were issued a day after the solar eclipse. [See note 1 on p.214. —Ed.] We may also note that the date of the Maṇṇe plates (second set) द्वाविंशदुत्तरेष्वतीतेषु सप्तशतेषु शकवर्षेषु ......पौषमासपौर्णमास्यां सोमग्रहणे सोमवारे पुष्यनक्षत्रे... According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the lunar eclipse occurred on the *tithi* mentioned in the grant, but the week day was Saturday and the asterism Punarvasu. It seems, therefore, that the plates were issued two days later on Monday when the asterism was Pushya as required.

[3] See *e.g.*, vv. 12 and 13 of the present grant.

[4] See v. 24 of the Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

[5] Two of these, the Pallava king and the lord of Vēṅgī are mentioned in the present record. The kings of Kērala, Pāṇḍya, Chōla and other countries are mentioned in verses 21-23 of the Nēsarī and v. 32 of the Sanjān plates.

[6] See notes to his translation of the Rādhanpur plates, above, Vol. VI, pp. 246-250,

[7] V. 25, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

As for the **places** mentioned in the present plates, **Vēṅgī**, **Śrībhavana** and **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** have already been noticed. **Lōhārā**, the donated village may be modern Lōhārā about 8 miles to the west of Kārañjā in the Murtizāpur *tālukā*. **Murumba**, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated, may be Murambi, 3 miles south-east of Lōhārā. Of the boundary villages only two can be traced at present. **Mudupa** may be Māṇḍav, 3 miles to the south and **Pipparikā** modern Pimpalgāon 4 miles to the east of Lōhārā. The other villages cannot be identified.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 19-22 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2, 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Śardūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 18 *Āryā* ; v. 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

1 ओम्[2][।*] स वोऽव्याद्वेधसा धाम यंनाभि[3]कमलं कृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य कांतेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ।[।१*] भूपोभ-

2 वद्द(द्दृ)हदुरस्थलराजमानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठः [।*] सत्यान्वितो विपुल-चक्रविनिर्जि-

3 तारिचक्रोप्यकृष्णचरिते(तो) भुवि कृष्णराजः [॥२*] पक्षच्छेदभयाश्र(श्रि)ताखिलमहा-भूभृत्कुलभ्राजितात्[4]

4 दुर्लंघ्यादपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिष्णुरत्नान्वितात् [।*] यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनवि(बु)धव्राता-श्रयो

5 वारिधेः लक्ष्मीं मंदरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृष्टवां(वान्) वल्लभः ।[।३*] तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रतापविसरै-

6 राक्रांतदिङ्मण्डलश्चण्डांशोः सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादितक्ष्मातलः [।*] धीरो धैर्यधनो

7 विपक्षवनितावक्त्रांवु(म्बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिक्का[यिकाभिर्धृतं[5]] [॥४*][ज्ये]-

8 ष्ठोल्लंघनजातयाप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सन्योभून्निर्मलमण्डल[स्थिति[5]]-

9 युतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [।*] कर्णाधःस्थितदानसंततिभृतो यस्यान्य[दानाधि[5]]-

10 क(कं) दानं वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता इव दिशां प्रांते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ॥[५*] अर्थ्यैर्न जातु

11 विजितुं(तं) गुरुशक्तिसारमाक्रान्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नम्)[।*] येनेह व(ब)[द्धमव-लोक्य चिराय[5]]

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[1] From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly taken by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nāgpur.

[2] Expressed by a symbol. [3] Read यन्नाभि-. [4] Read भ्राजिताद्.

[5] Only faint traces of some of the *aksharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

12 गंगं दूरं स्वनिग्रहभियेव कलिः प्रयातः ।[।६*] हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यक ⏑ —
— — ⏑ — —[1]

13 चिरात्[2] दुर्मार्गम्मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(ब)लैर्यो वत्सराजं व(ब)लैः[।*] गौडीयं शर — ⏑
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑[3]

14 लं छत्रद्वयं केवलं तस्मान्नाहृत तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्रांते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् ॥
[७*] — — ⏑ —[4] ख-

15 मचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्य शुद्धचरितैर्द्धरणीतलस्य [।*] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुग(गा)-
श्र(श्र)य-

16 मप्यशेषां(षं) चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत् ।[।८*] प्राभूद्वैर्यवतस्ततो
निरुपमा-

Second Plate; First Side.

17 दिंदुर्यथा वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःसंसक्तपादः सुतः । पद्मानन्दक-

18 र[5]प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोन्नतेः पूर्वाद्रेरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविंदरा-

19 जः सतां(ताम्) ।[।९*] यस्मिं[6] सर्व्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो जाते
यादववंश-

20 वन्मधुरिपावासीदलंघ्यः परैः [।*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृतास्सुसदृशा दानेन येनो-

21 द्धता मुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(नाम्) [॥१०*] यस्याकार-
ममानुषं तु(त्रि)-

22 भुवनव्यापत्तिरक्षोचित(तं) कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति पितर्यं[7]काधिपत्यं भुवः [।*]
आस्तां तात

23 तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठिका किं नात्रैव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं
वचो यो-

24 ⏑[8]धात् [॥११*] तस्मिं[9] स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनके याते यशःशेषतामेकीभूय स-

25 मुद्यतान्वसुमतीं[10] सहारमाधित्सया [।*] विस्मायां[11] सहसा व्यधत्त नृपतीने-

26 कोपि यो द्वादश ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरै[:*] संवर्त्तको[र्का]निव ॥ [१२*]
येनात्यंतदया-

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[1] Restore °मलामत्तं प्रवेश्या°.

[2] Read °चिराद.

[3] Restore °दिंदुपादधव°.

[4] Restore लब्धप्रति°.

[5] It would be better to read पद्मानंदकरः.

[6] Read यस्मिन्.

[7] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[8] The lost letter is ध्य.

[9] Read तस्मिन्.

[10] Read वसुमतीसंहार-.

[11] Read विच्छायान्.

27 लुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्स्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकूल्ये स्थि-

28 तः [।*] यावंन[1] भ्रुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचि-

29 राद्द(द्ब)द्धः स गंगः पुनः ।[।१३*] संधायाशु शिलीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्दा(द्बा)-
णासनस्योपरि प्राप्तं

30 वर्द्धितवं(बं)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिवृध्या(द्ध्या)न्वितं(तम्) [।*] सन्नक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं शरदृ-
[तुं प]र्जन्यव-

31 गूर्जरो नष्ठः(ष्टः) क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१४*] नीत्वा
श्रीभवने घनाघन-

32 घनव्याप्तांव(म्ब)रां प्रावृषं तस्मादागतवां(वान्) समं निजव(ब)लैरातुंगभद्रातटं तत्र-
स्थ[ः स्वक]र-

Second Plate; Second Side.

33 स्थि[ता]मपि पुनर्निश्शेषमाकृष्टवां(वान्) विक्षेपैरपि चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल्लवानां श्र-
यं(श्रियम्) ।[।१५*]

34 लेखाहारमुखोदितार्द्रवचसा यत्रैत्य वेंगीश्वरो नित्यं किंकरवद्व्यधादविरतं कर्म

35 स्वशर्मेच्छया [।*] वाह्यालीवृतिरस्य येन रचिता व्योमाग्रलग्नारुचत्[2] रात्रौ मौक्ति-
कमा-

36 लिका[3]मिव धृता मूर्धस्थतारागणैः ।[।१६*] संत्रासात्परचक्रराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसेवावि-

37 धि[4]र्व्याविद्धांजलिशोभितेन शरणं नाम्ना[5] यदं[6]हृद्वयं(यम्) [।*] यद्यद्वृत्तपरार्ध्यभूषण-
गणै-

38 र्नालंकृतं तत्तथा मा भैषीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या यथा तद्गिरा ॥[१७*]
तेनेदम-

39 नित्यविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्) [।*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो
व्र(ब्र)ह्म-

40 दायोयं(यम्) ।[।१८*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीधारा[व*]-

41 र्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-

42 मत्प्रभूतवर्षपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथा संव(ब)-

43 ध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमह-

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[1] Read यावन्न. [2] °रुचद्. [3] मौक्तिकमालिकेव विधृता· See above, p. 210, n. 1.
[4] Read विधिर्व्याबद्धां°. [5] Read मूर्ध्ना. [6] Read यदंघ्रि-.

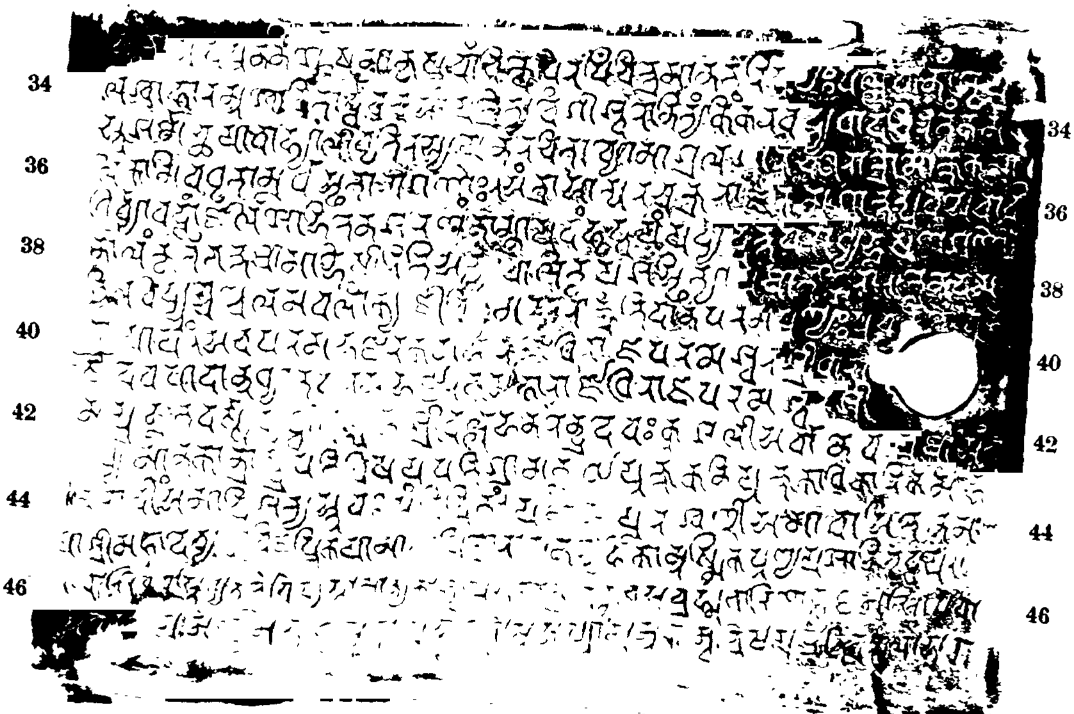
Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Berar.

B—Lohara Grant of Govinda III; Saka year 734.

iia.

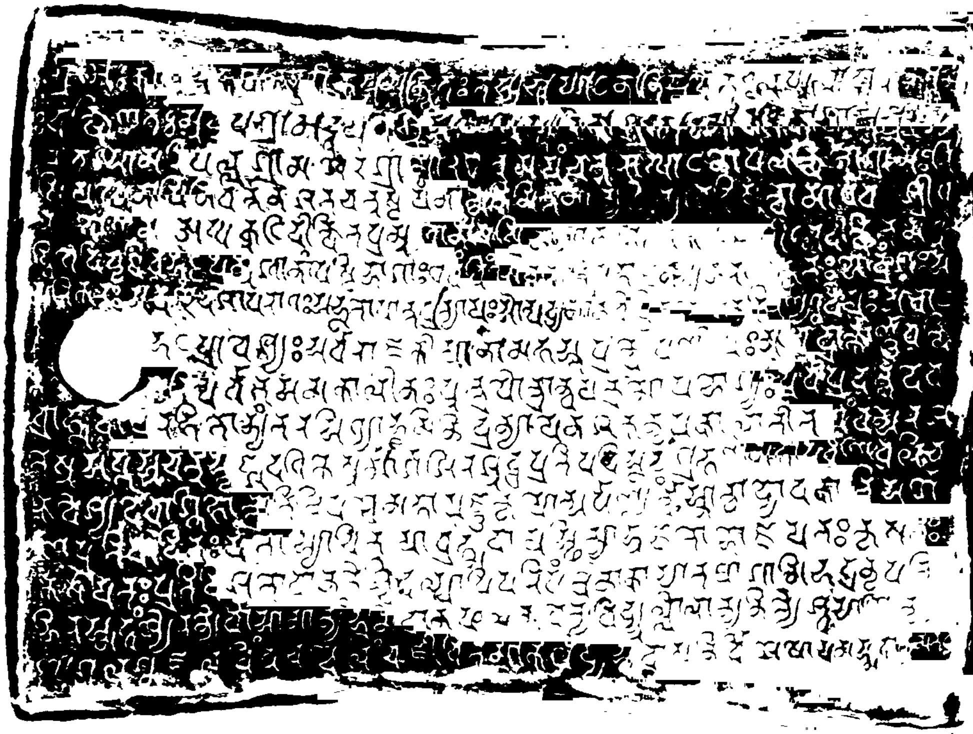


iib.



iiia.

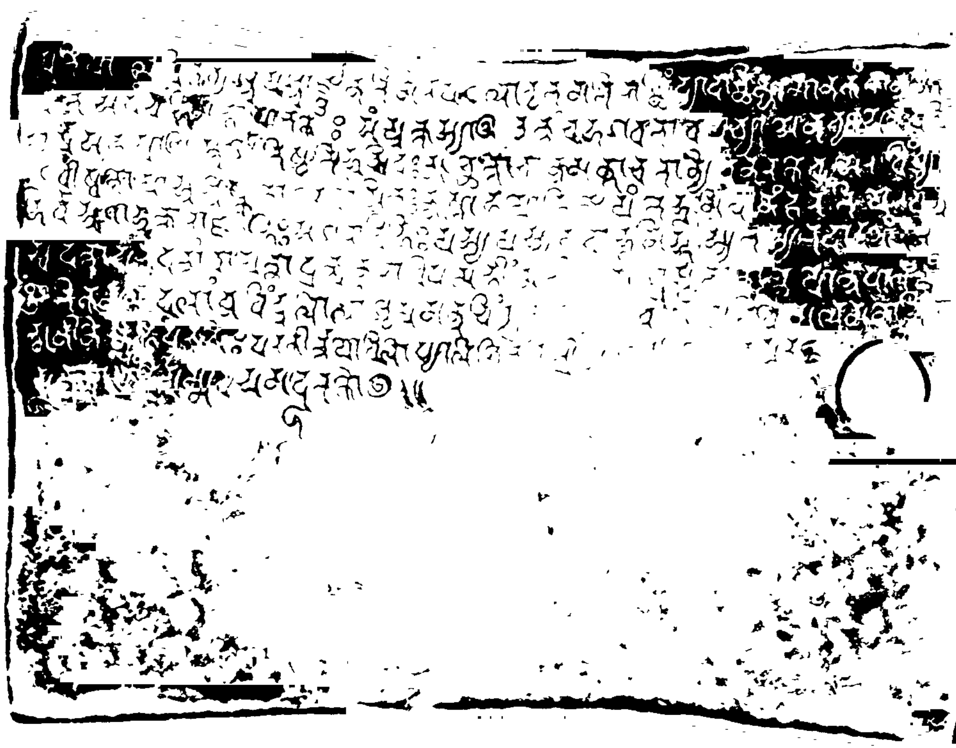
48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62



48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

iiib.

64 66 68 70 72



64 66 68 70

44 त्तरादीं(दीन्) समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) । यथा मयूरखण्डीसमावासितेन म-

45 या श्रीमहादेव्या ध्वा[1] विज्ञप्तिकया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥[2]

46 [धा]राशिववास्तव्यत[3]त्रैविद्यसामान्यकाश्यपसगोत्रव(ब)ह्वृचसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणे भट्टमा[सो]पवा-

47 सिपौ[त्रा]य अण्णमभट्टसुताय भट्टरिषिअप्पाय मुरुम्व(म्ब)विषयप्रतिव(ब)द्धलोहारा-

Third Plate; First Side.

48 ग्रामः कीलद्रङ्ग[क—वरो[4]]कसमन्वितः[5] तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः लघुलोहाराग्राम-

49 : दक्षिणतः मुदुपग्रामद्वयं पश्चिम[तः] पिप्परिकाग्रामः मारुरिकग्रामश्च ।[6] उत्त-

50 रतः सामरिपल्लग्रामखेडग्रामौ । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः रि-

51 षियप्पेनापि निवर्त्तनशतचतुष्टयं(य)मात्मनिमि[त्तं] मान्यस्थित्या व(ब)हिष्कृत्वा(त्य) माधवश्रोध-

52 रदो[धा]मअघकुटिदीक्षितप्रमुखानां षष्टिभागा[:*] तथा लोकभट्टश्रो[धर]दीक्षितमधुक-

53 द्विवेदिपृथिविभट्टप्रमुखानां प(ष)ष्टिभागाः एवं विंशोत्तरशत(तं) महाजनस्याहरणीकृतः सोद्रंगः स-

54 परिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः अचाट-

55 भटप्रावेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचंद्रार्क्कार्णवक्षि-

56 तिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेव-

57 व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यंतरसिध्या[7] भूमिछिद्र[8]न्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरश-

58 तेषु समसु चतुस्तृङ्गदधिकेषु[9] मार्गशिर[:*]शुद्धप्रतिपदि सूर्यग्रहणमहापर्वणि व(ब)लिच-

59 रुवैश्व(श्व)देवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रयो[10]त्सर्पणार्त्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गे-

60 ण प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचितया व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः

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[1] This *akshara* is redundant.

[2] These *dandas* are superfluous.

[3] Read तत्त्रैविद्य-.

[4] The *aksharas* in the brackets appear to be incised subsequently in place of the original ones.

[5] Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[6] This mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

Read [7] सिद्ध्या-.

[8] Read भूमिच्छिद्र.

[9] Read शदधिकेषु.

[10] Read क्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं

61 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न केश्चिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या [।*] तथागामिभद्र-नृपति-

62 भिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृ-

63 णाग्रलग्नजलविंदु[1]चञ्चलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मदा(द्दा)[यो*]-नुमंतव्यः

Third Plate; Second Side.

64 प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमो-

65 देत स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्त[:*] स्यात् [।*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] षष्टिं

66 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्*] ।[।१८*] विंध्या-

67 टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदानं हरंति ये ।[।२०*] व(ब)हु-

68 भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[२१*]

69 स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।*] महीं मही[मतां][2] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥२२*]

70 इति कमलदलांवु(बु)विं(बिं)दुलोलां श्र(श्रि)यमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अति-विमलमनोभिरा-

71 त्मनोनैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[:॥२३*] लिखितं च श्रीवरुणादित्येन वत्सराज-

72 सूनुना [।*] चंदियमवयमा(मौ) दूतकौ[3] ॥

No. 34.—SONE-EAST-BANK COPPER PLATE OF INDRADEVA AND UDAYARAJA.

BY HARIT KRISHNA DEB, CALCUTTA.

A copper-plate said to have been discovered in the river-bed near Sone-East-Bank, was brought to my notice by Prof. Satyendra Nath Bose, Professor of Physics, Dacca University, during the summer vacation of 1936. Prof. Bose has since then kindly sent me a photograph of the record after cleaning it at Dacca from which it is possible to read the text more clearly than from the original when shown to me before cleaning. I am grateful to Prof. Bose for his valuable help in the decipherment of the inscription.

[1] Read बिंदु.

[2] Read महीमतां.

[3] After कौ is incised a round figure indicating completion of the record.

The record consists of a single sheet of copper, engraved on both sides and contains 28 lines of writing, of which the first 24 occur on the first side. The last line on the reverse has a peculiarity; the original record had left a considerable blank space between its 13th *akshara* (with which the text proper terminates) and the enumeration of the date in figures and words at the end; this space was afterwards filled out by another hand with 21 *aksharas* out of which the last two could not be accommodated therein and were consequently inscribed lower down.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The text is partly in verse, partly in prose. There are a few mistakes due, no doubt, to the scribe; but these are of minor importance. The **alphabet** agrees more or less closely with Tafel V, columns XX-XXIII, in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

The **object** of the document is to record the grant of a village called **Gambhārī**, by the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* **Udayarāja** whose overlord was the king **Indradhavala**, jointly to the Brahmins, **Dhārēśvara** and **Mahāditya** in the proportion of three to two. The interpolated portion of line 28—*upādhyāya-Dhārēśvarāya pamchahasya-bhūmir=datā Chuchuḍḍaṅā-grāmē*—seems intended to specify the apportionment so far as concerned Dhārēśvara; if so, the village must have been alternatively designated Chuchuḍḍaṅā. The document (except this interpolated portion) was caused to be written by the Ṭhakkura śrī-**Sujana**, the *Akshapaṭalika*.

The record opens with an invocation to Śiva (ll. 1-2). It then proceeds to set out, with suitable eulogia, the lineage of king **Indradhavala**: the founder of his family was **Khadirapāla** in whose lineage was born king **Sādhava**, from whom was born king **Raṇadhavala**, whose son was the king **Pratāpadhavala**, whose son was the king **Śrī-Sāhasa**, whose son was the king **Śrī-Vikrama**, whose brother was the great king (*mahānṛipati*) **Indradhavala**. The next enumeration (ll. 12-16) appertains to the family of **Udayarāja**: his descent is traced back to the **Kadambas**, in whose lineage was born **Samarasiṁha**, whose son **Praharāja** became the Prime Minister (*pradhāna-sachiva*) to the (unnamed) king of the line of Khadirapāla; his son, **Udayarāja**, was a feudatory (*mahāmāṇḍalika*) under Indradhavala.

It is stated (ll. 15-16) that Udayarāja was left 'in charge' while his overlord, king Indradhavala, was engaged in sports, surrounded by women. Possibly, Indradhavala was, at the time, staying at Uḍyanna, which seems identifiable with the town Bihār (see *infra*, p. 225), since there is a reference to the place (ll. 9-10) in association with his ability for sport, albeit the sport of conquest (*Indradēvō nipa Uḍyannē*[1] [*tri**]*jagat-pratāpa-śamana-krīḍā-garishṭha-dyutiḥ*).

The grant was made (ll. 16-18) at **Navanēra** (or **Navīnara**?)-*pattana*[2] (=? mod. Nabīnagar), after notifying, ordering and explaining to the assembled inhabitants of the village Gambhārī as well as to the king's officers beginning with the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) and ending with the subordinate rulers and the military officers (*sāmanta-sēnādhikārika*). The rights conferred by the grant are enumerated in ll. 18-19; they are the usual ones found in the records of the period. The **date** is given (ll. 19-20) in words as: *Śrīmad-Vikramādityasya dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē chatuḥpaṁchāśad-varshādhikē Kārttika-māsasya pūrṇimāsyāṁ(yāṁ) tithau Sōma-dinē*," in the year of Śrīmad-Vikramāditya, twelve centuries and fifty-four, on the full-moon day (*tithi*) of the Kārttika month, on Monday", and regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th October, A.D. 1197.

In ll. 20-22 are set out the genealogies of the two donees: (1) *upādhyāya*-śrī-**Dhārēśvara**, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, grandson of *paṇḍita* śrī-Vāśu(su)dēva, son of

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[1] The metre requires a syllable like *tri*; in the record itself *tri* does not occur. [The reading is *dya*, not *ḍya* and I suggest the restoration *udyann=ē*[*va**] which is in keeping with the simile of the moon introduced in the verse. According to my reading there should be no reference to Uddaṇḍapura or Bihār.—Ed.]

[2] [See below, p. 229, n. 2.—Ed.]

āvasathī[1] śri-Ri(Ṛi)shi, and (2) *paṇḍita* śrī-**Mahāditya**, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the Kauśika-*gōtra*, grandson of *paṇḍita* śrī-Srīdhara, son of *paṇḍita* śrī-Kīrttipāla.

In ll. 22-23 occur the statements that the grant was made by a copper-plate with the usual auspicious ceremonies and the injunction that the customary rights should be given to the donees in obedience to the established custom.

Lines 23-27 contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses relating to land-grants.

Lines 27-28 record that the document was caused to be written by the *Akshapaṭalika*, *Ṭhakkura* śrī-**Sujana**, a scion of the Śrī-Vāstavya-kāyastha community and the date is repeated in figures.

The **historical value** of this record is considerable. The following pedigrees of two ruling lines—one tracing itself back to **Khadirapāla**, another to **Samarasiṁha** of the **Kadamba** stock—are disclosed :

Khadirapāla	*Kadambas*
Sādhava	
Raṇadhavala	Samarasiṁha
Pratāpadhavala	
Sāhasa	Praharāja
Vikrama, Indradhavala	Udayarāja

We already possess some knowledge about Pratāpadhavala. In his Memoir on *The Pālas of Bengal* (1915), the late Mr. R. D. Banerji wrote :—

" During the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena the western part of Magadha seems to have passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila.[2] The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the Tutrahi Falls in the Shahabad District, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1158 A.D. According to an unpublished inscription at Rohṭasgaḍh, the King set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D. In the same district, there is another rock inscription at Tārāchaṇḍī incised in the Vikrama era 1225, corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at Rohṭasgaḍh, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called Khayāravāla *Vaṁśa*. The relation between this chief and the Gāhaḍavāla Kings of Kanauj has been made clear by the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall in 1860. According to this inscription, in Samvat 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha,=16th April,

[1] The reading *āvasathī* was first made out by Prof. Bose. It signifies a person keeping the sacred fire known as *āvasathya* which, together with four other fires, would be called *pañch-āgnayaḥ*. We are reminded of the tradition that five *pañch-āgnika* Brahmins were imported into Bengal by " Ādiśūra."

[2] Cf. the expression...*śrīmaj-Jāpilīya-Chaṇḍikā-charana-paṁkēja-paryupāsana-para* .... applied to Indradhavala in ll. 11-12 of our record. Jāpila is modern Japla.

1169 A.D., Pratāpadhavala announces that a certain copper-plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalahaṇḍī and Baḍapilā has been obtained by several Brāhmaṇas by bribing one, Deu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpadhavala was semi-independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhaḍavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked." (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V, pp.107-8).[1]

The *Khayāravāla* of the Rohtasgaḍh inscription is evidently the *Khadirapāla* of our record. Reading between the lines the conventional eulogies attached to the princes descended from 'the great family' of Khadirapāla, we feel that it was **Pratāpadhavala** who probably first attained an independent status by war: he is designated *Śaṅkara* and specially likened to Śiva in his aspect as the destroyer of the pride of Daksha. His son, **Sāhasa**, was doubtless an independent monarch, since he is described as being revered by kings once his enemies (... *praṇata-vairi-narēndra-mauli-māṇikya-kōkanada-pūjita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ*). I understand from Prof Bose that there is a place called Sāhasapura near the find-spot of the record: it may have been named after Sāhasa. And it is interesting to observe the close resemblance, in style and phraseology, between our inscription and the copper-plate land-grants of the Gāhaḍavāla kings the cessation of whose suzerainty over rulers of this region must have been a matter of recent history when the present record was issued.

King **Vikarama**, son of Sāhasa, is described in rather tame terms. His enemies are stated to have avoided facing a fight with him out of fear for the strength of his arms (v. 7).

King **Indradēva**, also called Indradhavaladēva and Indradhavala, was a brother of Vikrama. He seems to have considerably enlarged his kingdom by warfare. His titles, *parama-Māhēśvara*, *sār-ētara-vichāra-Chaturānana* and *Mahānṛipati*, imply high status; the first two appear modelled on the styles *parama-Māhēśvara* and *Vāchaspati* of the Gāhaḍavālas. His other epithet, *samara-niḥśaṁkamalla*, suggests connection with the Chālukyas; we may compare the epithet *Niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* applied to king Vallālasēna who married a Chālukya princess, Rāmadēvī, as proved by copper plate inscriptions of the Sēna kings.[2] In Ceylon, also, about this time, we come across a king called Kittinissaṅka, said to have belonged to the Kaliṅga race.[3]

Indradhavaladēva, according to our inscription, was successful with his sword against his foes and is described as having shone in the sport of conquest at *Uḍyanna* or *Udyanna*. Uḍyanna or Udyanna seems to be identical with Tāranāth's *Ōtantapuri*, going back to some such form as *Uḍḍiyana* or *Uddīna*[4]. Alberuni[5] gives the form *Udunpur*, in connection with his statement that the *Bhaikshukī lipi* (" script used by Buddhist monks ") was current in that place situated in Pūrva-dēśa.

The feudatory chief Udayarāja claims to belong to the *Kadamba-kula*[6] and is styled *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. He seems to have been connected with the Kadambas of Goa: our copper-plate

[1] The reff. given by Banerji are: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. iv, p. 311; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. v, App., pp. 22, No. 152; *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. vi, p. 547.

In Buchanan's *Shahabad Report* (Patna 1934), we are told of an inscription setting out the succession of these rulers (p. 46), wherein Pratāpa, Vikrama and Sāhasa figure; but afterwards there are names which seem to indicate a change of dynasty. At p. 48 of this Report there is mention of another inscription naming Pratāpa and Sāhasa; it is apparently identical with No. 1759 of the " List of Inscriptions of Northern India " (above, Vol. XX, App.).

[2] Majumdar, *Inscrs. of Bengal*, pp. 58, 107, 118 etc.

[3] *Cūlavaṁsa* (P. T. S. ed.), ch. 80.

[4] [See above, p. , n. - Ed.]

[5] *India*, Vol. 1, p. 173 and Vol. 2, p. 314 (transl. Sachau).

[6] There is now a regular treatise on the Kadambas entitled *The Kadamba-Kula* by G. M. Moraes (Bombay, 1931) a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

begins with an invocation to Śiva as enemy of the demon Tripura, and we know that the family deity of the Goa Kadambas was Śiva in the same aspect (as *Sapta-kōṭ-īśvara*). The style *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, known to have been affected also by Īśvaraghōsha in the Ramganj copper-plate, seems to have been superior to the style *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* adopted by the feudatory families of the Kanarese districts including the Goa Kadambas. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1017[1], the Śilāhāra prince Anantadēva (or Anantapāla) calls himself *Mahāmaṇḍalika* as well as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarādhipati*; so that we may perhaps presume that Udayarāja had *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* under him. He may have been connected also with the Kadambas of Kaliṅga—a line of feudatory chiefs under the Gaṅga kings; his father's name, Praharāja, points in the same direction, since it is a family surname in Orissa; the surname occurs in Orissan records, *e.g.*, in the Purī copper-plate of Nṛisiṁhadēva IV, dated Śaka 1305, and the inscription of A.D. 1436 on the Jayvijaya doorway in the Temple of Jagannātha at Purī.[2]

Praharāja, father of Udayarāja, is stated to have been Prime Minister (*pradhāna-sachiva*) to an unnamed prince of the family of Khadirapāla. This prince was in all probability Sāhasa. Some link between Praharāja and Sāhasa seems to be suggested by the circumstance that the words *sura, vairi, praṇata* and *kīrtti* employed by the composer of our record in his description of Sāhasa are repeated by him in his description of Praharāja, and both descriptions are couched in the same metre, *Vasantatilakā*. Regarding Samarasiṁha, father of Praharāja, described in our copper-plate as belonging to the Kadamba stock, it would be interesting to investigate data which might lead to his identity. In the *Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya*, a *Kādamba-Vāsa* figures as Chief Adviser to Pṛithvīrāja who was victorious over the Muhammadans in 1192 A.D.[3] In the *Pṛithvīrāja Rāsā*, a similar rôle is played by a *Samarr-Sing*. Tod[4] who identifies him with the ruler of Chitor, says: "The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host; brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in Council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and reverenced by the vassals of the Chauhan." It seems possible that Pṛithvīrāja's Chief Adviser was remembered by his family-designation *Kādamba-Vāsa* (=*Kādamba-Vaṁśa*) in the tradition embodied in the *Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya*, while he was remembered by his personal name *Samar-Sing* in the tradition relied on by the author of the *Pṛithvīrāja Rāsā* and that the latter confounded him with a homonymous personage who ruled over Chitor long after Pṛithvīrāja. If so, we might perhaps think of identifying this *Kādamba-Vāsa* Samar-Sing with our *Kadambakulāvataṁsa* Samarasiṁha.

Our inscription shows that Uḍyanna (Bihār)[5] was, even at the end of October, A.D. 1197, not yet conquered by the Muhammadans. But its fall was not delayed. The event is usually assigned to the year A.D. 1197. It probably happened slightly later. There is every reason to believe that the capture of Nadiā took place in the cold season of A.D. 1199. The data given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* seem to have the effect of placing the capture of the 'fortress of Bihār' less than one year before the fall of Nadiā. We are told[6] that Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār, after obtaining a fief in the Mirzāpur District, used to make occasional incursions into the territories of Monghyr ('Muner') and Bihār; and with the plunder thus secured, he organised an attack upon the fortified city called 'Bihār'. The attack succeeded, and the victor went with valuable booty to Qutb-ud-dīn who bestowed on him special favours. Meanwhile, astrologers at Nadiā announced their

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.
[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV (1895), pp. 132, 134: and Vol. LXII (1893), pp. 89, 92.
[3] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 277.
[4] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* (Ed.—W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 301.
[5] [See above, p. 223, n. 1.—Ed.]
[6] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, transl. Raverty, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. 2, pp. 548ff.

prediction that the man who had captured Bihār would invade Nadiā "next year", whereupon the king Rai Lakhmaniya (=Lakshmaṇasēna) permitted those who did not desire contact with the Muhammadans to leave his capital. We know from the *Adbhutasāgara* that the king was a believer in astrology; we may take it that he believed in the prophecy and was preparing to leave Nadiā, when Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār, posing as a horse-dealer, made his surprise attack on the palace. It would be reasonable to infer that the surprise-attack was launched *before* the period assured by the prophecy; in other words, not more than about one year elapsed between the fall of the 'Bihār-fortress' and the capture of Nadiā.

It appears from the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* account that the district of Monghyr ('Muner'), like Bihār, was at this period independent of Lakshmaṇasēna ('Rai Lakhmaniya'). Local tradition remembers it to have been under a Hindu king of Magadha called *Inderdaun* who is said to have succumbed to the Muhammadans led by Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār. The stronghold of Inderdaun is reputed to have been at Jaynagar (near Kiul) where, the story goes, his treasury was located. According to O'Malley[1], the Jaynagar tradition affirms that Inderdaun had "a trusted warrior, whom he raised to the highest posts, until at last he asked for the hand of his master's daughter in marriage. The king was very angry, and had a cavern made in which he placed all his treasure. When all was safely stowed away, the king invited his general to see his treasury, and when he unsuspectingly went in, he let fall the trap-door and sealed it with a magic seal. It was not long before he suffered for thus killing his best general; for the Muhammadans came down and drove him a fugitive from place to place, until he was obliged to fly to Orissa." According to Waddell[2] 'forts' ascribed to Inderdaun are pointed out by local people at Mt. Uran, 20 miles south-west of the town of Monghyr.

We may perhaps identify this *Inderdaun* with the Indradhavaladēva or Indradēva of our copper-plate. The element *-dhavala* is found in the style Vikrama-dhavala applied in a Kadamba record to a Chalukya king otherwise known as Vikramāditya[3]; our inscription also has a pun on *-dhavala* with reference to our *Vikramārka* (*...dhavalita-suramārggē Vikramārkkasya rājñaḥ* .. ll. 8-9). The name *Inderdaun* is usually restored to Skt. *Indradyumna*, where the element *-dyumna* seems to correspond to the *-dēva* in *Indradēva*. It is worth while enquiring if the 'trusted warrior' whom Inderdaun 'raised to the highest posts' was identical with our *mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayarāja.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1, *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 8, *Mālinī*; v. 3, *Śikhariṇī*; vv. 4, 6, 9 and 14, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7, 10-12, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 13, *Indravajrā*; vv. 15-20, *Anushṭubh*; v. 21, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse.

1 ॐ[4] [॥*] क्षुभ्यत्सप्तार्ण्णवानि स्खलदमरधुनी भ्रान्तिभिन्नाम्बराणि भ्रस्यत्क्षोणीधराणि प्रचलकचतलोत्क्षिप्ततारोत्कराणि ॥(।) मज्जद्भूमण्डलानि प्रसदसुरसुरोन्मुक्तहाहा-

2 रवाणि पायसाम्य: समस्ताक्षिपुरहरमहाताण्डवाडम्ब(म्ब)राणि ॥[१॥*] अस्ति खदिर-पालस्यान्वये दुर्निवारप्रसरदसमवीर्य्य: माधव: क्ष्मापतोऽभूत(त्) ॥(।) यद-सिद्धतस[म]-

[1] Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, *Monghyr*, Patna, 1926, pp. 218-9.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, 1892, pp. 1ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 205-6.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

3 स्थारातिमत्तेभकुम्भस्थलविगलितमुक्तालंकृता संगरश्रीः ॥[२॥*] ततो जातः श्रीमान-
गणितगुणग्रामरुचिभिर्यशोभिस्तेजोभिस्त्रिजगदवतीर्णाद्भुतभवः [।*] म-

4 हावीरो वैरिव्यतिकरशिरःश्रेणिमणिभिः स्फुरत्पादोपान्तो रणधवलनामा क्षितिपतिः
॥[३॥*] तत्पुत्रो भगवानहीनकटकः सद्भूतिशोभाकरः श्रद्धाव(ब)न्धुरवीरभद्रसहितः
सं[पृक्त]-

5 शक्तिक्रमः ॥(।) नानादर्शनभोग्यमूर्त्तिमहिमाश्चर्यप्रचारो वृषप्रस्थानोऽतिव(ब)लः प्रताप-
धवलो लोकेश्वरः शङ्करः ॥४[॥*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतवैरिनरेन्द्रमौलिमाणिक्य-
कोकन[दपू]-

6 जितपादपीठः [।*] श्रीसाहसो नरपतिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरुद्गीयमानभुजविक्रमविभ्र-
मश्रीः ॥[५॥*] वैकुण्ठीयकरप्रतिष्ठलडहश्रीकम्बु(म्बु)कान्तिच्छटालुण्ठाकीभिरुदार
विक्रम[तयो य]-

7 त्कीर्त्तिविस्फूर्त्तिभिः [।*] एताः प्रस्फुरितोर्म्मिमेदुरचतुःपाथोधिविच्छेदितक्ष्माचक्रेण
करालिता गुमुगुमायन्ते समन्ताद्दिशः ॥[६॥*] तस्यात्मजस्त्रिभुवनप्रवरप्रवीरः
श्री[वि]क्र-

8 मो नरपतिर्विजयी जगत्यां [।*] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजदण्डचलत्कृपाणत्रस्तारयो युधि
भृशं विमुखीभवन्ति ।[।७॥*] रिपुतिमिरनिकायः स्रस्तभूमण्डलश्रीः सरति गि-
रिदरीभ्योऽखण्डले म-

9 ण्डलाग्रे हृतरिपुकुमुदाभे धामभिर्द्धामधाम्नो धवलितसुरमार्गे विक्रमार्कस्य राज्ञः
॥[८॥*] तज्जाता शितखड्गखण्डितरिपुश्रीरिन्द्रदेवो नृप उद्यन्ने[1] जगत्प्रताप-
शमनक्री-

10 डागरिष्ठद्युतिः । गोभिश्छिन्नपरान्धकारपटलसंलब्ध(ब्ध)पुण्योदयः साक्षाच्चन्द्र इवापरो
विजयते भूमीशचूडामणिः ॥[९॥*] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)फेनरुचयो यदरिप्रिया-
णाम[प्यु]-

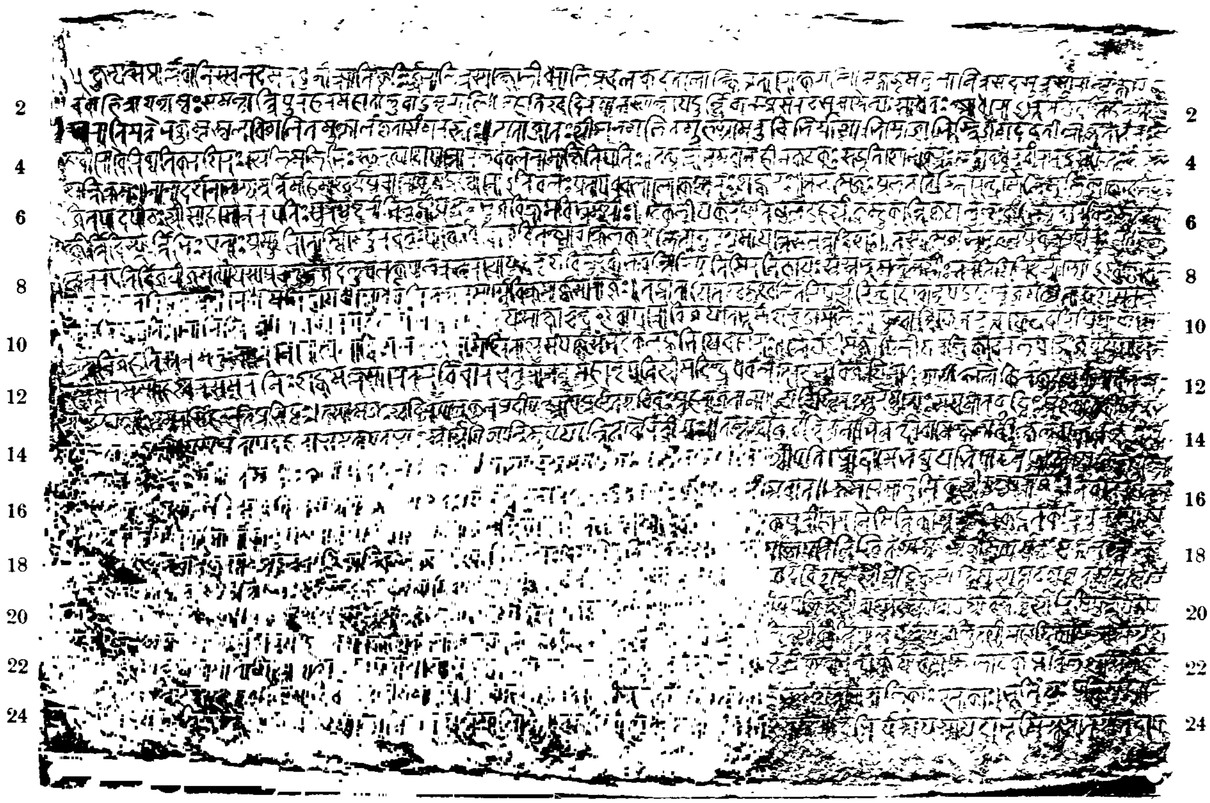
11 न्नतानि जहति स्तनमण्डलानि [।*] नेत्रोत्पलाद्विगलदञ्जनमिश्रिताश्रुसंपर्कसंभवकल-
ङ्कभियेव हाराः ॥[१०॥*] सोयं श्रीमज्जापिलीयचण्डिकाचरणपङ्कजपर्युपासन-

12 परपरममाहेश्वरसमरनिःशङ्कमल्लसारेतरविचारचतुराननमहानृपतिश्रीमदिन्द्रधवलदेवेन वि-
जयिना । आमोत्कलौ किल कदम्ब(म्ब)कुलावतंसः(तंसः)

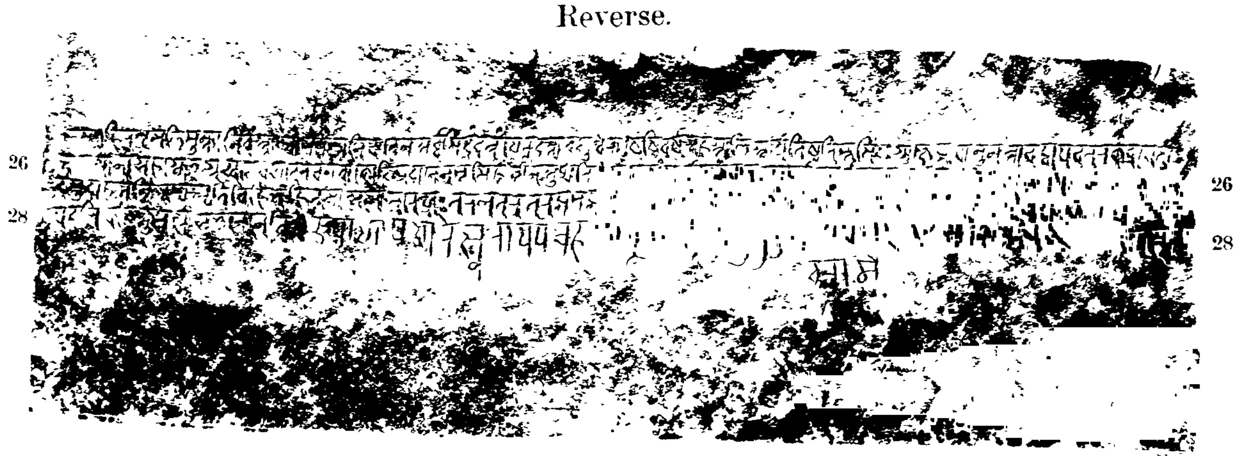
13 स्फूर्ज्जद्यशाः समरसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्यात्मजः खदिरपालकुलप्रदीपक्ष्माप-
प्रधानसचिवः प्रहराजनामा ॥[११॥*] वाचि स्थिरः सुरगुरोः स समान-
वु(बु)द्धिः प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिरभ-

[1] [See above, p. 223, n. 1.—Ed.]

Obverse.



Reverse.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 1458 E'37-275.

14 वत्प्रणतानुकम्पी । यस्य प्रतापदहनासमतापतप्ता: स्वर्गेपि शान्तिमुपयान्ति न वैरिवीरा: ॥[१२॥*] तन्नन्दनो वन्दिजनाभिनन्दी वामेक्षणावीक्षणवाणलक्ष: [।*] [श्री]-

15 मन्महामाण्डलिक: संजात[1][स्सुत्र:] कलासूदयराजनामा ॥[१३॥*] यस्योदग्रसमग्र-सङ्गरमिलत्प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिप्रोद्दामेभघटाभिपाटनपटौ दोर्दण्डयुग्मे

16 स्वयं । साम्राक्षं(ज्यं) सकलं निधाय विलसद्रामाजनैरावृत: स्वैरं वीरनरेन्द्र इन्द्रधवल: क्रीडारसं सेवते ॥[१४॥*] स महामाण्डलिकश्रीउदयराज: । न[वने]रपत्तणा-

17 यां[2] । गम्भारीग्राम‍निवासिलोकानुपगतानपि च राज्ञो युवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितभाण्डा-गारिकाक्षपटलिकप्रतीहारनैमित्तिकान्त:पुरिकदूतकरितुरगोष्ट्र-

18 नौसाधनिकदण्डनायकसामन्तसेनाधिकारिकानाज्ञापयत्यादिशति वो(बो)धयति च विदि-तमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामं स्वशी(सी)मापर्यन्तं सजलस्थलं

19 सलोहलवणाकरं सगर्त्तोषर:(रं) साम्रमधूकं वनवाटिकातृणजन्तुगोचरपर्यन्तं सोर्द्धाधश्च-तुराघाटविशुद्धं श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्यस्य द्वादशशतसम्वत्सरे

20 चतु:पंचाशद्वर्ष(र्षा)धिके कार्त्तिकमासस्य पूर्ण्णिमास्यां(यां) तिथौ सोमदिने ॥ भारद्वा-जगोत्राय व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजातीयपण्डितश्रीवाशु(सु)देवपौत्राय श्रावसथिश्रीरि(ऋ)षिपु-त्राय उपा-

21 ध्यायश्रीधारेश्वराय अस्मै अंशत्रयं ३ तथा कौशिकगोत्राय व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजा-तीयपण्डितश्रीश्रीधरपौत्राय पण्डितश्रीकीर्त्तिपालपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीमहादित्याय अस्मै अंश-

22 द्वयं २ विधिवत(त्) स्नात्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोकर्ण्ण-कुशकुसुमकरतलोदकपूर्ण्णं कृत्वा चन्द्रार्क्कं यावत्ताम्रेणोदकपूर्व्वेण शासनीकृत्य

23 प्रदापितवानिति मत्वा भागभोगादिकं यथादीयमानं पूर्व्वप्रवाहेनाज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्यथ [।*] तथा हि भवन्त्यत्र पौराणिका: श्लोका: । भूमिं य: प्रतिगृह्णाति

24 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[१५॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वशु(सु)धा दत्ता राजभि: सगरादिभिर्यस्य[3] यस्य यदा-भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

Reverse

25 लम् ॥[१६॥*] हिरण्यमणिमुक्तानि वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च [।*] तेन सर्व्वमिदं दत्तं येन दत्ता वशु(सु)न्धरा ॥[१७॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता(न्ता) च हये(न्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत(त्) [॥१८॥*]-

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[1] Read सुजात or स जात.

[2] [I would read पत्तलायां. —Ed.]

[3] Read सगरादिभि: । यस्य.

26 तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च [।*] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न
सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[१९॥*] गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं च भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं [।*] हरन्न-
रकमायाति यावदाहूतस(सं)प्लवम् ॥[२०॥*] सकलमि-

27 दमुदाहृतन्निस(श)म्य स्मृतिविहितं हितमात्मनो नरेन्द्राः [।*] तरलतरतरङ्गभ-
विश्वं स्वयमनुचिन्त्य न कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२१॥*] लिखापितमिदं
श्रीवास्तव्यकायस्थान्वयाच्च-

28 पटलिकठक्कुरश्रीसुजनेनेति ॥ [1]उपाध्यायधारेश्वराय पंचहस्य भूमिर्दता(त्ता) चुचु-
ड्डजा ग्रामे[2] सम्वत् १२५४ कार्त्तिकशुदि १५ सोमे ॥

No. 35.—SRINGI-RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under consideration was noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojhā in the *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25. He has also made full use of this record in his *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*.[3] But as the record is not yet published in full I edit it here for the first time at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

The place known as **Śṛiṅgī-ṛishi** is situated in the heart of hills about a mile and a half west of the village Vīkharaṇī which is about four miles south-east of the famous shrine of Śrī Ēkliṅgjī and is rather difficult of access.

The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple whose plinth is about 4 ft. high from a small reservoir of water the construction and subsequent consecration of which is the main theme of the record.

Excluding *Śrīḥ(Śrī)Viśva-Mā[trē namaḥ]* on the top, there are in all thirty-one and a half lines of writing in the inscription which covers a space about 1′ 10″ broad by 1′ 3″ high. The record is engraved on a slab of black stone which has been damaged by two big cracks running almost parallel to each other. In addition to these cracks the slab is broken in three places thus destroying portions of the inscription.

With regard to the **palaeography** attention may be drawn to the representation of the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* which are joined to the consonants both by *pṛishṭha-mātrās* and by *śirō-mātrās* side by side ; for examples of *ē* and *ō* cf. *pur-ēśvarēṇa* (l. 8) and *krōdh-ākulō* (l. 6) and for *ai* and *au* cf. *uttamataraiḥ* and *svarṇ-ādikaiḥ* (l. 18) and *tithau* (l. 17) and *prauḍha* (l. 9). This method of indicating the *mātrās* may be due to the fact that though by this time Nāgarī characters had assumed almost a definite form, the representation of the medial vowels, particularly the dipthongs, was still in a state of transition.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Of the few minor mistakes it shows, it may be pointed out that the dental nasal has been employed for the palatal one in *guhā-gēhakān=jitrā* (l. 5) : *kaśchit=samāḥ* (l. 6) has been used for *kāśchit=samāḥ* and *sō=yaṁ praśastiḥ* (l. 27, v. 28)

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[1] This portion beginning with उपाध्याया is written in a different hand.

[2] The word ग्रामे which the scribe could not fit into the space available was written below the line.

[3] For quotations from this record, see *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, foot-notes on pp. 549-89.

for *s=ēyaṁ praśastiḥ*. The word *gaḍha*[1] in *maṁḍal-ākṛiti-gaḍhō* (l. 9) is evidently a *dēśī* word. Besides, there are some mistakes of engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that the dental sibilant has once been employed for the palatal one in *Sambhur=akarōd=* (l. 17). So also *v* has once been used for *b* in *Śākē vāṇa-vasu-* (l. 29). Consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated. The whole inscription is in verse except adorations to Viśva-Mā[tā] (at the top) and Bhagavatī (l. 1), as well as portions of ll. 28 and 32.[2]

The inscription belongs to the time of prince **Mōkala** of Mewār whose date of accession[3] is not yet definitely known ; and its **object** is to record the consecration of a small reservoir of water constructed by him at the hilly site known as Śṛiṅgī-ṛishi, thereby to achieve bliss in the other world for one of his wives, named **Gaurāmbikā**, who was apparently not living at the time. She came of the Bāghēlā family and was the daughter of some prince, only last three syllables of whose name, *viz*....... *ṇabhrama*[4] are visible in the text now preserved. The ceremony took place **on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the Vikrama year 1485** (=A.D. 1428). Mōkala accompanied by his other wife **Māyāpurī** worshipped the sage Ṛiśhyaśṛiṅga and with the permission of his religious preceptor **Trilōchana** consecrated the reservoir.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes **Hammīra, Kshētra, Laksha** and **Mōkala.** It opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Bhāratī, the goddess of learning ; in the next verse the poet declares his intention of describing the princes born in the family of Bappa. Then begins the genealogy from Hammīra to Mōkala.

It has been said about **Hammīra** that he captured the city **Chēla** by name, and conquered by his might the notorious **Bhīls** who were his enemies. He went to **Ranathambaka**[5] or Ranthambhor, and there killed **Jaitrēśvara** who was inimical to him. He also reduced **Palhaṇāpura** to ashes.

Chēla as mentioned here is the Chēla-vāṭa of the Ēkliṅgjī inscription of V.S. 1545[6] (=A.D. 1488) and the Jīlwāḍa of modern times, situated on a high plateau on the north-western border of Mewār, overlooking the territory of Gōḍwār, a part of Mārwār. From the time of prince Rāi Mal (A.D. 1473-1509), this place has been in the possession of a Sōlaṅkī *Sardār* as his *jāgīr*. Formerly this *Sardār* held authority over some portion of Gōḍwār also, which was in all probability conquered by Hammīra together with Chēla. Before the time of Rāi Mal, the place might have been in the possession of the Chauhānas.[7] His victory over Bhīls means that Hammīra had also acquired the portion of Mewār now known as Bhōmaṭa, almost fully occupied by the Bhīl community, which evidently was not a part of Mewār at the time. Or, it may hint at

[1] See Hēmachandra's *Dēśīnāmamālā*, p. 99 (ed. Bühler).

[2] Below this last half line of the record is clearly visible in the impression a line of writing too carelessly engraved to be legible. It appears to read श्रीसुत्रधारजेसंग.................. । १७२(?)७ वीसा[ख] and seems to be a later addition made by a mason engaged to repair the older structure of the verandah containing the inscription.

[3] No record helpful in definitely determining either the date of the death of prince Laksha, the father of Mōkala, or the time of the latter's accession to the throne of Mewār has till now been discovered. But it is certain that Mōkala ascended the throne prior to V.S. 1478 (=A.D. 1421) as an inscription of his reign found in a ruined Jaina temple at Jāwar is dated in that year.

[4] It is not certain whether this is the concluding part of a personal or place name as the compound may be either *Karmadhāraya* or Genitive *Tatpurusha*.

[5] The reading appears to be *Na[rathaṁ]bakaṁ* which, by metathesis, may stand for *Ranathaṁbakaṁ*=(Skt. *Raṇastambhaka*), popularly known as Ranthambhor.

[6] *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 117-23.

[7] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 548, n. 4.

the acquisition of the part of Mewār now known as Vāgaḍa (Vaṭapadraka of inscriptions), which at present forms the territory of two different states, *viz.*, Ḍūngarpur and Bānswāṛā.[1] About the identification of Jaitrēśvara, who died at the hands of Hammīra, the present inscription does not give any clue. But in v. 25 of the Ēkliṅgjī inscription of V.S. 1545 mention has been made of a Jaitrakarṇa born in Ilāchala (Idar), sustaining the loss of life at the hands of Hammīra. The *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* also mentions Jitakarṇa, the *Ilā-durga-nāyaka* or 'the lord of the fort of Idar' as conquered by Hammīra. Thus it is not difficult to ascertain that Jaitrēśvara of the present record was none else than Jaitrakarṇa of the inscription at Ēkliṅgjī and Jitakarṇa of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya.* He was, as is evident, the master of the fort of Idar, but when killed by Hammīra he seems to have been at Ranthambhor as known from this record. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ranthambhor was a part of his dominions; but as it was at that time the centre of Rājput confederacy against the Pathān monarchy of Delhi, it seems quite probable that he might have gone there in connection with some such activity. The last exploit of Hammīra as mentioned here is the reduction of Palhaṇāpura to ashes. The latter is the phonetically decayed form of Prahlādanapura. This city was founded by Prahlādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Formerly it was a part of the Paramāra dominion, but now it is the capital of a separate state known as Pālanpur.[2]

Hammīra was succeeded by his son **Kshētra** popularly known as Khētsī. With regard to him it has been recorded here that he conquered **Amī Śāha** in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army, and brought his entire treasury and numberless horses to his own capital. He also demolished **Māṇḍalgarh** which a monarch as mighty as Alā-ud-dīn had dared not touch.

Though the present inscription is of little help in identifying Amī Śāha we are in a position to do so from other records. Thus, this event has been mentioned in v. 156 of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya,* as a bygone illustration to prince Kumbhā's victory over Mahamūd Khiljī of Mālwā, where Amī Śāha, conquered and killed by Kshētra, has been described as *Mālavapati* or the Sulṭān of Mālwā. It is therefore clear that Amī Śāha whom prince Kshētra defeated, was the governor of Mālwā, and the scene of this battle was somewhere in the vicinity of the famous fort of Chitor as recorded in v. 22[3] of the unpublished inscription of V.S. 1517(=A.D. 1460) located in the uppermost story of Kumbhā's Tower of Victory at Chitor. Thus Amī Śāha was none else than Dilāvar Khān Ghūri who was the first Sulṭān of Māṇḍu (Mālwā) as known from the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr.*[4] He was contemporary to the Delhi Sulṭān Mahammad Tughlak. Col. Tod in his treatment of Kshētra says that 'he obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Humāyūn at Bakrol.'[5] Here he has obviously been misled by the bardic chronicles wherein **'Amī'** might have been identified with **'Humāyūn'** on the meagre phonetic semblance between the two names; or the name of a well-known monarch such as Humāyūn might have been inserted in place of that of one who was not so well-known, a practice that was not infrequent among the bards of Rājputānā. Humāyūn ascended the throne in V.S. 1587 (=A.D. 1530), whereas Kshētra's accession had taken place in V.S. 1421 (=A.D. 1364). They, therefore, could not be contemporary to each other. Rai Bahadur Ojhā says that Col. Tod had in his knowledge the dates of accession of both Kshētra and Humāyūn, but that the misstatement was due to not comparing them at the time of writing.[6]

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[1] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 549, n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 549, n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 563, n. 1.
[4] A. Rogers' Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 407.
[5] Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 321 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[6] *Raj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 565, para. 2.

Kshētra was succeeded by his son **Laksha**, about whom it has been stated in the present inscription that he was a prince of great religious ardour and that he freed **Gayā** of the barbarous tax levied by the Muhammadans, which all Hindu pilgrims had to pay. This tax was a source of great discomfort and torment to the Hindus and evidently prevented them to a great extent from undertaking any pilgrimages. Laksha, the pious Hindu prince, pacified the Muhammadan governor of Gayā with offers of gold and horses and got this tax totally abolished for the Hindus. This tax was in force not only at Gayā, but was, in fact, levied over *Tristhalī* or the three main Hindu religious centres, *viz.*, **Kāśī, Prayāga,** and **Gayā.** Laksha got all these sacred places freed from the tax as known from v. 207[1] of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 (=A.D. 1460). This meritorious deed of Laksha also finds mention in v. 38[2] of Rāi Mal's inscription of V.S. 1545 at Ēkliṅgjī.

Mōkala, the son of Laksha, ascended the throne of Mewār after his father's death. According to this record he fought two battles, one with **Fīrūz Khān** and the other with **Ahmad,** wherein he utterly defeated both. This Fīrūz Khān was the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the brother of Zafar Khān or Muzaffar Shāh I, whom Muhammad Tughluq II had appointed as the governor of Gujarāt in place of Furhut-ool-moolk and who afterwards became an independent Sulṭān.[3] When Tātār Khān, the son of Muzaffar Shāh, having deprived his father of his kingdom, himself seized the throne, he appointed Shams Khān, his uncle, as his minister. Shams Khān afterwards poisoned Tātār Khān at the instigation of Muzaffar Shāh,[4] his brother, and the latter being pleased with this service had bestowed upon him the *jāgīr* of Nāgor.[5] When Shams Khān died, his son Fīrūz Khān became the owner of Nāgor. When he began to annoy Mōkala by his foul intentions, the latter attacked Nāgor and Fīrūz Khān fled from the field of battle and his army was utterly routed. This victory of Mōkala over Fīrūz Khān is recorded not only in this inscription, but also in v. 51 of the Samiddhēśvara temple inscription[6] at Chitor of the same year as the present one and in v. 44 of the Ēkliṅgjī inscription of V.S. 1545. The event is also described in Persian chronicles such as *Tabkāt-i-Akbarī*, but there it is said that Rāṇā Mōkala was defeated by Fīrūz Khān and three thousand men of his army were killed in the battle.[7] This discrepancy between the two records—epigraphical and historical—has wrongly led the author of *Vīra-Vinōda* to think of two battles fought between Fīrūz Khān and Mōkala in one of which the latter was victorious and in the other defeated.[8]

Mōkala's second battle as known from this record was waged against **Ahmad** wherein also the latter was defeated. It is rather difficult to ascertain who this Ahmad was. In v. 221[9] of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517, Ahmad of our inscription has been confused with Mahammad whom Col. Tod has regarded as Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the grand-son of Fīrūz Tughluq, and the son of Muhammad Shāh, and whom he believes to have been defeated by Mōkala near Rāipur in Mewār, on his way to Gujarāt to which direction he was fleeing after his defeat at the hands of Tīmūr in the battlefield of Pānipat.[10] But this is not possible, for Tīmūr reached

[1] *Raj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 572, n. 1.
[2] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, p. 111.
[3] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 584.
[4] Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 9 and *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 584.
[5] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, pp. 584-85.
[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 417.
[7] Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 148, n. 5.
[8] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 585, n. 5.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 586, n. 1.
[10] Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 331 (W. Crooke's ed.).

Delhi on December 18, A.D. 1398, a period much prior to the accession of Mōkala. Therefore Ahmad of our inscription seems to be Ahmad Shāh I. of Gujarāt who was a contemporary of Mōkala and the latter might have defeated him in some battle. It also seems quite probable that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription might have inserted by mistake *Mahammad* in place of *Ahmad*, the two names being phonetically similar.[1] An attack of Ahmad Shāh I. of Gujarāt directed against Jīlwārā in the dominion of Rāṇā Mōkala, after extracting tribute from the ruler of Ḍūngarpur, has been referred to in *Tabkāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ālfi*, but this event is said to have taken place in A.H. 836 (A.D. 1433) which is five years later than the time of our inscription.[2] This shows that the fight referred to in our inscription is quite different from that mentioned in the Persian chronicles. It is possible that Mōkala had to fight Ahmad Shāh twice.

Other historical information from the record with regard to Mōkala is that he erected a strong rampart with three gates round the famous shrine of Śrī Ēkaliṅgajī. He weighed himself against gold, silver and other precious objects and gave them in charity as many as twenty-five times. He performed one of these ceremonies at the holy *Tīrtha* of Pushkar, on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika.

The record was composed by one **Yōgīśvara** who had the epithets *Vāṇīvilāsa* and *Kavirāja*. These epithets show that he was a very learned man and was held in high esteem at that time. Nothing else is directly known of him from this epigraph. The use of *ru* in place of the vowel *ṛi* in *Rushyaśṛiṁga-rushi* (l. 20), however, seems to suggest that he was a native of South India.

The mason (*sūtradhāra*) was **Phanā**, the son of Hādā. According to the inscription he was a famous figure and was held in high respect by others of his profession, and was fully conversant with works on literature and architecture.

The **date** of the inscription which is given both in numerals and in words is **Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in Saṁvat 1485.** It seems to be irregular for it corresponds to Saturday, 17th July, 1428 A.D.

TEXT.[3]

श्री:[4]विश्वमा[त्रे नमः]

1[5] ॥०॥ श्रीभगवत्यै नमः। देवीं देवकिरीटरत्ननिकरासंशोभिपादांबुजां वीणास्फाटि[क]

— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — [— — ◡ —][6] — ◡ — । — — —: ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡

◡ ◡ — — — ◡ —

2 [भ]ारतीं नत्वा मोहहरां परां स्वजननीं मुक्तांकिसद्भूषणां(णाम्) ॥१[7] वीरान्व-

य्यजवंशजान[धि] ◡ — — —[य]थाबुद्धि तान्कां[श्चि] — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡

◡ ◡ — [हंमीर]राजा[दि]-

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[1] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 586.

[2] Bayley, *His. of Guj.*, p. 120, n. 4.

[3] From ink-impressions and the original.

[4] Read *Śrī*.

[5] Each line generally ends with one or two *daṇḍas* which are for the most part to be regarded either as ornamental or superfluous.

[6] Syllables within these brackets are only partially visible.

[7] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

3 कान् । शश्वद्याचकवांछिताधिकलसत्स्वर्णप्रदानोद्यतान्संग्रामाहतवैरिराजनिकरान्गौरी-
श[सेवाप]रान् ॥२[1] सोयं बप्पजवंशभूषण[मणी रूपेण पु]ष्पायुधो हम्मी-

4 रो धरणीधरः [स]मभवद्वीरः सुधीरो रणे । नित्या व्याप्तचराचरा विजयिनो
यस्येंदुकुंदो[ज्ज्व]ला कीर्त्ति[र्मूर्त्तिरि]वैश्वरी विजयते मान्या सदा भूभुजां
(जाम्) ॥३[1] चेलाख्यं पुरमग्रहीद-

5 रिगणान्भिल्लान्गुहागेहकान्जि(ज्जि)त्वा तानखिलान्निहत्य च ब[2]लात्ख्यातासिना
संगरे । यो ग[त्वा] न[रथं]बकं समवधीज्जैत्रेश्वरं वैरिणं यो दूरस्थित-

6 पल्हणापुरमपि क्रोधाकुलो दग्धवान् ॥४[1] एवं सर्वमकंटकं समगमद्भूमंडलं
भूपतिर्हम्मीरो लल[नास्मरः] सुरपदं संपाल्य क(का)श्चित्समाः[3] [।*] सम्यग्व-
र्म्महरं ततः स्वतन-

7 [यं] सुस्थाप्य राज्ये निजे क्षेत्रं क्षत्रियवंशमंडनमणिं प्रत्यर्थिकालानलं(लम्) ॥५[1]
आजावमीसाहमसिप्रभावाज्जित्वा च हत्वा यवनानशेषान् ॥(।) यः कोश-
जातं तुरगानसंख्य[ा]-

8 न्समानयत्स्वां किल राजधानीं(नीम्) ॥६[4] टिल्ली[5]चारुपुरेश्वरेण बलिना स्पृष्टोपि
नो पाणिना राज्ञा श्रीमद[ला]वदीति विलसन्नाम्ना [ग]जस्वामिना ।
सोपि क्षेत्रमहीभुजा

9 निजभुजप्रौढप्रभावाद्दो भग्नो विश्रुतमंडलाकृतिगढो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥७[1]
इंद्रेणासुरशंकिना प्र[6]णम[ता सं]प्रार्थितः शंकरः संत्येते दनुजाः पदं मम
बलादादातुकामा विभो ।

10 एवं किं करवाण्यथो वद हरः[7] श्रुत्वा वचः शंभुना नीत[:*] क्षेत्रमही-
पतिनि(र्निं)जपदं दैत्यांतहेतोः स्वयं(यम्) ॥८[1] दिव्यांगनाभूषि[तवास]भागे
दैत्यांति(त)के क्षेत्रधराधिनाथे । स्वर्गस्थिते कल्पितदानदक्षे(क्षो)

11 लक्षोभवद्देवतरुर्बुधानां(नाम्) ।[।*]९[8] येन कांचनतुलादिदानतस्तोषिता द्विजवरा
महीतले । येन दुर्जयसमस्तभूभुजः संहृ[ता]: सदसिधारया रणे ॥१०[9]
दत्वा(त्त्वा) [तुंगतु]रंगहेमनिचयांस्तस्मै गढ(या)-

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

[3] The arrangement of words in this line is obscure. *Samagamat* is to be connected with *sura-padaṁ* and *saṁpālya* with *bhū-maṁdalaṁ.*

[4] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[5] The name of this well-known capital of India begins either with *Ṭi* or *Ḍhi* in most of the inscriptions of this period.

[6] This syllable seems to have been engraved over an erasure.

[7] Read *Hara.*

[8] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[9] Metre : *Rathōddhatā.*

12 [स्वा]मिने मुक्ता येन कृता गया करभराद्वर्षाण्यनेकान्यत: । प्रीता: स्वर्गगता वदंति पितरस्त्वद्यापि सत्याशिषं तस्यासा[विति] लक्षभूतलभुजो वंशश्चिरं नंदतु ॥११[1] तस्मिन्प्रयाते त्रिदिवं

13 ⏑ — — लक्षैर्थिसंकल्पितकल्पवृक्षे [।*] देवैकलिंगार्चनब[2]द्धलक्षे विख्यातदुर्बोधनयैकदक्षे ॥१२[3] तस्या[4] क्ष्मापतिवंदितांघ्रिकमलो [ल]क्षेश्वरस्यात्मज: श्रीमो(मा)न्मोकल एष वंशतिलक: संपूर्णचंद्रान-

14 [न: ।*] — — [गा]हृतमंत्रपावनजलैर्जाताभिषेकस्तत: स्वं राज्यं परिपालयत्यरि-कुलं संत्रासयन्सर्वत: ॥१३[1] यस्याग्रे समभूत्पलायनप[र]: पेरोजषा(खा)ना[5] स्वयं पात्साहाह्मद[5] दु:सहोपि समरे संत्यज्य को-

15 — ⏑ — [।*] — — त्राणवशेन शुष्कवदनो मु[क्ता]लको रुद्ध-वागश्वेनापि विवर्जितो गिरिगुहागेहाश्रित: सांप्रतं(तम्) ॥१४[1] य: पंचविं-शति[तु]ला: समदाद्द्विजे(जे)भ्यो हेम्नस्तथैव रजतस्य च फद्यकानां-(नाम्) ।

16 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — य विमुक्तिहेतो: सोयं नृपो विजयते वरकीर्त्तिपूर: ॥१५[6] येन स्फाटिकसक्षि(च्छि)लामय इव ख्यातो मही[मं]डले प्राकारो रचित: सुधाधवलितो देवैकलिं-

17 — ⏑ — । — — — ⏑ ⏑ मत्कपाटविलसद्दा(द्वा)रत्रयालंकृत: कैलासं नु विहाय सं(शं)भुरकरोद्यत्राधिवासे मतिं(तिम्) ॥१६[1] कार्त्तिक्यामथ पू[र्णि]मावरतिथौ योदात्तुलां कांचनीं शास्त्रज्ञ: प्रथमं

18 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — दिकं स द्विजै: । देवं[7] पुष्करतीर्थसाक्षिणममुं नारायणं शाश्वतं रूपेणादिवराहमुत्तमतरै: स्वर्णादिकै: पू[जय]न् ॥१७[1] कन्याधेनुधरा-तुरंगमरथग्रंथादिदा-

19 — ⏑ — — — — — ⏑ ⏑ पुष्करेषु विदितो जेष्टा(ज्येष्ठा)[दि]षु श्रद्धया । तेन त्रस्तसमस्तभूपललनासंगीतसत्कीर्त्तिना षु(खु)म्माणान्वयशं[करे]ण सुधिया विद्वत्प्रियेण क्षितौ ॥१८[1] पर्याये

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[4] Read *tasya.*

[5] The composer seems to have employed this foreign name without the case termination.

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] The syllable *vaṁ* seems to be carved over an erasure.

Sringi-Rishi Inscription of Prince Mokala.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE. TWO-FIFTHS. Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 1462 E'37-275.

20 . . ⏑ — — . . . . ⏑ — परं(रम्) । रु(ऋ)ष्यशृंगरु(ऋ)षिस्तो-
त्रव्याजमालंब्य भूप[ति]: ॥१९[1] किं वाच्यो महिमा गिरेरिह मया योगीश्व-
[रेणा]मुना विख्यातस्य महीतले हिमवता

21 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — तरे निवसति श्रीशांतया कांतया
साकं पुण्यनदीलसत्परिसरे साख्या(त्वा)द(दृ)षि[:*] शृंगिकः ॥२०[2] [यत्रा]सौ
क्षणमेकमेव वसतिः[3] श्रीमानृषी(षिः)

22 [शृंगिकः पु]ण्याचारपरो विभांड[कसुतो यो]गी तपःसागरः । काले तत्र निरंतरं
जलधरा वर्षंत्यपाराबु(म्बु)भिर्नैवाकालमृतिर्भवेन्न हि त[था वं]ध्या भवेयुः
स्त्रियः ॥२१[2] बाघेलान्व-

23 यदीपिका वितरणप्रख्यातहस्ता च [या*] — ` णभ्रमभूमिपालतनया पुष्पायुध-
प्रेयसीं(सीम्) [।*] या रूपेण निजेन तां समजयत्सौभाग्यसंशोभि[ता] या
सर्वत्र पतिव्रतानुगणने मुख्यै-

24 व संकीर्त्यते ॥२२[2] तस्या[:*] सदिंदीवरलो[चना]याः संपूर्णपीयूषकराननां[याः ।]
गुणान्वितायाः गुणतोषितायाः श्रीपार्वतीसेवनसादरा[या]: ॥२३[4] गौरांबिकाया
निजवल्ल-

25 भायाः सल्लोकसंप्राप्तिफलैकहेतो[: ।*] एषा पुर[स्तस्य] विभांडसूनोर्वा(र्वा)पी
निबद्धा किल मोकलेन ॥२४[5] वाप्यां पुण्यसरिज्जलेन सततं संपूरितायामिह
स्नानं यः कुरुते

26 द्विजः स हि भवेद्वेदादिविद्याकृती । राजन्यो यदि [कंटकै]र्विरहितं प्राप्नोति
राज्यं चिरं वैश्यो वैश्रवणाधिकां श्रियमहो शूद्रोपि सौ[ख्यं प]रं(रम्) ॥२५[2]
यः कुर्यादृषिपंचम्यां

27 स्नानं वाप्यां प्रियान्वितः । ब्राह्मणो वा तथान्योपि स ल[भेतेप्सितं] फलं
(लम्) ॥२६[1] योगीश्वरेण कविना रचिता मनोज्ञा सो(से)यं प्रशस्तिरुचिता-
मृत[पूर्ण]वर्णा । आकर्ण्य यां सुवि[बु]-

28 धाः सुखिनो भवंति श्रीभार[ती]मिव कथां कलुषापहर्त्रीं(र्त्रीम्) ॥२७[6] [इति]
श्रीवाणीविलासकविराजयोगीश्वरविरचिता प्रशस्तिर्जयति ॥ मायापुरी[वल्ल]भया
समेतो विभांडसू-

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Read *vasati.*

[4] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[5] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

29 नं(नु) [1]परिपूजयंस्तं चित्तोवनस्यात्मगुरोरनुज्ञां संप्राप्य चामीकरदान[दक्ष][।*] ॥२८[2] शाके वा(बा)णवसुश्रुतिप्रविलसत्चं(च्चं)द्रांकित(ते) विश्रुते पंचम्यां शु(सु)तिथौ [र]वौ च नभसः पक्षे सिते

30 सन्मतिः [।*] श्री[मल्ल]चनरेश्वरस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलो भूपतिर्विद्वद्वृंद[विभूषि]तः समकरोद्वापीप्रतिष्टा(ष्ठा)मिह ॥२९[3] उत्कीर्णाषि(खि)लसूत्रधारगुरुणा से[यं] प्रशस्ति[ः*] शुभा वि-

31 ख्याते[न] फनाभिधेन [सु]धिया ह्याद्यात्मजेनामुना [।*] साहित्यादिकशि[ल्प]-शास्त्रविलसत्घा(त्वा)द्योधिना साधुना श्रीनारायणसेवकेन नृपतेः श्रीमोकलस्याज्ञया [॥३०*][3]

32 [4]संवत् १४८५ वर्षे श्रावण शुदि ५ रविदिन(ने) ॥ चिर(रं) नंद[तु] ॥छ[5]॥ श्रीः ।

TRANSLATION.

[Obeisance to] the illustrious [Mother] of the universe. Adoration to the illustrious Bhagavatī.

(Verse 1) Having paid obeisance to the illustrious goddess of learning, my supreme mother and the dispeller of delusion, with (*her*) lotus-like feet (*looking*) lovely with the gems on the crests of gods all round; holding a lyre and a crystal [rosary]......and wearing beautiful ornaments studded with pearls;

(Verse 2) [I describe] to the best of my knowledge, the heroes such as....prince Hammīra, etc., the descendants of Bappa, who had been ever-ready to offer shining gold more than desired by those in need, who had killed numbers of powerful enemies in battles and who had been devout worshippers of the Lord of Gaurī (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(Verse 3) There came in being the well-known ornamental gem to the family of the descendants of **Bappa**, the heroic prince **Hammīra**, the very Cupid in form, resolute in battles and victorious, whose fame, like the body of Īśvara (*i.e.*, Śiva), permanent, all-pervading, white as the moon and the jasmine flower and always respected by (*other*) princes....reigns supreme.

(Verse 4) (*It was he*) who captured the city of **Chēla** after having conquered and perforce killed in battle with (*his*) famous sword his enemies, the Bhīls, residing in caves; who murdered the inimical **Jaitrēśvara** going himself to **Naratharhbaka** (Ranthambhor) and also being agitated by anger, burnt down the distant city of **Palhaṇāpura**.

(Verse 5) Hammīra, the very god of love for damsels, having thus protected the earth for a certain number of years and having then established over his kingdom his son **Kshētra**, (*who was*) an ornamental jewel of the Kshatriya race, the destructive fire to (*his*) enemies, and worthy well[6] to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods.

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[1] There is an *anusvāra* over *pa* which is redundant.

[2] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[4] This half line begins from the middle of the slab.

[5] This is a topless *chha* and many people employ it even now particularly at the end of letters to denote auspiciousness.

[6] Lit. well to wear armour. सम्यग्वर्मंहरं of the text echoes सम्यग्विनीतमथवर्महरं कुमारं of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII, v. 94.

(Verse 6) (*It was Kshētra*) who having conquered in battle **Amī Sāha** by the might of (*his*) sword and totally annihilated the **Yavanas,** verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital.

(Verse 7) Oh ! even that famous fort of **Maṇḍala,**[1] which even the lord of the lovely city of Delhi, powerful and owning elephants, known by the shining name of **Alāvadī,** dared not touch with his hand, was shattered by prince Kshētra, after having conquered all the enemies with the impetuous might of his arms.

(Verse 8) (*God*) Śaṅkara was (*thus*) solicited by humble Indra in fear of demons, " O Eternal Hara ! here are these demons aspiring to seize my position by force ; O tell me, what should I do under such circumstances ? " On hearing (*these*) words, prince Kshētra was taken away by Śambhu himself to his own abode, in order to destroy the demons.

(Verse 9) Prince Kshētra, the death-incarnate for demons, having (*thus*) settled down in heaven with heavenly damsels adorning (*his*) left side—**Laksha,** expert in giving (*as much*) charities (*as could be*) imagined, came to be the desire-yielding tree for the learned.

(Verse 10) (*It was he*) by whom best of the Brāhmaṇas on the surface of the earth were gratified by various charities, like gold weighed against himself, and by whom all (*other*) invincible princes were killed in battles with the sharp edge of (*his*) sword.

(Verse 11) May the famous line of that prince Laksha ever rejoice (*in this world*) by whom Gayā (*the holy Tīrtha*) was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying (*as ransom*) lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gayā, and for which (*whose*) ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer (*on him*) genuine benedictions.

(Verse 12) That Laksha—who. . . ., who had assigned the desire-yielding tree to suppliants, who had (*his*) attention fixed upon the worship of God Ēkaliṅga and who had been the only expert in political matters which are avowed to be inscrutable—having gone to the upper world—,

(Verse 13) This illustrious **Mōkala,** the son of that lord Laksha, the holy forehead-mark of the family, with face like the full-moon and with lotus-like feet revered by (*other*) princes, having been (*installed king*) by bathing in water made holy by incantations (*and*) fetched from. . . . . ., protects his kingdom frightening the group of enemies all round.

(Verse 14) (*It was he*) from whose presence **Pērōja Khānā** (**Fīrūz Khān**) himself had resorted to fleeing (and) Pātsāha **Ahmada,** although irresistible in battle. . . . abandoning (*his*) . . . . has, at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed and bereft even of (*his*) horse, taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save. .

(Verse 15) This well-known prince, who weighed himself against gold, silver and *Phadyakas*[2] twenty-five times and distributed them among *dvijas* for the liberation of . . . ., and who is full of glorious fame, reigns supreme.

(Verse 16) By him was erected a rampart, which was renowned all over the earth, which looked as if built of nice crystal slabs being whitewashed with lime and which was adorned with three beautiful gates having handsome panels, [round the site of] the God Ēkaliṅga, where Lord Śambhu had indeed made up his mind to reside, leaving aside Kailāsa.

[1] Lit. the circular fort ; modern Māṇḍalgarh.

[2] This seems to be the name of a small silver coin whose value might have been worth two annas, for in some parts of Rājputānā a two-anna piece is even now called a *Phadiyā* or *Phadyaka*. (*Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 588, n. 4.)

(Verse 17) He who was conversant with the holy lore having first of all worshipped with high-class gold, etc., the Eternal Nārāyaṇa with the (*external*) appearance of the Primeval Boar, at the holy site of Pushkara, [and having....].... in company of Brāhmaṇas—weighed himself against gold on the beautiful full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, and gave it away in charity.

(Verse 18[1]) By giving maidens, cows, pieces of land, horses, chariots, books, etc., in charity, ...looked upon in the land of Pushkara with reverence (*even*) among (*his*) seniors (?)

By him who was wise, dear to the learned on earth, conducive of felicity to the family of Khummāṇa and whose fame was sung by the frightened wives of all princes.

(Verse 19) In turn.............................. Of the prince, resorting to the pretext of eulogising the sage Ṛishyaśṛiṅga.

(Verse 20) How is to be described by me, this Yōgīśvara, the majesty of the mountain here, which is famous all over the earth and which........with the Himālaya ; and on which, in the beautiful vicinity of a holy river[2], resides (*the sage*) Ṛishyaśṛiṅga in person, with (*his*) beloved, the illustrious Śāntā.

(Verse 21) Wherever this illustrious sage Śṛiṅgika who is the son of Vibhāṇḍaka, who is an ocean of austerity, and solely given to meritorious deeds, puts up even for a moment, there the clouds pour inexhaustible waters at the proper time, untimely death never takes place and women do not remain barren.

(Verse 22) (*For her*) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghēlās, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince....**ṇabhrama**, who by virtue of her own beauty surpassed (*even*) Cupid's beloved (*i.e.*, Rati), who was graced with prosperity, (*and*) who in the enumeration of women true to their consorts is celebrated everywhere as the foremost—

(Verse 23) For her, whose eyes were like beautiful lotuses, whose face was like the full-moon, who was possessed of merits, who could be pleased with merits (*and*) who took delight in attending upon the illustrious Pārvatī—

(Verse 24) For (*that*) **Gaurāmbikā**, his own beloved, this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhāṇḍa has been constructed by **Mōkala** with the sole view of her achieving (*a blissful situation in*) the other world.

(Verse 25) Whosoever takes bath in (*this*) reservoir here, perpetually filled up with the waters of the holy river—(*if*) a Brāhmaṇa, he verily becomes versed in (*branches of*) learning like Vēda, etc.; if a Kshatriya, (*he*) gains lasting royalty free of adversaries ; (*if*) a Vaiśya, (*he obtains*) wealth more than that possessed by Kubēra ; (*and if*) a Śūdra, (*he*) too gets a unique state of excellence.

(Verse 26) Whosoever, a Brāhmaṇa or anybody else, would bathe in (*this*) reservoir with (*his*) wife on (*the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada called*) Ṛishi-Pañchamī, (*he*) would gain his desired aim.

(Verse 27) This well-known charming panegyric—whose letters are appropriate and full of sweetness, (*and*) which the learned delight upon hearing as (*they do*) by (*hearing*) the illustrious story of the Mahābhārata, the dispeller of opacity—has been composed by the poet **Yōgīśvara.**

(Line 28) Let there be victory to this panegyric composed by Yōgīśvara, the lord of poets (*kavirāja*), and who had the epithet *Vāṇīvilāsa* (lit. in whom moved gracefully the goddess of learning).

[1] Owing to their fragmentary nature it is difficult to understand correctly the sense of this and the next verse.

[2] This really speaking is not a river but an ordinary mountain stream which flows in rainy season.

(Verses 28-29) Prince **Mōkala,** son of the illustrious prince Laksha, of refined intellect and expert in giving charities of gold, after worshipping that son of Vibhāṇḍa, with his beloved **Māyāpurī** (*and*) having obtained the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana, consecrated the reservoir here attended by a host of learned people, on **Sunday** the auspicious **fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa** in the happy year signified by the shining moon, the Vēdas, the Vasus and the arrows (=**1485**).

(Verse 30) This well-known auspicious epigraph has been engraved by order of the illustrious prince Mōkala, by the famous and wise **Phanā**, who is the son of Hādā, who is foremost of all (*other*) masons, who is a glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc., and who is a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa.

(Line 32) **Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the year 1485** (of the Vikrama era). May (*this*) rejoice for long.

No. 36.—A PALI COUNTERPART OF THE NALANDA TEXT OF PRATITYASAMUTPADAVIBHANGA.

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has rendered a distinct service to Buddhist scholarship by editing from two brick inscriptions found at Nālandā[1] a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the *Pratī-tyasamutpāda-vibhaṅga-sūtra.* This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is *Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirdēśa.* Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,[2] was popularly known as *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā.*[3] A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in 661 A. D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjio from the Chinese, is *Nidāna-sūtra.*[4] Now all that is wanted is a Pāli counterpart of the Nālandā text.

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a *Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅga-sūtra*, a *Sūtra* of the *Vibhaṅga* or *Niddesa* class, of which several examples are to be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, particularly in its *Vibhaṅga-vagga.* As a *Sūtra*, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, *viz.*, an introduction, a statement of the subject-matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

Vibhaṅga is, of course, the same Buddhist term as *niddesa*, e.g., *Sachcha-niddesa*[5]=*Sachcha-vibhaṅga*[6]. The *Vibhaṅga-suttas* developed and contained in the Five *Nikāyas*, *i.e.*, in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, called *Vibhaṅga.* The earlier or *Sutta* form of each *vibhaṅga* or exegesis has been distinguished in it as *Suttanta-bhājaniya* from *Abhidhamma-bhājaniya.* In the *Suttanta-bhājaniya* portion of each of the *vibhaṅgas*, *Sachcha*, *Satipaṭṭhāna*, *Dhātu*, *Indriya*, and the rest, the unnecessary *Sūtra* characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated,

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[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 193-199.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 611-623.
[3] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 200.
[4] Nanjio's Catalogue No. 628.
[5] *Dīgha*, II, pp. 304-313.
[6] *Majjhima*, III, pp. 248-252.

nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The *Suttanta-bhājaniyas* presuppose each a full text somewhere in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pāli Canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pāli Canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented.

It is historically important to note that there is a Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit *Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅga-sūtra*, which is contained in the *Suttanta-bhājaniya* section of a *vibhaṅga*, called *Paṭichchasamuppāda-vibhaṅga*. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the *Abhidhamma* text is *Pachchayākāra-vibhaṅga* [1] But *Paṭichchasamuppāda-vibhaṅga* is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.[2] Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pāli, there are other points in which the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the *anulōma* mode of formulation of the Law of Causal Genesis has been adopted to explain the *samudaya, āchaya* or *prabhava* aspect of *duḥkha*. Secondly, in both, the *uddēśa* or *dēśanā* is followed by a *vibhaṅga* or exegesis. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. But, upon the whole, there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the *Vibhaṅga-sutta* which is not included either in the Pāli *Paṭichchasamuppāda-vibhaṅga* or in the text of the *Vibhaṅga* as a whole. Further, the Abhidhamma chapter has a purely Abhidhamma section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pāli *Paṭichchasamuppāda-vibhaṅga-sutta* which is presupposed by the *Suttanta-bhājaniya* in the *Abhidhamma* treatise.

No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

In his article on the above inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.) Dr. Hirananda Sastri has wrongly understood two expressions and suggested interpretations which do not appear to be correct.

Dr. Sastri says (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the Maukhari king Śarvavarman is called *Paramēśvara* in the Aśīrgaḍh Seal inscription. But it is not so. Both this and the Nālandā Seal inscriptions[3] call him *Paramamāhēśvara*. On the other hand it is the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II that refers, among previous kings, to *Paramēśvara* Śarvarman[4] whom Fleet identifies with the Śarvavarman of the Aśīrgaḍh seal.[5]

Again, Dr. Sastri asserts that 'the fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a 'subordinate prince' (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). Here again the doctor is unfortunately misled, for the title in question denotes 'paramount sovereignty' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 332), and not a subordinate position. It must be noted in this connection that this title was of such special significance that a conquering monarch took great pride in assuming it after he vanquished a mighty

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[1] *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 135 ff.

[2] *Sammoha-vinodanī, p. 130 : Idāni . . . Paṭichchasamuppāda-vibhaṅge yā ayaṁ avijjāpachchayā saṅkhārāti ādinā nayena tanti nikkhittā.*

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220 and above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 216, text l. 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

foe. The Western Chāḷukya king Satyāśraya acquired the surname *Paramēśvara* (*labdha-Paramēśvar-āpara-nāmadhēya*) by the conquest of Harshavardhana, the 'lord of the *entire* Northern Country '[1].

In the matter of identifying *Paramēśvara* Śarvavarman with *Mahārāja* Śarva, of the Sañjān plates, who in his own words was a 'petty ruler', Dr. Sastri, has, I think, fallen into an error in interpreting the significance not only of the surname *Paramēśvara* as pointed above, but also of the expression *anumati*.

The points to be considered in this connection are: (1) whether "the petty ruler" Śarva of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya hills could or should have had any hand in the gift of a village lying in the Kānyakubja-*bhukti* which, from the nature of the circumstances, must have been directly under the king (*i.e.*, overlord) Nāgabhaṭa himself, whose capital was Kānyakubja and (2) whether the expression *anumati* here connotes, the *sanction of an overlord to a gift made by his subordinate*. In fact the question of a suzerain's sanction does not arise here for the reason given in the foregoing clause; but it implies the confirmation and maintenance by a later king of the grant made by a predecessor. For example, we find that grants made by previous monarchs, of the same village to the same deity, were re-affirmed by the subsequent kings, in their respective times. A very good example of this is found in the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 216, text, lines 12 ff.). From a careful study of this grant, it will be seen that the expression *śāsana* is applied to the original grant or later affirmation made by the overlord, the king (*ibid.*, lines 13 and 16). The subsequent affirmations are made in accordance with the original gift (cf. *pūrva-dattakam=avalambya* of line 15 of the grant). The expression *anumati* of the Barah copper-plate must be construed in the sense of *anu*[*mō*]*dita* of line 17 of this grant. The issue, therefore, reduces itself to this, *viz.*, the grant made originally by (the Maukhari)[2] *Paramēśvara* Śarvavarman and confirmed later by (the Pratīhāra) *Mahārāja* Nāgabhaṭa was restored by *Mahārāja* Bhōjadēva, after suspension (*of it*) for some time in the reign of Rāmabhadradēva.

The village granted as *agrahāra*, namely, Valākā is evidently Barah, where the plates were discovered.

Dr. Sastri's readings and interpretations of two other important expressions in this inscription also appear to me to need correction.

In line 10 of the text (p. 18) he reads **दृष्ट्वा भागश्च महाराजश्री..........किञ्चित्कालम्विहतं** and translates it (p. 19) as 'finding that the *allotment* was for the time being obstructed ....'. The original, I think, correctly reads **दृष्ट्वा भोगश्च....** which would give the natural sense that 'the *enjoyment* was for some time obstructed'. There is no relevancy in supposing a reference here to *bhāga* while the plate actually reads '*bhōga*'.

A similar mistake is committed by the editor in his reading **प्राग्भागक्रमेणैव** in line 13 of the text and translating it as 'in accordance with the same old apportionment'. Here also the plate actually reads **प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव** which means 'in accordance with the original or previous enjoyment'. Here too there is no necessity or relevancy in assuming a reference to *bhāga*, *i. e.*, apportionment.[3]

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 100 and Vol. X, p. 102.

[2] [Prof. Bhandarkar is also inclined to identify Śarvavarman of the Barah Plate with the Maukhari prince of that name. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 6, n. 1.—Ed.]

[3] [While this article was in the press, a note discussing some of the points noticed here, appeared in *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII. No. 3, pp. 503 ff.—Ed.]

No. 38.—A NOTE ON THE RAJAPURA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA: SAMVAT 987.

BY KHAN SAHEB S. R. DAVER.

At the end of his explanatory note on these copper-plates[1] Dr. Hiralal advances a theory that Bhramarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, on the ground that the name of Chakrakōṭya seems to survive in Ghumara, which he believes to be a name given to the falls of the river Indrāvatī at Chitrakōṭa. This theory is incorrect for the reasons given below :—

(i) *Ghumara* is not a proper name and it is not applicable only to the falls of the Indrāvatī at Chitrakōṭa ; it is a word used in Bastar meaning "waterfall".

(ii) In his introductory note[2] Dr. Hiralal has stated "though styled 'Lord of Bhōgāvatī, the best of cities' Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief) as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarakōṭya which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15". On the second plate in lines 15 and 16, it is stated that the village of Rājapura is situated in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* (province). Again on the third plate in lines 28-29 names of witnesses from Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are given. This grant was made in A. D. 1065 and Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* and Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are mentioned in it as two separate units of administrative territories. Madhurāntakadēva was not only the feudatory chief of Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala,* but appears to have been a relative of the ruling king, as his *birudāvali* are the same as those of the Nāgavaṁśī kings. We know from the Bārsūr inscription of the time of Jagadēkabhūshaṇa[3] that King Dhārāvarsha was alive in A. D. 1060 (*i.e.*, 5 years before this grant of Rājapura was made by Madhurāntakadēva). At this time one Chandrāditya was the feudatory chief in South Bastar and it seems that Madhurāntakadēva was holding a similar position in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala.*

(iii) From the Kuruspal Tank slab inscription[4] it is clear that King Dhārāvarsha's son Sōmēśvaradēva was the ruler of Chakrakōṭya in A. D. 1069. We can say this much that King Dhārāvarsha's death took place between A. D. 1060 and 1069 and during this period (perhaps a period of minority administration) Madhurāntakadēva, although a *Maṇḍalika,* became more powerful and perhaps made attempts to oust the rightful person from the throne. The Kuruspal stone inscription[5] tells us that Sōmēśvaradēva finally defeated and killed Madhurāntakadēva.

Thus it will be seen that Bhramarakōṭya was not an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, as suggested by Dr. Hiralal. I would place Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* on the right bank of the river Naraṅgi as it is stated in the copper-plates that Rājapura is situated in the Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala.*

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 179.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[3] Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.) No. 269.
[4] Above, Vol. X, pp. 32 f.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

No. 39.—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 87.

BY STEN KONOW, OSLO.

The Government Epigraphist has sent me estampages of two inscriptions on stone slabs, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. 'No particulars about their findspot', he says, 'are available but like the two inscriptions already published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159-160 these also have undoubtedly come from Kosam[1]'.

The two records mentioned by him were published by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. One, No. II, belongs to the reign of the *Mahārāja* Śivamēgha, the other, No. III, is, according to the editor, dated in the year 88, probably of the Gupta era, during the reign of the *Mahārāja* Bhadramēgha. The latter, which I shall henceforth simply call **III**, is of special interest in the present connexion.

According to Mr. Sahni it 'was secured from the village of Ḥasanābād, close to the ancient remains of Kosam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2′ 10″ in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3″. Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *aksharas* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface'. His reading of the remaining portion is :—

1 . . Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[ēghasya]

2 [Saṁvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5

3 . . . . sya Śamarasya (?) puttra Him[i]ṅgana

4 . . . . ayayādāvadāra.

The two inscriptions sent to me I shall distinguish as **a** and **b** respectively. The slab containing **a** seems to be almost identical in shape with that described by the Rai Bahadur. It is rounded at the top, and the inscription, in five lines, covers a space 2′ 4″ wide and 1′ high. The other slab is rectangular, and the record **b** is 1′ 9″ long, the height being 1′ 4″. There are seven lines, the seventh only containing two *aksharas*. The contents of the two epigraphs are practically the same. I shall therefore deal with them together and also discuss their bearing on the reading and interpretation of **III**.

The **alphabet** is early Gupta or pre-Gupta of the Eastern variety. We find *la* with the downward turn of the left limb, *e.g.*, in *Mādgalī* **b** 4, and the characteristic eastern *ha*, *e.g.*, in *Mahārājasya* l. 1; *sha*, on the other hand, has not the round eastern base-stroke attached to the central bar as a loop.

With regard to **individual letters** we may note the rounded *ē* in *saptāśītē* l. 2, *putrēhi* l. 4, *Shaṇḍhakēna* **b** l. 5, etc., which looks like *i* (the regular form is seen in *-mēgha-* **b** l. 1); the *ṛi* in *bhrātṛihi* **b** l. 4, but regular in *tṛitīya* l. 2; the different shapes of *llā* in *pallāna-* l. 3, where the **a** form is calculated to raise doubt about the correctness of the reading. I have therefore asked one of our leading authorities in Gupta palæography, Dr. Else Lüders, how she would read the *akshara*, without telling her how I read and explained it. Without any hesitation she read *llā*, and this reading must be considered to be absolutely certain. The final *m* with the

[1] [Mr. B. M. Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahābād Municipality, informs me that the inscriptions were found in a village adjacent to the Fort of Kauśāmbī in Manjhanpur Tahsil of the Allahābād District.—Ed.]

virāma stroke above is found in *siddham* in **a** l. 1. The numeral symbols for 3, 5, 7, and 80 are used both in **a** and in **b**.

The execution and preservation of the inscriptions are, on the whole, very good. The sixth to eighth *aksharas* of l. 4, and the seventh and eighth of l. 5 of **a** are defaced, and so are the final letters of ll. 3-5 of **b**. There are, further, several superfluous and accidental strokes and dots, *e.g.*, in **a** above l. 1; above the *va* of *saṁvatsarē* l. 2; across and above the *tā* of *ētāyaṁ* and *vā* of *puruvāyaṁ* l. 3; before the *i*-mātrā of the second *putrēhi* l. 4; after *Śanik*[*ā*]*ya* l. 4, where the three strokes are perhaps meant to be a sign of division; across the right leg of *ga* in *bhagava-* l. 4; in **b** after the *bha* and above the *gha* of *Bhadramēghasya* l. 1; above the *ya* of *tritīya* l. 2; above the *ryyē* of *saudāryyēhi* l. 4, etc. The apparent *i-mātrā* above the *ē* of *ētāyaṁ* **a** l. 3 has perhaps been cancelled, and the same may be the case with the *i* above *shk* in *pushkiriṇyāṁ* **b** l. 5. The *ā*-stroke is absent or defaced in several places, *e.g.*, *Mahār*[*ā*]*jasya* **a** l. 1; *sapt*[*ā*]*śitē* **a** l. 2; *ēt*[*ā*]*yaṁ* **b** l. 3; *pallānak*[*ā*]*rasya* l. 3; *Śanik*[*ā*]*ya* **a** l. 4; *bhagavaty*[*ā*] *a*(*ā*)*ryyāya* **a** ll. 4-5; *sth*[*ā*]*pit*[*ā*] **a** l. 5; the same is the case with the *i* of *d*[*i*]*vasa* **a** l. 3; the *ē* of *Bhadram*[*ē*] at the end of **a** l. 1 (and of **III** l. 1) and of *Saṇḍhak*[*ē*]*na* **a** l. 4 and *sa*[*ṁ*]*vatsar*[*ē*] **b** l. 1; the *anusvāra* in *puṇya*[*ṁ*] **a** l. 5; *sa*[*ṁ*]*vatsar*[*ē*] **b** l. 1; *ēt*[*ā*]*yaṁ puruvāya*[*ṁ*] **b** l. 3; the *tā* in *sap*[*tā*]-*śitē* **b** l. 2, etc.

The **orthography** is fairly consistent. But we find *vardhatu* **a** l. 5, *varddhatu* **b** l. 7; *Saṇ-dhak*[*ē*]*na* **a** l. 4 for *Shaṇḍhakēna* **b** l. 5. The writing *pratishchāpitā* for *pratishṭhāpitā* **b** l. 6 is a mere slip. Instead of *bhagava-* **a** l. 4 the engraver seems to have begun to write *bhagva-*.

The **language** is mixed Sanskrit, and the dual has, as usual, been replaced by the plural. We may note the use of the plural-dual of the words *putra* and *bhrātri* for 'son and daughter', 'brother and sister', respectively, in accordance with Pāṇini I. ii. 68 (*bhrātriputrau svasṛiduhit-ṛibhyām*). The word *pallāna* for Sanskrit *paryāṇa* 'saddle', cannot in any way prove eastern affinities, on account of its *l*. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* para. 285, gives *pallāṇa* from Jaina-Māhārāshṭrī, and it is a well-known fact that such words are often widely distributed outside the territory where they have developed in accordance with the phonetical laws of an individual language or dialect: cf. the common *pallaṅka*, Sanskrit *paryaṅka*.

As already stated, the **contents** of the two records are almost identical, though some details are found only in **a** and others only in **b**. They record the setting up of two slabs as a seat (*āsa-napaṭṭā*), at a pond (*pushkariṇyāṁ*, only in **b**), for the Holy Noble Dēvī (*bhagavaty*[*ā*] *a*(*ā*)*ryyāya dēvī*[*ya*], only in **a**), by the son and daughter (*putrēhi*) of the saddler (*pallānak*[*ā*]*ra-*) Śap[h]ara, the brother and sister born from the same womb (*saudāryyēhi bhrātrihi*, only in **b**), the son and daughter of Mādgalī (*Mādgalīputrēhi*), Śanikā and Shaṇḍhaka.

The two slabs were accordingly intended to form a seat for an image of Dēvī. It is then evident that the slab with the rounded top was to be placed vertically behind the image, and the rectangular one below it. In such circumstances we must evidently take **a** as the first record, and this inference is further strengthened through the fact that **a** begins with *siddham*.

It is further evident that there can never have been more than two such slabs in the *āsana*, and this makes it necessary to say something about the slab containing inscription **III**, published by Mr. Sahni.

A look at the plate published with his paper will show at once that the slab containing **III** has the same shape as that on which **a** is engraved. And a close examination of the facsimile will show that the text is the same as that of **a**, with some minor differences.

It is easy to see that the defaced *aksharas* in the beginning are, as in **a**, *siddham*. Then the first line contains *mahār*[*ā*]*jasya śrī-Bhadrama*, just as **a**, even with the same omission of the final

ē. In the opening of l. 2 we can still distinguish the first *akshara*, *viz.*, *gha*, so that we must read *ghasya*. After this **a** runs *sa[ṁ]vatsarē sapt[ā]śītē 80 7*, but there is not room enough for so many *aksharas* in **III**. Mr. Sahni read the defaced letters which can still be traced at the end of the passage as *rē* 80 8, but that reading seems to me to be impossible. What he read as 8 looks like *da*, and what he took to be 80 can hardly be that numeral figure, which has a straight upright within a circle. Before the apparent *da* (Mr. Sahni's 8) I can see a distinct *tē*.[1] It almost has the appearance that the engraver had misread his draft. Then follows, as in **a**, *varshapaksha*, but instead of **a**'s *tritīya* 3 *divasa* 5, which runs into l. 3, we find 3 *divasa* 5 as the end of l. 2. The beginning of l. 3 is effaced, and about ten or eleven *aksharas* are missing. What follows after the gap is clearly *sya Śapharasya putrēhi Mādgal[ī]*, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the gap must be filled by the help of **a** as *[ētāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ pallāṇakāra]sya putrēhi Mādgalī [putrēhi]*. Including the three letters of *putrēhi* fifteen or sixteen *aksharas* are absolutely defaced at the beginning of **III** l. 4, and as the end of the line can be read *vatyā āryā . . dēv . . . a*, I have no doubt that we must restore the missing portion from **a** as *Śanikāya Shaṇḍhakēna cha bhaga . . a*.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that **III** is practically identical with **a**, and we must try to explain this state of things. Now the traces of *aksharas* which Mr. Sahni mentions, are hardly visible in the plate of **III** below l. 4, and it is *a priori* not unlikely that the inscription was never completed, that the engraver, for some reason, did not proceed beyond l. 4. And if I am right in my explanation of l. 2, the reason was evidently that he had made some serious mistakes in copying his draft. In other words, the slab containing **III** was meant to form the back of the Dēvī-throne, but was discarded when the engraver's slips were discovered, and the slab containing **a** was dressed and provided with a new and corrected legend in its stead.

In such circumstances it would be permissible to make use of **III** for settling the reading of **a**, because the engraver may have made some mistakes even there. And I think that such must have been the case in the name of the *pallāṇakāra*. In **a** it is clearly *Ś[ā]pura-*, while the second *akshara* in **b** is entirely defaced. Now **III** almost certainly has *Śaphara-*, and I have little doubt that the actual form of the name was *Śāphara*.

Our records are **dated** in the **year 87**, in the **third paksha of the Rains** and on the **5th day**. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni thought of the Gupta era, so that the corresponding Christian date would be in the **summer of A.D. 406.** The *Mahārāja* **Bhadramēgha** is not known from other sources, but we must apparently assume that he held sway in **Kauśāmbī.** Little as we know about the history of Kauśāmbī in early times, we cannot do more than to note the names of this *Mahārāja* and of the *Mahārāja* **Śivamēgha** of Mr. Sahni's Inscription **II.** The latter is probably identical with the ruler known from a Bhīṭā seal, which Sir John Marshall[2] refers to the 2nd or 3rd Century, while the late Jayaswal[3] thought of the 4th Century A.D. If Sir John is right, the era of our record must be the Kanishka reckoning, and the date correspond to A.D. 215-6, while the Kalachuri era would take us to 335-6. Sir John's dating is perhaps, after all, the most probable one. The two rulers mentioned above evidently belong to one and the same dynasty, but we have no means of ascertaining who is the older of them.

TEXT.

a

1 Siddham Mahār[ā]jasya śrī-**Bhadram[ē]-**

2 **ghasya sa[ṁ]vatsarē sapt[ā]śītē 80 7 varsha-paksha tṛitī-**

[1] [**From the impression Mr.** Sahni's **reading appears to be correct.—Ed.]**

[2] *A.S.I.. An. Rep.* 1911-12, p. 61.

[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 299.

3 **ya 3 d[i]vasa 5** ē[tā]yaṁ puruvāyaṁ pallānak[ā]rasya Ś[ā]pa(pha)-
4 rasya putrēhi [Mādgalī]-putrēhi Śanik[ā]ya Saṇdhak[ē]na cha bha[ga]va-
5 ty[ā] a(ā)ryyāya •d[ē]vī[ya ā]sanapaṭṭā sth[ā]pit[ā] [|*] Puṇya[ṁ] vardhatu [||*]

b

1 Mahār[ā]jasya śrī-**Bhadremēghasya**[1] **sa[ṁ]vatsar[ē] sa-**
2 **p[tā]śītē 80 7 varsha-paksha tṛitīya 3 divasa [pa]-**
3 **ñchama 5** ē[tā]yaṁ puruvāya[ṁ] pallānak[ā]rasya Śapa(Śāpha)-
4 rasya putrēhi saudāryyēhi bhrāt[ṛi]hi Mādgalīpu[trē]-
5 hi Śanikāya Shaṇdhakēna cha pushki(shka)riṇyāṁ ā[sa]-
6 napaṭṭā pratishchā(shṭhā)pitā [|*] Prīyatāṁ dharmma Puṇyaṁ va-
7 rddhatu [||*]

TRANSLATION.[2]

[Hail]-Of the *Mahārāja* śrī-**Bhadramēgha, in the eighty-seventh-87-year, the third-3-paksha of the Rains, (the fifth)-5-day,** at this date, by the son and daughter of the saddler Śāphara, (the brother and sister from the same womb), the son and daughter of Mādgalī, Śanikā and Shaṇdhaka, slabs for a seat [for the Holy Noble Dēvī] were put up (at her pond. May Dharma be pleased). May merit increase.

No. 40.—SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA-BHAVAGUPTA(II)-JANAMEJAYA ; THE YEAR 17.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D.(LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

These plates were first inspected by me at Sonepur Raj, the headquarters of the Sonepur State in Orissa, in November 1936 when I was on tour in that part. Regarding their discovery I have been told that some three years prior to my visit certain workmen, while digging foundations on a plot of land opposite the modern Khambēśvarai temple at **Sonepur Raj,** lighted upon a massive stone coffer which was forthwith made over to the State authorities. It was this box that contained the present plates. This along with its contents had since been kept intact at the Sonepur Police Station where it was shown to me. It is oblong in shape and measures 16¾″ long, 12″ broad and 13″ high. It has a slipping lid on it and was evidently designed specially for the safe deposit of the *tāmraśāsana*. It was not possible then to examine the writing on the plates, because they had been preserved just as they were found, stuck together with crust and verdigris.

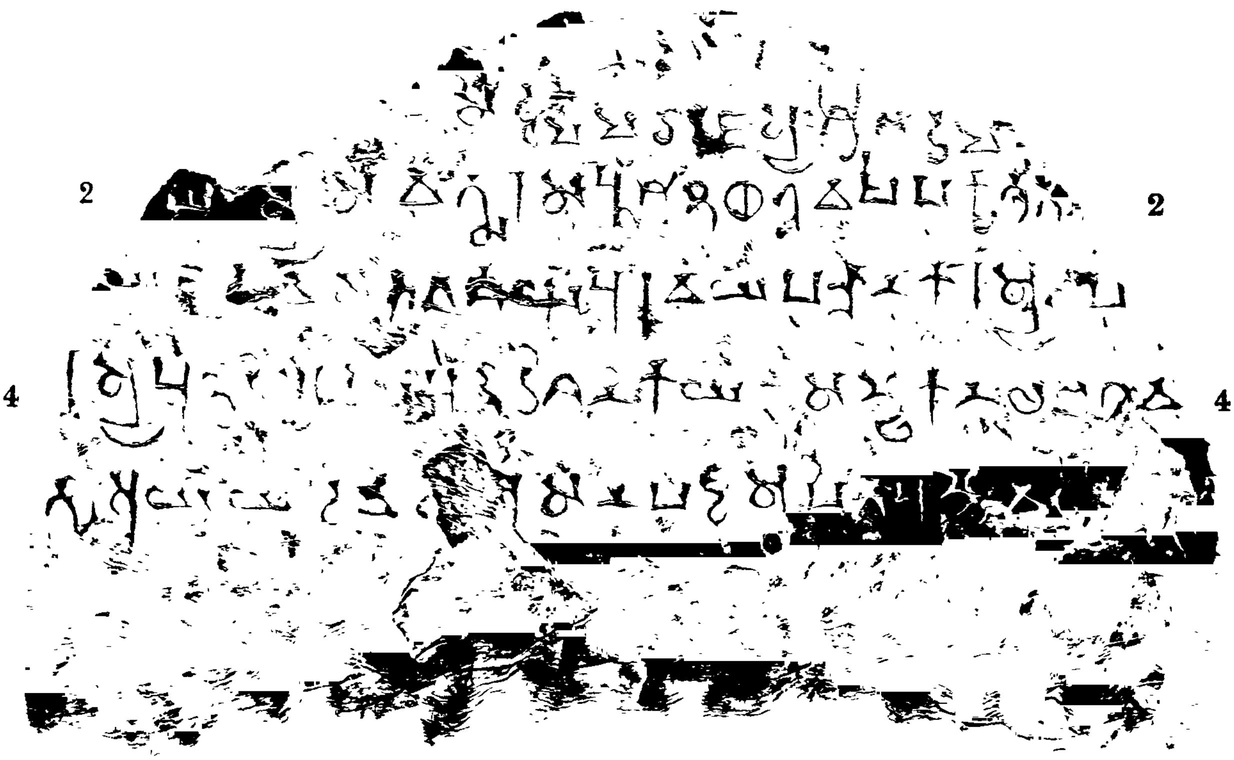
Later, in April 1937, the plates were obtained on loan from the Sonepur Durbar by the Government Epigraphist for India, who got them properly cleaned by the Archæological Chemist in India and had their impressions taken. This afforded me an opportunity of studying the record from the original as well as from its inked estampages.

The document consists of **three copper leaves,** held together by a ring of the same metal. Each leaf is slightly narrower in the middle and measures about 8¼″ long by 5¼″ high at either end. The ring is 4″ in diameter. Its ends are secured under a circular seal (diameter 1½″). The **seal** is completely defaced, so that it cannot be ascertained whether it originally contained any legend. It shows, however, some very faint traces of the Gajalakshmī symbol in the centre. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 202 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed only on one face, while the remaining two bear writing on both the sides. There are altogether 51 lines of writing,

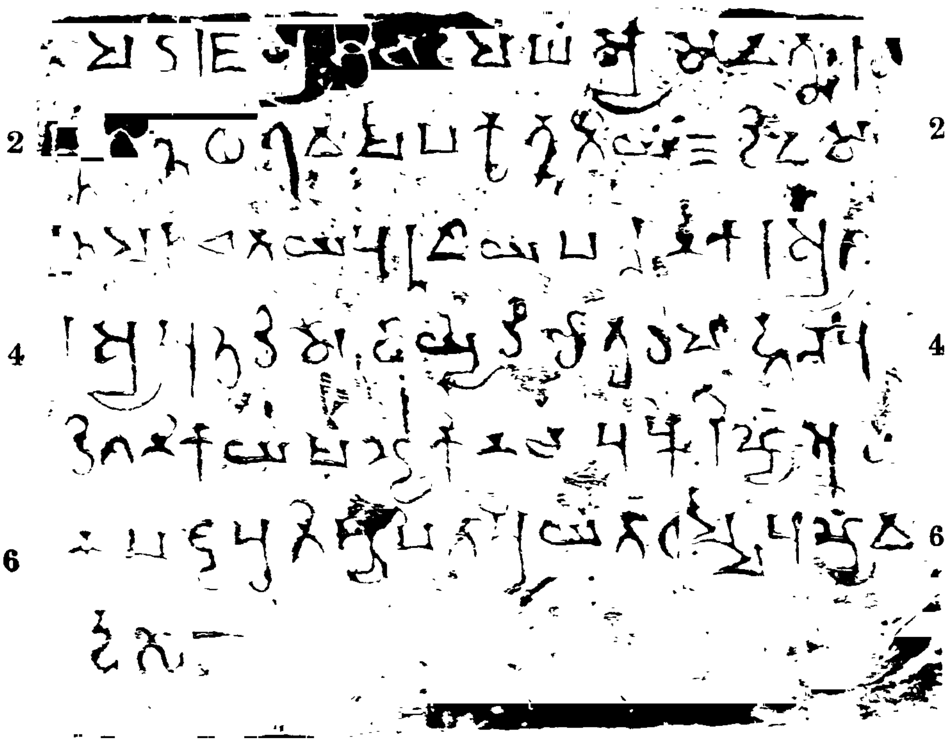
[1] [The name in question decidedly ends in *magha* as found in other inscriptions including those recently discovered. The stroke above *m* in this record may be accidental.—Ed.]

[2] Brackets = in **a** only ; parentheses = in **b** only.

A.



B.



N. P. C[illegible]AVARTI

SCALE: ABOUT ONE QUARTER.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

of which 11 are on the first face, 12 on the second, 13 on each of the third and the fourth and only 2 on the fifth.

The **alphabet** is of the same northern type as is usually found in the records of Sōmavaṁśī rulers of Kōsala. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose, except that twelve of the customary verses and a eulogistic one occur at the end. Of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) As a rule, *s* is used for *ś* : *śudhyati* (l. 33) and *śula°* (l. 37) being exceptions. However, *ś* is correctly used in those conjunct consonants where it appears as the first member, *e.g.*, *śrī*, *śva*, *ścha*, etc. (2) *B* is invariably represented by the sign for *v*. (3) The consonant after *r* is doubled in most cases. (4) An *anusvāra* takes the place of a final *m*. (5) The sign for *avagraha* is employed twice (l. 21 and l. 45). (6) *Sandhi* is not observed in a few cases. Besides, the inscription contains various mistakes, such as wrong spelling, incorrect grammar, omission of letters and words, etc. They, too, have been pointed out partly in the text and partly in the notes below.

The inscription belongs to the Sōmakulī *P. M. P.* **Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva(II)-Janamējayadēva**, the successor of the *P. M. P.* Śivaguptadēva. It records the donation of a village, called **Gōttaikēlā**, included in the Luputurā-*khaṇḍa* in Kōsalā. While the king himself is the donor, the donee is *Kamalavana-vaṇik-sthāna*, by which term possibly a merchants' association is meant. This *vaṇik-sthāna* is described to have migrated from Khadirapadra and to be resident in Suvarṇapura. It is further stated that the Kamalavana Merchants' Association transferred the same gift, as a registered grant, to *Śrī-Kēśava-bhaṭṭāraka-dēvakula* and *Śrī-Ādityabhaṭṭāraka-dēvakula* (*i.e.*, two temples, one of Vishṇu and the other of Sūrya) for defraying the costs of offerings to the deities and of repairs to the shrines.

The charter was issued from **Ārāma** on the **5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the 17th year** of the king Janamējayadēva's reign. It was written by Kailāsa's son, Alava, the *Mahākshapaṭalin (attached to) the Mahāsandhivigrahin Rāṇaka* Malladatta, and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Śivrillā. The writer Alava is undoubtedly identical with Kailāsa's son, Āllava, the *Kāyastha*, who wrote the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year, in which he is explicitly mentioned to be connected (*pratibaddha*) with the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rāṇaka*, Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta.[1] This Malladatta appears to have served for a long time as Minister of War and Peace under Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya, for he figures in his Pāṭnā Plates of the 6th year[2] on the one extreme and in his three Kaṭak Grants of the 31st year[3] on the other. As may appear from the above references, several copper-plate grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya have already been published, from which we know the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 13th and 31st years of his reign.[4] The record under discussion now adds the 17th year to that list.

The king had a minister, named **Sādhāraṇa**, who is highly extolled in a stanza towards the close of the present inscription. He is described there to be a profound scholar and an able administrator, in whom the king reposed great reliance. The same person acted as *Dūtaka* in the Nāgpur Museum Plates referred to above, wherein his father's name is stated to be Śōbhana and he himself is styled *Mahāmahattama Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)*, but is not mentioned as *Mantrin*. Probably he was raised to ministership sometime subsequent to the 8th year of the king's reign. Evidently he, too, remained long in service, enjoying royal favours all along. He received a munificent gift of four villages from his master in the latter's 31st regnal year, as is recorded in the

[1] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 143 ; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1560.
[2] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1905), p. 13 ; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1558.
[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 350 and note 5 ; Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1562-64.
[4] Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1557-1564.

aforementioned three Kaṭak Grants. From these records we learn that Sādhāraṇa was " an immigrant from Ṭakārī, a resident of Turvunā in Kōsala, belonging to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.. "[1].

Of the **localities** mentioned in the record, **Suvarṇapura** is the same as the modern town of Sonepur, situated at the confluence of the Tel and the Mahanadi.[2] **Ārāma,** from where the charter was issued, is described to be a prosperous city with palatial buildings, temples, gardens, tanks and what not. On the other hand, we know that the three Kaṭak Grants of the 31st year were issued from the same Ārāma, but that in those records it appears as a mere site of the royal camp (*kaṭaka*).[3] Besides, a part of the description of Ārāma in the present plates is practically identical[4] with the account of Murasīman (another camping place from where some[5] of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya's grants have been issued) in the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year. It follows, therefore, that the present description of Ārāma is only conventional and may not be depended upon as an exact portrayal of the locality. In view of these considerations it is safer to assume that Ārāma was a place, perhaps not far from the town of Sonepur.[6] where the royal camp was often pitched. **Luputurā**-*khaṇḍa*, wherein the donated village was included, is mentioned also in an earlier grant of the same donor, where the word is spelt as Lupaturā.[7] According to Rai Bahadur Hira Lal[8] this Lupaturā-*khaṇḍa* is probably the same as Lipatuṅgā of the Pāṭnā Plates of the 6th year[9], which he was inclined to identify with Lepta, six miles south-east of Bolangir in the Pāṭnā State. B. C. Mazumdar[10] has, on the other hand, pointed out Nuptara and Nuparsinga within the Sonepur State one of which, he thought, must be identical with Lupaturā. I agree with the latter view and opine that Nuptara must be the village after which Luputurā-*khaṇḍa* was named. As for **Gōttaïkēlā** the donated village, Mr. Sarkar, the Secretary of the Sonepur State, kindly informs me that it is now known as Gotarkela and is about three miles from the town of Sonepur.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ॐ[11] स्वस्त्यमलमणिकुट्टिमसदनच(व)लयनै[12]कवरवार[13]विलासिनीज-

2 नचरणनूपुररववस्र(स्त)पाराप(व)तकुलपत्तस्वनव(ब)धिरितदशदि[14]ग्नाना-

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[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 350, The reading seems to be *Turvulā* rather than *Turvunā*. See also below p. 253, n. 7.

[2] We have *Tēlā-Mahānadī-sangama-vimala-jala-pavitrīkrita................pattana-Suvarṇapur-āvāsita-śrīmad-vijaya-katakāt* in the Jātēsingā-Dungri Plates of Mahā-Śivagupta(I)-Yayatidēva. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 52, Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1556.

[3] *Śrīmad-Ārāma-samāvāsinah śrīmatō vijaya-katakāt.* It may be pointed out here that Fleet, who has edited these grants, has explained *Ārāma* as 'pleasure-garden' and taken *kaṭaka* for (the city of) Kaṭaka, identifying it with the modern Cuttack. Some other scholars have correctly taken this word in the sense of 'camp' See above, Vol. XI, pp. 188f.

[4] See below n. 14.

[5] Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1558-60.

[6] We may even take *Ārāma* to mean 'a pleasure-garden' with a palace where the king occasionally resided.

[7] Above, Vol. XI, p. 94. It has been read as *Lupattarā*, but the correct reading is *Lupaturā*.

[8] Above, Vol. XI, p. 201.

[9] Above, Vol. III, p. 344.

[10] Above, Vol. XI, p. 101.

[11] Expressed by a symbol.

[12] This *akshara* looks more like *nē*. The *ē*-stroke is parted into two at the end, whereby perhaps *ai* is meant. The proper sign for *ai-mātrā* is, however, seen below in *nai* of *naivēdya* l. 23.

[13] The letter *ra* is clear on the plate, though the impression shows a curve against the horizontal stroke of it.

[14] Read *-daśa-diśō nānā-*. With this description we may compare *anēka-vara-vilāsinī-charana-nōpū(nupu)ra-rav-ōdbhrānta-matta-pārāvata-kulāta(t) śakala-dig-antar-āgata-vandi-jana-vistārita-kīrttēḥ śrīmatō Murasi(sī)mnaḥ* of the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year (above, Volume VIII, p. 141).

3 देसा(शा)न्तरादागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकि(की)र्त्तिर्व्विविधविद्यालंकृतविद्वज्जनज-

4 नितकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्या[1]र्ज्जितरचितविचित्रप्रासादाट्टा-

5 लिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजितसुरपुरम-

6 हिम्न: ।[2] प्रचण्डदोर्द्दण्डमण्डलाग्रतुण्डखण्डितारातिमत्त-

7 मातङ्गविमुक्तमुक्ताफलप्रसाधितासे(शे)षमहीमण्डल[3]

8 सकलभूपालमौलिमालाविलग्नमाणिक्यमयु(यू)खव्राताभिरञ्जि-

9 तक्रमकमलयुगलात्[4] श्रीमदारामात् परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

10 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)वगुप्तदेवपादानुध्या-

11 तपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

Second Plate ; First Side.

12 सोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेव: कुस(श)-

13 ली कोसलायां[5] लुपुतुराखण्डप्रतिव(ब)द्धगोत्तद्दकेलाग्रामे ।[2] ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् संपु(पू)-
ज्य तद्विष-

14 यीययथाकालाध्यासिन: समाहर्तृसन्निधातृदाण्डपासि(शि)कपिसु(शु)नवेतृका-[6]

15 वरोधजनराजवल्लभादीन् सर्व्वान् समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां ।[2] य-

16 थास्माभिरयं ग्राम: सनिधि: सोपनिधि: सर्व्वबा(बा)धाविवर्ज्जित: सर्व्वोपरिक-

17 रकरादानसमेत: साम्ब्र(म्र)मधुक: सगर्त्तोषरश्वतु[:*]सीमाप-

18 र्य्यन्त: सजलस्थलसहित: ।[2] खदिरपद्रविनिर्ग्गताय सुवर्ण्ण-

19 पुरवास्तव्याय श्रीकमलवनवणिक्स्थानाय सलिलधारापुर:सरमाच-

20 न्द्रतार[7]कार्कक्षितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं मातृ(ता)पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)-

21 ऽभिवृद्धये ताम्ब्र(म्र)सा(शा)सनेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य समुचित-

---

[1] Probably the intended reading is *-vibhava-sparddhinō rachita-*.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] Read *-prasādhit-āśēsha-rana-mahī-maṇḍalaḥ*. This and the following compound qualify *Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva* and not *Ārāma*. These two attributes of the king occur also in his Kaṭak Plates of the 31st year (above, Vol. III, p. 349, text ll. 34-37).

[4] Read *-yugalaḥ* and see the foregoing note.

[5] The word *Kōsalāyāṁ*, which was evidently first omitted by inadvertence and later supplied, is engraved in smaller characters on the space above the ring-hole opposite l. 17 and is to be read after *kuśalī* in l. 13, as indicated by a *kākapada* sign after each of the two words.

[6] Read *vaitrik-ā°*.

[7] The letter *ra* appears below the line. Evidently it was first omitted and was later supplied.

22 भोगभागकरहिरण्यादिभि[1]र्भवद्भिः सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यं(व्यम्) । अनेनापि प्रा-

23 सं(स)सा(शा)सनेन सुवर्ण्णपुरीयश्रीकमलवनवणिक्स्थानेन व(ब)लिचरुनैवेद्य-

Second Plate; Second Side.

24 खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिकरणार्य(य or र्थं) श्रीकेस(श)वश्रीआदित्यभट्टारकाभ्यां ।[2] देवकुलो(ला)-

25 भ्यां सा(शा)सनीकृत्य प्रदत्त[:*] । भाविभिश्च भूपति[3]भिर्दत्तिरियं(य)मस्मदीया धर्म्मगौ-

26 रवादस्मदनुरोद्धा(धा)च्च स्वदत्तिरिया(वा)नुपालनीया । तथा चोक्तं धर्मसा(शा)स्त्रे ।

27 व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमि-
स्तस्य तस्य तदा

28 फलं(लम्) ।[।1॥*] मा भूदफलसं[4]का(शङ्का) वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
लं[मा*]नन्त्यं प-

29 रदत्तानुपालने ।[।2॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*][5]

30 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गयन्ति पितामहाः [।*] भूमिदाता कुले जा-

31 तः स नस्राता भविष्यति ।[।4॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रय-
च्छति । उभौ

32 तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगा(गा)मिनौ ।[।5॥*] तडागानां सहस्राणि(स्रेण)
वाजपेयस(श)-

33 तानि(तेन) च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ।[।6॥*] स्वर्ण्णमे[6]कं
गामेकां भूमे-

34 रप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं[7](लम्) । हरन(न्न)रकमायाति यावदाहुतसंप्लवः ।[।7॥*] अन्यायेन
हृता भूमि-

35 रन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतश्चै[8]व स हन्यात्सप्तमं कुलं(लम्) ॥[8॥*]
स्वदत्तां परद-

---

[1] This is clearly a mistake for *-hirany-ādikam=upanayadbhir=*.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] The impression shows a superfluous scratch attached to *ti* giving it the appearance of *tri*, but on the plate it is plain *ti*.

[4] The small vertical stroke seen after *saṁ* on the impression does not appear on the plate.

[5] The second half of this stanza has been left out through mistake. We may add it thus: *ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt* (3).

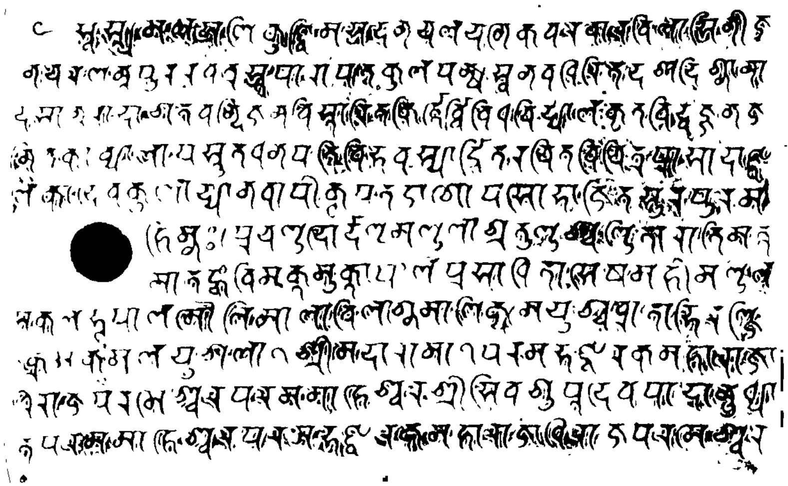
[6] Read *suvarṇṇam=* or the *pāda* will be too short of a syllable.

[7] The *anusvāra* over *la*, which is clear on the plate, has not come out on the impression.

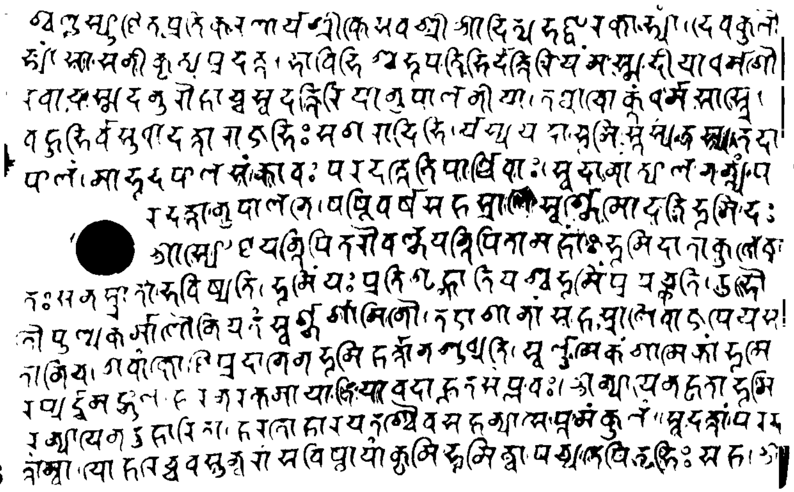
[8] Read *hārayataś=cha* or the quarter will have a syllable in excess.

SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA-BHAVAGUPTA(II)–JANAMEJAYA; THE YEAR 17.

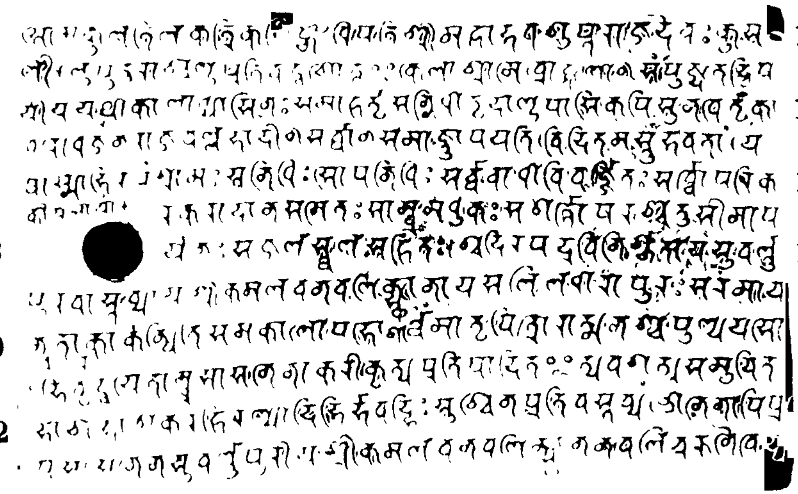
i.



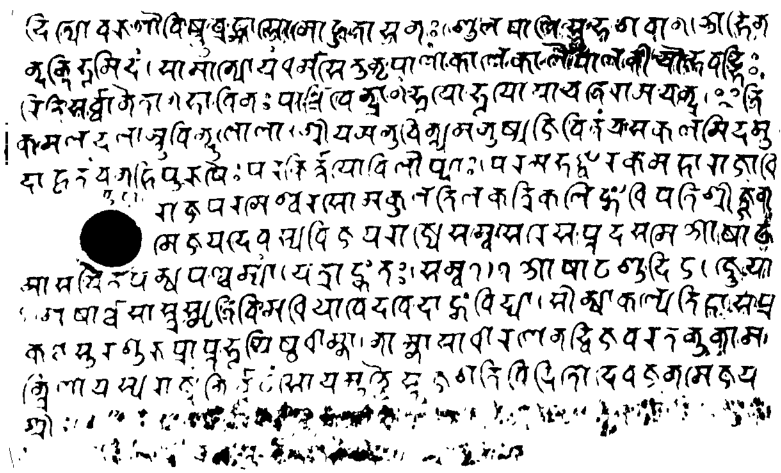
iib.



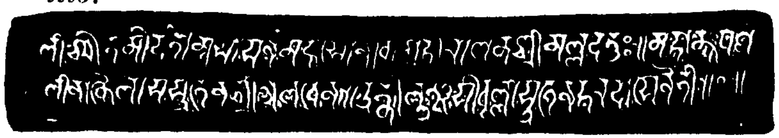
iia.



iiia.



iiib.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 1496 E'37–295.

36 त्तां म्वा(वा) ।[1] यो हरेच्च वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] स विष्ठायां क्रमिभूमि[2]त्वा पच्यते पितृभिः सह ।[।9*॥] आ-

Third Plate; First Side.

37 दित्यो वरुणो विष्णुव्र(र्ब्र)ह्मा सोमो हुतास(श)नः । शु(शू)लपाणिस्तु भगवान् ।[1] अभिन-

38 न्दन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) ।[।10॥*] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृ(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [।*]

39 रिति[3] सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्र[:*] ।[।11॥*] इति-

40 कमलदलाम्वु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोलां ।[1] श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजि(जी)वितं च [।*] सकलमिदमु-

41 दाहृतं च वुद्धा[4](बुद्ध्वा) ।[1] नहि पुरुषैः परकि(की)र्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।[।12॥*] परम-भट्टारकमहाराजाधि-

42 राजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्री[म*]ज्जन-

43 मेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्व(संव)त्सरे सप्तदसमे[5] आषाढ-

44 माससितपक्षपञ्चम्यां । यत्राङ्कतः ।[1] सम्व(संव)त् १७ आषाढशुदि ५ । ज्ञेया-

45 ऽशेषार्थसा(शा)स्त्रस्मृतिविम[ल*]धिया वेदवेदाङ्गविद्या ।[1] सो(शि)क्षाकल्पेतिहास[6]प्र-

46 कटसुरगुरुप्राप्तभूयिष्ठधाम्ना । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरतनुना म-

47 न्त्रिणा यस्य राज्यं निर्व्व(र्व्यू)ढं सोयमुच्चैस्त्(स्त्रि)जगति विदितो देवजनमेजय-

48 श्रीः[7] ।[।13॥*][8] [9]. . . . . स · · सुत ।

49 . . द्व · · सुत ·· त्कि ·· हरद . . .

---

[1] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[2] This *mi* is superfluous; read *kṛimir-bhūtvā*.

[3] The two syllables *riti* are superfluous.

[4] The portion *vuddhā* occurs below the line.

[5] Read *saptadaśē*.

[6] The impression shows a small stroke attached to *sa*, which does not exist on the plate.

[7] Instead of *Śrī-Janamējayadēvaḥ*, the writer has used *dēva-Janamējaya-śrīḥ* evidently to conform to the metrical scheme, which purpose still remains partly unfulfilled unless we read *Janmējaya* for *Janamējaya*. The corresponding reading in the Kaṭak Plates of the 31st year is *dharmma-Kandarppadēvaḥ*. The Kaṭak Plates have two verses in praise of Sādhāraṇa, one of which is the same as occurs here. (Above, Vol. III, p. 349, text l. 37-42.)

[8] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[9] It appears that the matter engraved after *śrīḥ* in this line and the next has intentionally been scored out by the original engraver himself, probably because some objectionable mistakes might have crept in. In spite of his attempt to erase the engraving of this part, certain letters can still be made out, which indicate that the contents of this portion mentioned the names of the writer, the engraver and so forth. If so, nothing of the original charter has been lost, as those names appear in the two lines on the reverse of this plate.

Third Plate; Second Side.

50 [1]लोखोतमोदं ताम्व्रसासनं महासन्धीवीग्रहो राणकश्रीमल्लदत्तः ॥ महाक्षपट-

51 लीना कैलाससुतेन श्रीअलवेन ॥ उत्कीर्णञ्च सोहल्लासुतेन हरदासिनेती ॥०॥

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-13) *Om* ! Hail !

From the prosperous **Ārāma**, which has (*all*) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jingle of the anklets (*worn*) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (*moving*) within the enclosures of mansions having floors (*studded*) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries, which [*vies* (*in opulence*) *with*] the wealth of Kubēra (lit. lord of riches) exalted in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning, (*and*) which has eclipsed the grandeur of Amarāvatī (lit. city of gods) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step-wells, wells and tanks;

the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Mahā-Bhavaguptarāja-dēva,** the overlord of **Trikaliṅga,** an ornament of the **Sōma-kula,** (*and*) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who has meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P.* **Śivaguptadēva,** a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who (*i.e.*, Mahā-Bhavagupta) has the entire circle of the [*battle-*]field decorated by the pearls loosened from the (*temples of the*) enemies' rutting elephants rent asunder with the point of the scimitar (*wielded*) by his cudgel-like impetuous arm, (*and*) who has the pair of his lotus-like feet tinted by the collection of rays (*emanating*) from the precious stones attached to the wreaths over the coronets of all the princes, being in good health,

(Ll. 13-15) having paid homage to the Brāhmaṇas in the **Gōttaïkēlā** village included in the **Luputurā**-*khaṇḍa* in Kōsalā, issues a command to all (*his officials*) of that district, (*persons*) who may at any time be holding office, (*namely*) *Samāhartṛi*, *Sannidhātṛi*, *Dāṇḍapāśika*, *Piśuna*, *Vaitrika*, *Avarōdhajana*, *Rājavallabha*,[2] and so forth :—

(Ll. 15-21) " Be it known to you that by (*this*) copper-charter We have, for the accretion of merit and fame to (*Our*) parents as well as to Ourself, donated this (*Gōttaïkēlā*) village, with libations of water, having made (*it*) tax-free, exempt from all hindrance, extending up to (*its*) four

[1] Mistakes of spelling in this and the next line are too many and too obvious to need correction.

As surmised in the foregoing note, these two lines seem to contain the same matter in its revised form as was written and cancelled in ll. 48-49. It may, however, be observed that the writing of ll. 50-51 is not by the same hand to which the engraving of nearly the entire grant is due, and differs from the rest in several respects; its mistakes of spelling are more numerous, its characters are bigger in size and some of them are quite different in shape, *e.g.* *r* and medial *u*. This rouses a suspicion as to whether it was the original engraver himself who is responsible for effacing the writing of ll. 48-49 and adding that in ll. 50-51 or whether it was somebody else who sometime later tampered with that portion of the charter. If latter is the case, the motive of the tamperer is not clear. Any way, no material harm has been done to the original grant by altering or substituting the last lines in question.

[2] Not all of these designations have been satisfactorily explained. *Samāhartṛi*, literally ' one who collects ', probably answers to ' a collector of revenue '. *Sannidhātṛi* means ' one who approaches or ushers ' and perhaps signifies ' an usher '. These two terms occur also in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where they have been rendered respectively as ' collector-general ' and ' chamberlain ' by Dr. R. Shamasastry in his translation of that work (second edition, pp. 63 and 60). *Dāṇḍapāśika* denotes ' one who holds rod and rope ' and may stand for ' an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals ' (See N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185). *Piśuna* may correspond to ' a spy '. *Vaitrika*, ' one who holds a cane ', may be the same as ' a door-keeper '. *Avarōdhajana* can here mean either ' royal ladies ' or ' a warden of ladies' apartment ' or simply ' a watchman '. What exactly the function of a *Rājavallabha*, literally ' king's favourite ', was is difficult to explain-

boundaries, along with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits, mango and *Bassia latifolia* trees, pits and barren plots, water and land, with (*the privilege of*) collecting toll and revenue, to the illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association, immigrant from Khadirapadra (*and*) resident in Suvarṇapura, to be enjoyed as long as the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth (*endure*).

(Ll. 21-22) " Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, offering (*to it its*)customary share of income, rent, (*tribute of*) gold, and so forth.

(Ll. 22-25) " Being in possession of the charter, this illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association has, in its turn, bestowed (*the same village*), having registered it as a deed, on the two temples, (*one*) of the lord Kēśava (*and the other*) of the lord Āditya, for charity, oblation and offerings as well as for repairing wear and tear (*in the temples*).

(Ll. 25-26) " And, future kings should, through respect for the *dharma* and out of regard for Us, protect this Our grant as their own grant. For, it is declared in the *Dharmaśāstra* :—"

(Ll. 27-41) [Here follow twelve of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 41-44) (*This charter has been issued*) during the victorious reign of the illustrious *P. M. P.* **Janamējayadēva,** the overlord of Trikaliṅga, an ornament of the Sōma-kula, in the **seventeenth year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha,** where in figures (*it is*) Anno 17 Āshaḍha *śudi* 5.

(Ll. 44-48) Highly renowned in (*all*) the three worlds is this very illustrious Janamējayadēva, the administration of whose kingdom has been carried on by his minister, **Sādhāraṇa** by name, an eminent Dvija (lit. twice-born) by birth, whose intellect is clear owing to (*his knowledge of*) all the lores of polity and law worth knowing, who is manifestly a very Bṛihaspati (lit. preceptor of gods) in (*expounding*) the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅga-*vidyās* (*such as*) *Śikshā*, *Kalpa*, *Itihāsa* (*and so forth*), (*and*) who is (*on account of all that*) possessed of supreme glory.

(Ll. 50-51) This *tāmraśāsana* has been composed by Kailāsa's son, the illustrious **Alava,** the *Mahākshapaṭalin*[1] (*attached to*) the illustrious *Mahāsāndhivigrahin Rāṇaka* **Malladatta** ; and engraved by **Haradāsa,** son of Sīvṇllā.

No. 41.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA : [KALACHURI] SAMVAT 593.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Kārītalāi is now a small village twenty-nine miles North by East of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jubbulpore District. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for an inscription in shell characters[2] and another of the Gupta period[3] have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kārītalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, a fragmentary inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja, the son of Yuvarājadēva I -Kēyūravarsha was brought over to Nāgpur[4] and is

[1] This designation denotes 'the high officer in charge of the *akshapaṭala* office.' The latter term has been variously rendered by 'Record Office', 'Court of Rolls', 'Court of Justice', 'Archive' and 'Accountant General's Office'. The word *mahākshapaṭalin* has been discussed by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, p. 133. Dr. Shamasastry translates the term *akshapaṭala* as 'accountants' office' in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (p. 66).

[2] Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.). p. 45.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp 117ff.

[4] Cunningham has described the ruins at Kārītalāi in *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 7-8. He mentions a huge statue of the Boar 8′ long, 7′ high and 2′ 9″ broad. The Kārītalāi stone inscription was probably put up at a temple of the Boar incarnation, see vv. 27 and 35 of it, above, Vol. II, pp. 178-9.

at present preserved in the Central Museum, Nāgpur. The present inscription seems to have been discovered by the late R. B. Hiralal in 1928 when he visited the place on his way to the Silaharā caves which are situated not very far from Kārītalāi[1]. A short notice of it appears in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, but the record has not been published so far. I edit it here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archæology in India.

From the account given by R. B. Hiralal the inscription seems now to be affixed to the temple of Dēvī Maḍhia at Kārītalāi. It is fragmentary. The preserved portion measures 10⅓″ in breadth and 1′ 10½″ in height. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *aksharas*. The fourteenth line runs along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As said before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left hand side: but on the right hand, sixty to seventy *aksharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space of 4′ 6″ in breadth. Of this only about one-fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *ṇ*, one in *Lakshmaṇarāja-* (l. 14) and the other in *Druhiṇaḥ* (l. 2), etc., and to those of *gh* in *Amōghavarsha-* (l. 12) and *Ghaṭānvaya-* (l. 14). The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *g* in *jagat* and *drāg=iva*, both in l. 2, *Nāgabhaṭē* in l. 9, etc., with *rā* in *yair=āsantati* in l. 6; *ṭh* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *pariluṭhanti* (l. 4). Similarly *th* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see *prithvīni* (l. 4). The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a *serif*, (see *pāyāsuḥ=*, l. 3; *nag-ānukāri*, l. 13, etc.), but in some cases by a curve turned to the left as in *kshiṇōtu* (l. 2). The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō*, and *Upēndra-*, l. 1), but in two cases *viz.*, *Rudrēbhyaḥ* (l. 1) and *śrī-Lakshmaṇarājadēvē* (l. 14) the medial *ē* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve: while in two others we see fully developed *prishṭha-mātrās* also (see *Vēdhō-* l. 3 and *pādau* l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A. D.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date, etc., the whole record is metrically composed. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant preceding and following *r* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātur-varṇṇyaṁ* (l. 1) and *-māttraṁ* (l. 2): *v* has been used for *b* in *vala* (l. 7) and the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *kshīṇ-āṅhasō* (l. 6).

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhiṇa (Brahman), Upēndra (Vishṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses invoking the blessings of the three deities. Ll. 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of **Nāgabhaṭa**, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down

[1] The second edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P.*, etc. (1932) mentions it, while the first edition of it (1916) contained no reference to it. In 1928 R. B. Hiralal was accompanied by the Government Epigraphist (see *Inscriptions*, etc., p. 45, n. 1), but there is no mention of this record in his report for 1927-8. Perhaps it was not considered as of sufficient importance.

in the Śruti and Smṛiti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king **Amōgha-varsha** bowed to the feet of some one who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. The thirteenth line speaks of the erection by him of a structure resembling a hill. Finally the marginal line states that the record was composed by **Prasannāditya** of the Ghaṭa family in the **year 593** (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the illustrious king **Lakshmaṇarājadēva.**

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal who first noticed this inscription read the date as 693 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. in Bāghēlkhaṇḍ. he took it as equivalent to A. D. 941,[1] obviously identifying Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in it with the king of the same name. of whose reign we have another fragmentary inscription from Kārītalāi itself. As Yuvarājadēva I-Kēyūravarsha, the father of Lakshmaṇarāja, was the father-in-law of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, it is clear that he flourished in the beginning of the tenth and his son Lakshmaṇarāja about the middle of the same century. The mention of Amōghavarsha may be adduced to support this view. In A. D. 941, which, according to R. B. Hiralal, is the date of this record, Amōghavarsha III was no doubt dead ; for his son Kṛishṇa III succeeded him towards the end of A. D. 939.[2] But this presents no difficulty ; for the record does not state that Amōghavarsha was living in A. D. 941. It refers to him incidentally in connection with the holy person who constructed the temple at which the inscription was originally put up. Besides, from the Sudi inscription[3] we learn that Amōghavarsha III was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Permāḍi-Buṭuga II. That inscription is no doubt taken to be spurious, but we need not for that reason reject all historical information in it, unless it is contradicted by other incontrovertible evidence. As there was no other Lakshmaṇarāja in the family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī known till then. R. B. Hiralal seems to have felt amply justified in reading the date as above.

But the reading is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn.[4] The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee first[5] read it as 6, but it appears as 5 in his article on the Chandrēhē inscription.[6] Other instances in which the figure stands for 5 can also be cited.[7] So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this being referred to the Kalachuri era corresponds to A. D. 841-2.[8] The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading ; for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshṭrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from A. D. 814 to 880. We know that the royal families of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were

[1] See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (second ed.) p. 45.

[2] For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 (see *E. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30). His son Kṛishṇa III's Deoli plates were issued in A. D. 940.

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 179.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85 ; above, Vol. I, p. 354.

[5] *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 119.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 148. There is a similar difference of opinion about the reading of the year in ll. 6-7 of the Śāradā inscription from Hund, above, Vol. XXII, p. 98 and n. 3.

[7] See for instance the figures of the year and the *tithi* of the Balērā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, above, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78 ; the figure of the year in the Khajurāho inscription of Kōkkala, Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX and that of the *tithi* in the Pālanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, above, Vol. XXI, pl. facing p. 172.

[8] The evidence of palæography is also in favour of this earlier date. I would particularly draw attention to the formation of the medial diphthongs by lengthening the top line to the left to end in a small curve (l. 14) and the round form of *th*. In the later Kārītalāi stone inscription of the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja (*circa* 950 A. D.) the medial diphthongs are in all cases denoted either by strokes on the top or by *pṛishṭha-mātrās* and *th* is flattened on the right side.

matrimonially connected in the ninth century also ; for Amōghavarsha I's son Kṛishṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter[1], though this marriage may not have taken place before A. D. 842[2] Besides, Amōghavarsha was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahā-Lakshmī to ward off a public calamity.[3] It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amōghavarsha had gone to the Chēdi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhaṭa is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who was completely routed by Amōghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.[4] Nāgabhaṭa was not living in A. D. 841-2 the date of the present inscription ; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāvaka-charita*[5] he died in V. S. 890 (A. D. 833-4) ; nor is Amōghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grandfather. The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before A. D. 800. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as a destroyer of great kings as a thunderbolt is of high mountains, is therefore probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*saṁjahrē*) is lost at the end of that line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in l. 9 ; but as the name of Amōghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amōghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name ; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.

If my reading of the date is accepted the Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in the present inscription becomes the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. He was the predecessor and may have been the father of Kōkalla I,[6] who stands at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription[7] and the Benares plates of Karṇa.[8] The Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha state that after his victorious campaign in North India, Gōvinda III returned to the bank of the Narmadā and conquering Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Vēṅgī, Ḍahala, Ōḍraka and Mālava, made his servants govern them.[9] This seems to mean that Gōvinda raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes or, deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their countries. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Mālwā from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga.[10] In some other records of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas we find references to battles fought

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263-70.

[2] As I have shown elsewhere (above, p. 217) Amōghavarsha I was born about A. D. 799. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in A. D. 841-2 his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Lakshmaṇarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till about 914 A. D. Perhaps Amōghavarsha had gone to Tripurī to seek the Kalachuri king's help when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[5] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

[6] This Kōkalla was a contemporary of Bhōja I of Kanauj who flourished from *circa* A. D. 835 to 885. His son-in-law Kṛishṇa II reigned from about A. D. 880 to 914. Kōkalla may have therefore flourished from about A. D. 850 to 885.

[7] Above, Vol. I, pp. 254ff.

[8] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 305ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

[10] See lines 26-27 of the Baroda plates of Karka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

by them with the Gurjara-Pratihāras in Ujjayinī [1] Mālwā was, therefore, made a protectorate and a subordinate branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas established in Gujarāt to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The same may have happened in the case of Ḍāhala also.[2] As Lakshmaṇarāja is the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ḍāhala, it is not unlikely that the present record in its lost portion mentioned the establishment of the Kalachuri family in Ḍāhala after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa. Subsequently the Rāshṭrakūṭas made many matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris[3] and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the relation of this Lakshmaṇarāja with other princes of the same name known from two other records discovered in North India. The Kahlā plates of Sōḍhadēva[4] mention a Kalachuri prince Lakshmaṇarāja *in whose family* was born the prince Rājaputra whose descendant in the eleventh generation named Sōḍhadēva made a grant in V. S. 1134 (A. D. 1077). The date of this Rājaputra is approximately settled by the statement in the record that Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I, his descendant in the third generation, helped Bhōja in his wars against a Gauḍa king. This Bhōja can be no other than the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja whose known dates range from A. D. 836 to 882. Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I may therefore have flourished about A. D. 850. His third lineal ancestor Rājaputra can consequently be placed in *circa* A. D. 775 The indefinite manner in which the relationship of Rājaputra to Lakṣmaṇarāja is mentioned in the Kahlā plates makes it difficult to conjecture the date of the latter, but that he did not flourish later than the beginning of the eighth century A. D. seems certain. He cannot, therefore, be identified with Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription.

There are three other kings named Lakshmaṇarāja known from a stone inscription found at Kasiā[5] in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P. Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni has assigned this inscription to the 11th or 12th century A. D., but on palæographic evidence it appears to belong to a period not later than the tenth century A. D.[6]. The princes mentioned in this inscription were ruling over a territory contiguous to the kingdom of the Kalachuris of the Kahlā plates. One would, therefore, expect to find some links connecting the two families in the genealogical lists of the two inscriptions, but none have been noticed so far. A careful comparison of the two lists would show, however, that there are two names common to them, *viz.*, Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja. The former name is evidently a *biruda* and we find it actually stated in the Kasiā inscription that the real name of the prince was Lakshmaṇa and that he was called *Rājaputra* because of his virtues. The *Rājaputra* of the Kahlā plates flourished about A. D. 775 which is, therefore, the date of Lakshmaṇarāja II of the Kasiā inscription. Lakshmaṇarāja I, his great-grandfather, and

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[1] See *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 67.

[2] So far as one can judge from the present fragmentary record, it seems to have contained glorification of the Rāshṭrakūṭas rather than of the Kalachuris. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning king is added in the margin.

[3] See *e.g.*, the Karḍā plates of Karka III, ll. 16-25, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

[4] Above, Vol. VII, p. 89.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128ff.

[6] It may be noted here that in the Kasiā inscription, (1) the medial diphthongs are denoted by small curves added to the left of the top line : (2) the medial *u* appears as a small serif at the bottom of the vertical ; (3) the left limbs of *dh* and *kh*, the tail of *h* and the vertical of *th* have not yet developed as in the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. Its *th* has, however, developed a vertical stroke on the right. I would, therefore, assign the inscription to the tenth century A. D. The record seems to mention two successors of Lakshmaṇarāja III and the names of one or two more may have been lost in the mutilated portion. As I have placed Lakshmaṇarāja III of the Kasiā inscription in *circa* A. D. 850, the last Kalachuri prince mentioned in the record must have reigned some time during the tenth century A. D. This date is corroborated by the palæographic evidence detailed above.

Lakshmaṇarāja III, his great-grandson, must therefore have flourished about A. D. 700 and 850 respectively. Though Lakshmaṇarāja III of the Kasiā inscription thus flourished about the same time as the Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription, the two are not likely to be identical; for none of the descendants of the former can be identified with the Kalachuri princes mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription and the Benares plates, who were evidently the successors of the Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription.

TEXT.

1 सिद्धम्[1] [।*] ओं नमोस्तु द्रुहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्यं [नि][2] . . .

2 नमात्त्वं जगत् [।*] द्रागेव द्रुहिणः च्चिणोतु[3] . . .

3 रुद्रवेधोट्टस(श्र): । पायासुर्म्मधुसूदना[च्च][3] . . . .

4 कपर्द्दात्पृथुनि परिलुठन्तो यस्य मूर्द्ध[स्थ][4] . .

5 न क्रमः परमिति स्वान्पुत्त्रकान्पाठ[ये][5] . . .

6 च्चोणाह्नसो[6] जज्ञिरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत[3] . . .

7 वृत्तिः । व(ब)लविभवविलासत्यागदा[7] . . . .

8 महाभूमिभृद्वज्त्रपाता(तः) संजज्ञे ज्ञा[ि][8] . .

9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे[3] . . . .

10 कषग्रावद्लको वराहव्याहारः स्म[9] . . . .

11 [10]तिस्मृत्याचारप्रवणधिषणः पु[ण्य][11] . . .

12 [12]श्रीमदमोघवर्षनृपतिः पादौ [न][13] . . . .

13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि ग[14] . . .

14[15] ओं[16] सम्वत् ५८३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि घटान्वयश्री-
प्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरियम् [।*]

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Metre : *Śālinī.*

[3] Metre : *Śardūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] Read मूर्द्धस्थले. Metre : *Mālinī.*

[5] Read पाठयेत्. Metre : *Śardūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] Read च्चोणांहसो.

[7] Read दाच्चिण्य—. Metre : *Mālinī.*

[8] Perhaps ज्ञादिनो was written here. Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[9] Metre : *Śikhariṇī.*

[10] Read श्रुतिस्मृत्याचार—.

[11] Read पुण्यचरितः. Metre : *Śikhariṇī.*

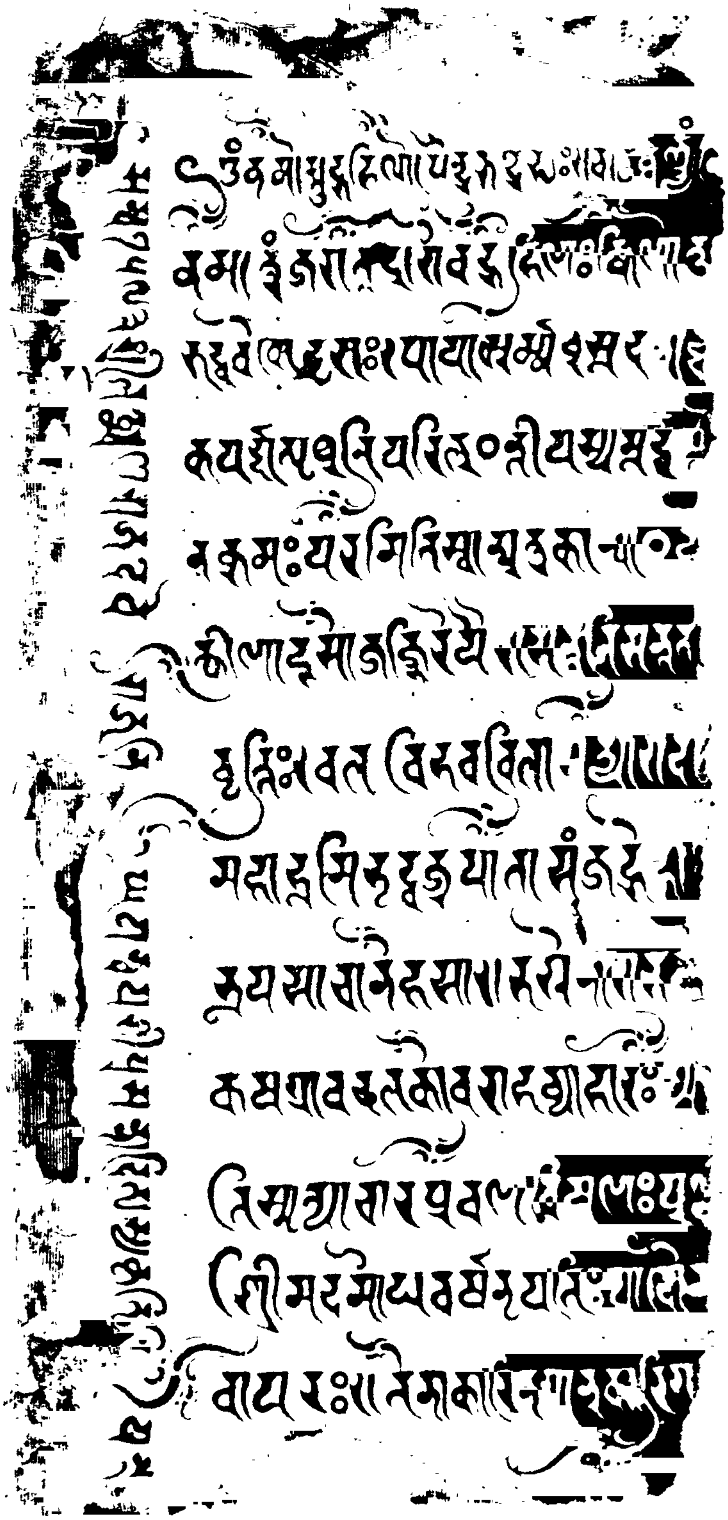
[12] Read यस्य before श्रीमद—.

[13] Read नमस्यत्ययम्. Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[14] Metre : *Sardūlavikrīḍita.*

[15] This line is written along the margin. Another line below it incised recently reads श्रीस[म्व]त १९८१.

[16] Expressed by a symbol.



No. 42.—FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

BY S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The four sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga were acquired through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi, Ganjām. They have been found, as Mr. Rajaguru was told by the owner of the plates, in some villages of Northern Ganjām, and were purchased by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India. They are now deposited in the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. I edit the charters by the kind permission of Mr. Majumdar.

A.—Plates of Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription are **three** in number and measure about 5⅞″ by 3⅛″. Their rims are not raised. Each plate is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is damaged in several places. But practically the whole of it can be made out quite satisfactorily. The ring on which the plates were strung is about 3″ in diameter. The small oval seal, below which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about ¾″ by ½″. It is damaged and the emblem on it is no more visible. The weight of the three plates, with ring and seal, is about 70 *tolas*.

The **alphabet** of the inscription resembles that of the Dhanantara Plates of Sāmantavarman,[1] and may be assigned to the 7th Century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except three of the customary verses in lines 28-35 the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities call for remark :—*v* and *b* are not distinguished, both being indicated by the sign for *v*. A consonant after *r* is doubled only in a few instances, *e.g.*, *Gōkarṇṇēśvara* (l. 5), and *ki(kī)rttayō* (l. 35). The letter *t* preceding *r* is doubled in *śakti-ttraya-* (l. 9), etc. *Visarga* has been wrongly used in *bhagavataḥś=char-āchara-* (ll. 1-2), *-pitṛiḥ-* (l. 11), and *vēhubhiḥr=vasudhā* (l. 28), and wrongly dropped in *Sagar-ādibhi* (l. 29). The sign for final *t* has been used twice, though wrongly, in *-ādhishṭhānātd=bhagavataḥ* (l. 1) and *sa-karaṇāt* (l. 14).

The inscription is of the **Gaṅga** King of Kaliṅga, *Mahārāja* **Jayavarmadēva,** who was a devout worshipper of the lord Gōkarṇṇēśvara, residing on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain. From his residence at **Śvētaka** the king by this document informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned in the **Ṇḍadāśṛiṅga**[2](?)-*vishaya*, that he gave the village of **Bhusuṇḍā** in the said province to **Raviśarman,** a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa-*gōttra*, the Vājasanēya-*charaṇa* and the Kāṇva-*śākhā*, who was a resident of the Pratishṭhāna-*vishaya* of the *bhaṭṭāraka* Guṇēśvara[2]. The *dūtaka* was the *Mahāsāmanta* Pūrṇṇadēva who had the title of *Pañchamahāśabda*. The grant was written by Khaṇḍa, the son of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Śrīsāmanta[3] and engraved by Vichitrahasta.

I am inclined to identify Jayavarman of the present grant with Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman of the Parlakimedi plates[4], which record the gift of the village Tālatthērē in the district of Krōshṭukavarttanī by Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, at the request of his brother Jayavarman, to Vishṇusōmāchārya, a Brāhmaṇa of the Parāśara-*gōtra*, who was an inhabitant of the village of Śraṅgāṭikā in the district of Kāmarūpa or Assam.

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

[2] [See p. 262, nn. 8 and 12 below.—Ed.]

[3] [This may be only a title in which case the name of the official has not been given.—Ed.]

[4] *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year* 1920-21, pp. 15, 93 ; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* ,Vol. I, pp. 232-33 ; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 273 ff.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti [|*] **Śvētak**-ādhishṭhānāt[3]d=bhagavataḥ[4]
2 ś=char-āchara-gō[5] śakala-śaśāṅka-śēkhara-
3 [dha]ra[sya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāra-
4 [ṇa-hē]tōḥ Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-nivāsi-
5 naḥ śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭārakaḥ[6] chara

First Plate ; Second Side.

6 ṇa-kamal-ārādhanād=avāpta-puṇya-ni-
7 chayō Gāṅg-āmala-kul-amvar[7]-ēnduḥ sva-bhu-
8 ja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-sakala-Ka-
9 liṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] śakti-ttrayaḥ[4]-praka-
10 rsh-ānurañjit-āḥ[4]śēsha-sāmantaḥ para-
11 mamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛiḥ[4]-pād-ān[u]-

Second Plate ; First Side.

12 dhyātō mahārāja-śrī-**Jayavarmadēva[ḥ*]** kuśa-
13 lī **Ṇḍadāśṛiṅga**[8]-vi[sha*]yē yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-
14 nō vyā(vya)vahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇāt(n) vrā(brā)hmaṇa-
15 purōg-ādi-rājanaka-rājaputtra-pra[dhā]-
16 nu(na)purusha-rāṭrakuṭa[9]-dāṇḍanāyaka-bhō-
17 gi-bhōginā[10]-nivāsi-janapadā[ṁś*=]chāṭa-bhaṭa-va-
18 la(lla)bha-[jātīyā-]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 ṅś=cha(ṁś=cha) yath-ārhaṁ pu(pū)jayaty=ājñāpayati cha [|*]
20 Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vishaya-samva-
21 ndha[11]-**Bhusuṇḍā**-grāmō=yaṁ chatuḥ-simn(sīm)-ōpala-
22 kshitaḥ bhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-Guṇēśvara-Pratishṭhā-[12]
23 yāṁ vishaya-vāstavya-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-**Raviśa[r*]mma[ṇē*] Kā-**
24 śyapa-gōttrāya Vājasani(nē)ya-charaṇāya
25 Kāṇvaḥ[4]-śākhinē salila-dhārā-puraḥsarē-

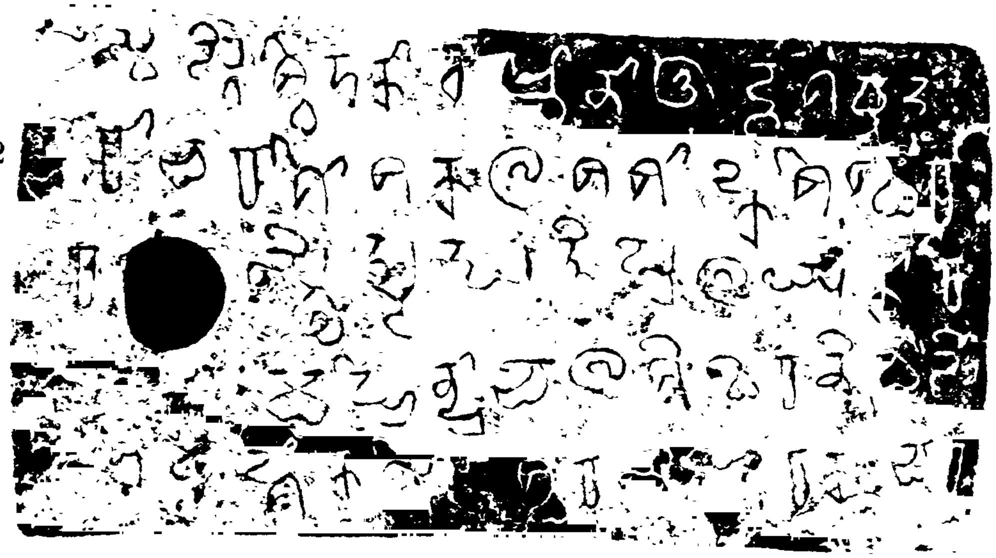
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[1] From the original plates and impressions.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] The sign for *t* is superfluous; read °*nād=bha*°.
[4] The *visarga* is superfluous.
[5] Read -*gurōḥ*.
[6] Read -*bhaṭṭārakasya*.
[7] Read -*kul-āmbar*–.
[8] [The reading may be *Jēḍa(gaḍā)śriṅga*.—Ed.]
[9] Read -rāshtrakūṭa-.
[10] Read -*bhōgi-bhōga-nivāsi*-.
[11] Read -*sambaddha*-.
[12] Read -*Pratishṭhāna-vishaya*. [It is more probable that the grant was made on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Guṇēśvara (Śiva) and that the name of the *vishaya* or district to which the donee belonged has been omitted by the scribe through oversight.—Ed.]

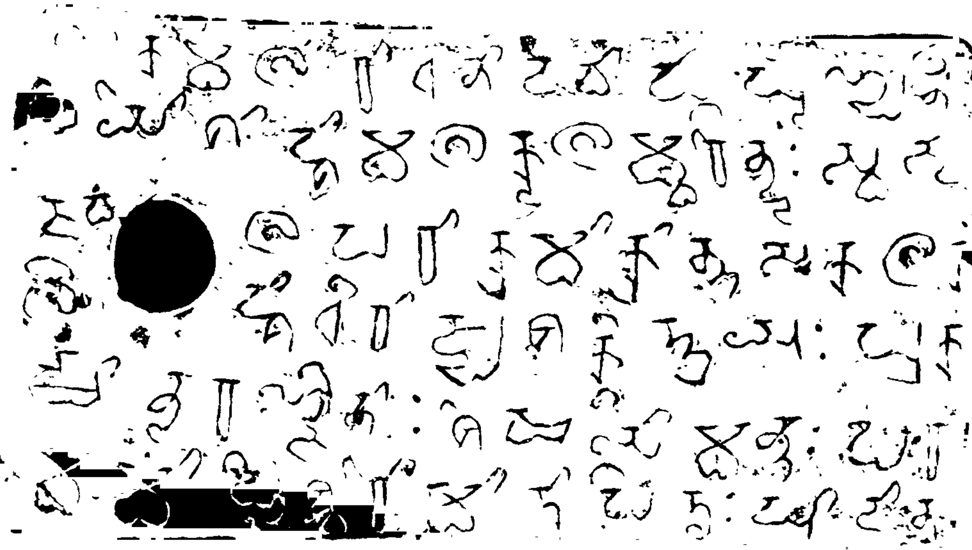
Four Ganga Copper-plate Grants:

A.—Plates of Maharaja Jayavarmadeva.

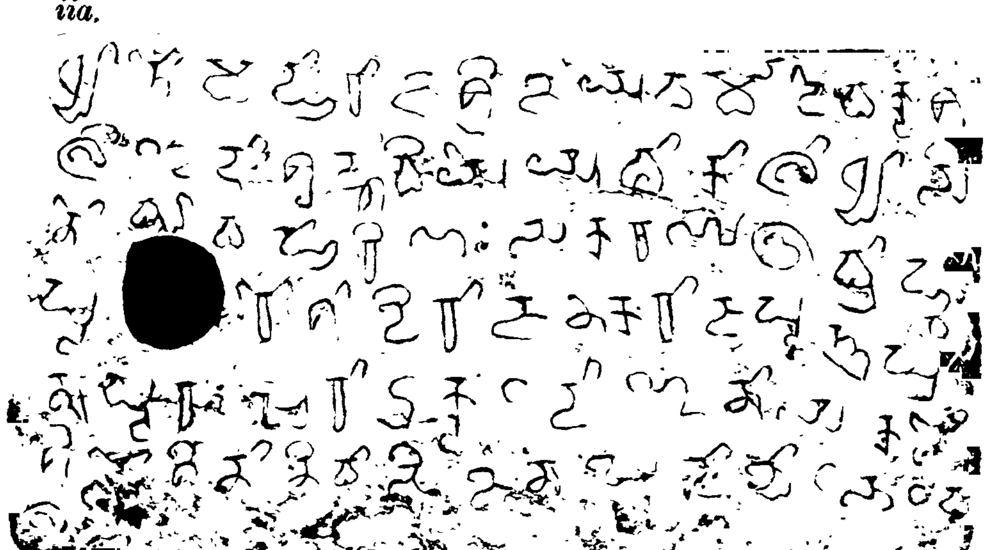
ia.



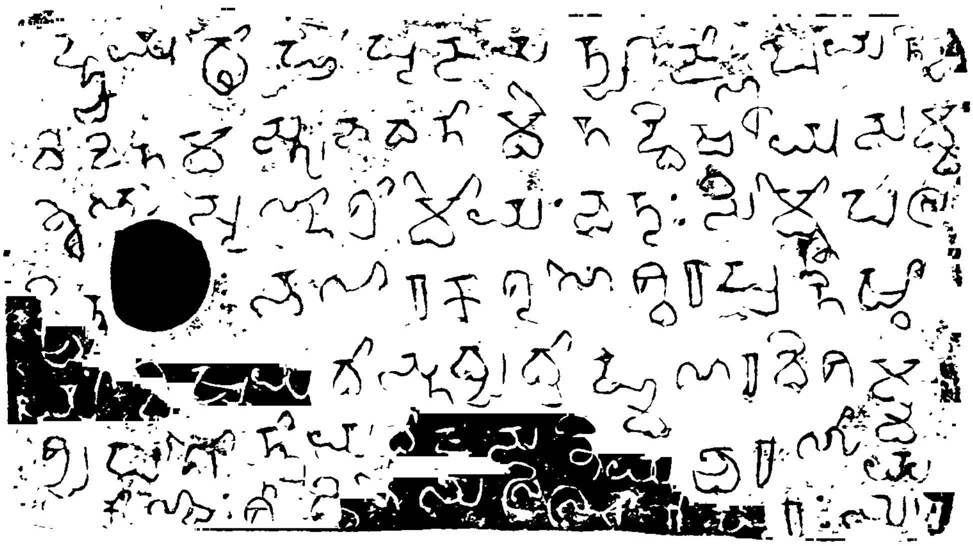
ib.



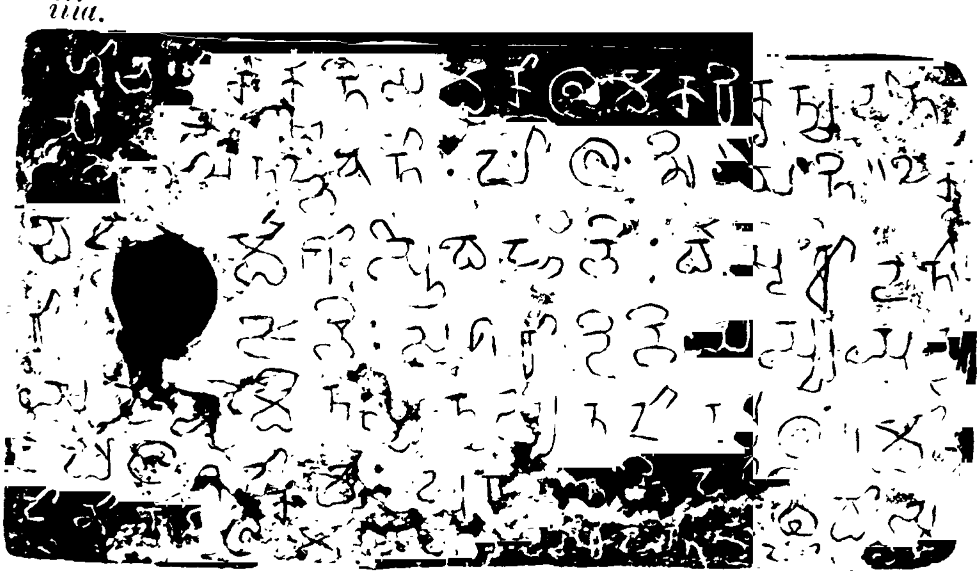
iia.



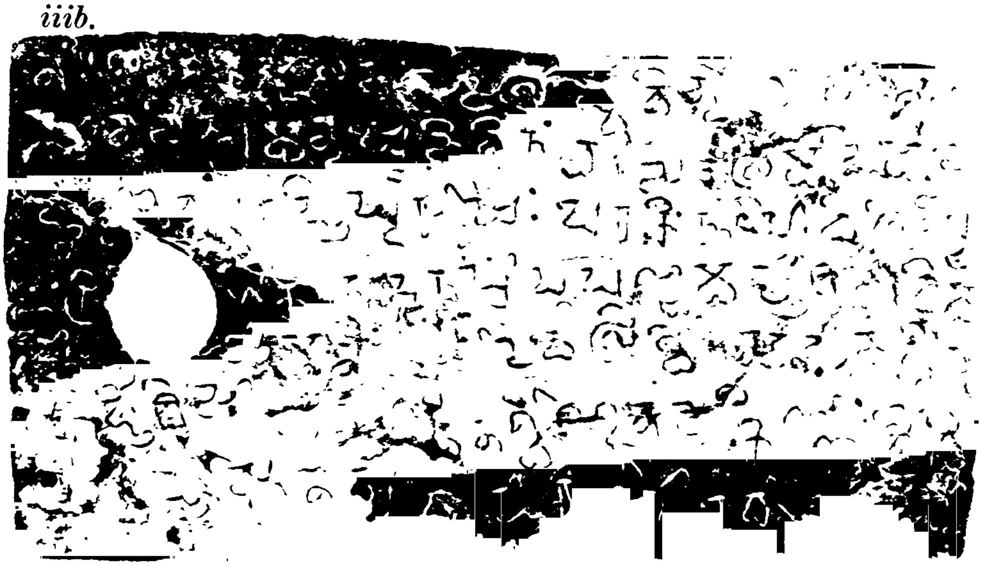
iib.



iiia.



iiib.



Third Plate ; First Side.

26 ṇ=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam=akari(rī)kṛitya datō(ttō)=
27 smābhi[ḥ |*] Ētad=bhavatāḥ pālaniyēti[1] || Uktaṁ
28 cha dharma-śāstrē [|*] Vē(Ba)hubhiḥ[2]r=vasudhā datā(ttā)
29 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhi(bhiḥ) [|*] yasya yasya
30 yadā bhu(bhū)mita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) ||[3] Mā bhu(bhū)-
31 d=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-da[tt=ē]ti pārthivā[ḥ |*] sva-
32 dānāt=phalam=ā[nantyaṁ] para-datt=ānupāla-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

33 naṁ(nam) ||[3] Iti kamala-dal-ā=dal[4]-āmvu(bu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriya-
34 m=anuchintya manushya-ji(jī)vitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udā-
35 hṛitañ=cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpya(pyāḥ) [||*][5]
36 Iti [dūta*]kō=dh[i*]kṛita-prāpta-pañcha-mahā-śavda(bda)-śrī-ma-
37 hāsāmanta-[Pūrṇṇa]dēva[ḥ |*] Likhitaṁ mahāsandhivi-
38 [gra]hi-Śrīsāmanta-[sū]nuna(nā) Khaṇḍēna [|*] Utki(tkī)rṇṇaṁ śrī-Vi-
39 chittrahastēna [|*] Vyā(vya)vahāriṇō dēva-[pra]tihā-
40 [riṇaḥ ||*]

B.—Plates of Dānārṇṇavadēva.

The inscription is incised on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 5¾″ long by 3¾″ broad. The plates are strung on a copper ring about 3″ in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered below a circular seal, which measures about 1¼″ in diameter. The **seal** is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears in relief on countersunk surface the figures of a crescent at the top, a seated bull in the centre and an indistinct emblem at the bottom. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 118 *tolas*. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-four lines of writing. Though the plates have no raised rims, the writing on them is well-preserved. The engraving has been carelessly done. Wrong spelling and omission of syllables are common mistakes.

The record is **not dated** but on palæographic grounds may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five of the customary stanzas in lines 23-31, the record is written in prose. In respect of **orthography** we may note the following points : The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The consonant after *r* is, as a rule, doubled, *e.g.*, *chandr-ārkka-* (l. 18), *svargga-* (l. 27); but *m* has not been doubled in *-hētōr=Mahēndr-āchala-* (l. 2). *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the dental *n* in *viṁdu* (ll. 29-30). The dental *s* represents the palatal *ś* in some cases, *e.g.*, *-sasāṅka-* (ll. 1-2), *-sikhara-* (ll. 2-3). The sign for *avagraha* has been used in *-grāmō= 'yaṁ* (l. 15) and *pratipādikā='smābhiḥ* (l. 21). The final *t* has been used in *anyat* (l. 14).

The inscription is of **Pṛithvīvarmman's** son, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the *Rāṇaka* **Dānārṇṇavadēva,** who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the holy lord Gōkarṇṇēśvara, dwelling on the summit of Mount Mahēndra and who

[1] Read *ētad=bhavadbhiḥ pālanīyam=iti.*
[2] The *visarga* is superfluous.
[3] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[4] The two syllables *dalā* have been wrongly repeated.
[5] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*

by the excellence of his threefold power had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had acquired by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kaliṅga country. From his residence at **Śvēta,** evidently the same as **Śvētaka,** the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun he gave the village **Kāsiḍḍā,** situated in the **Jayaḍā**-*vishaya* to *bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana's son *bhaṭṭa* **Durggakhaṇḍika,** (a Brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa-*gōtra*, who was a student of the Chhāndōga-*charaṇa*, and had the fivefold *pravara* and *anupravara*. The inscription was written by the *Saṁdhivigrahin* Dhanadatta and engraved by Dāmōdara.

Dānārṇṇava, by whom this charter was issued, cannot at present be identified. He is evidently distinct from and later than another Dānārṇṇava, who was the father of Indravarman of the Purle[1] and Tekkali[2] plates, which are written in much earlier characters and are dated in the Gaṅga years 137[3] and 154 respectively, roughly corresponding to A.D. 631 and 648.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[5] svasti [||*] **Śvēt**-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-gurōssa(ś=śa)kala-sa(śa)sā(śā)-
2 ṅka-śēkhara-dha[rasya*] sthity-utpatti[6]-pralaya-kāraṇa-bētōr=Mahēndr-āchala-si(śi)-
3 khara-nivāsinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya chara-
4 ṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpti(pta)-puṇyanichaya[ḥ*] śakti-traya-prakarsh-ā-
5 nurañjī(ñji)t-āśēsha-ssā(sā)manta-chakra[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parā-
6 kram-ākrānta-sakala-Kala(li)ṅg-ādhirājyē(jyaḥ) |[7]paramamā-
7 hēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-paramabha-
8 ṭṭā[ra*]kō mahārājā[dhi*]rāja-Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śrī-**Dā**-
9 **nārṇṇavadēvaḥ Pṛithvīvarmma**-sutaḥ kuśalī |[7] **Jayaḍā**-vishayē

Second Plate ; First Side.

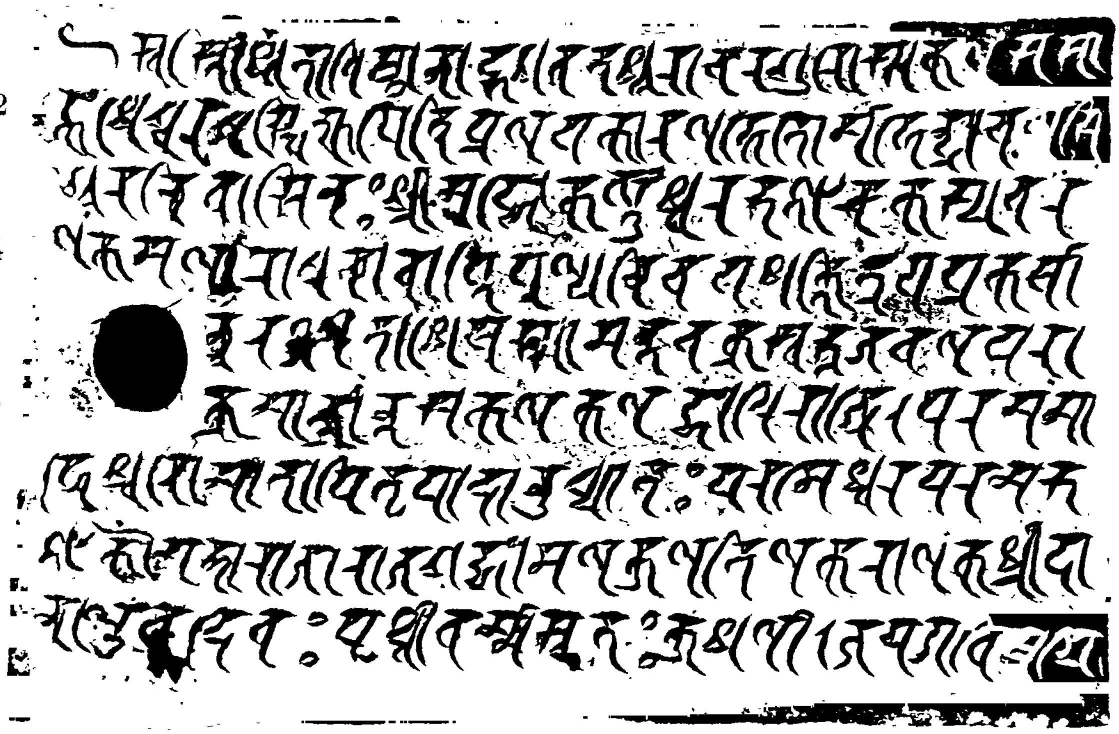
10 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsī(si)-śrīsāmanta-mahāsāmanta-rājanaka-rāja-
11 putra-kumārāmāty-ōpari[ka*]-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-grāma-
12 pati-daṇḍapāsi(śi)[ka*]-chāṭṭa(ṭa)-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyāna(n) bhōgī(gi)[ka*]-jana-
13 padān[8] [7]yath-ārhaṁ mānayati [7] vō(bō)dhayati |[7] samājñāpayati cha
14 sarvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat |[7] viditam=astu bhava-
15 tāṁ [7] ētad-vishayaṁ(ya)-shativaddha[9]-**Kāsi[ḍḍā]**-grāmō='yaṁ sa-ja-
16 la-sthala sa-padr-āraṇya[10] sāṭavī[11] viṭapa-samanvita(taś=)chatus-sī-
17 m-ōpalakshitaḥ |[7] ih=aiva sūrya-grahaṇē mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ[12]
18 puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē sa-salidhārāspuraskṛitā[13] chandra-ārkka-kālam=a-

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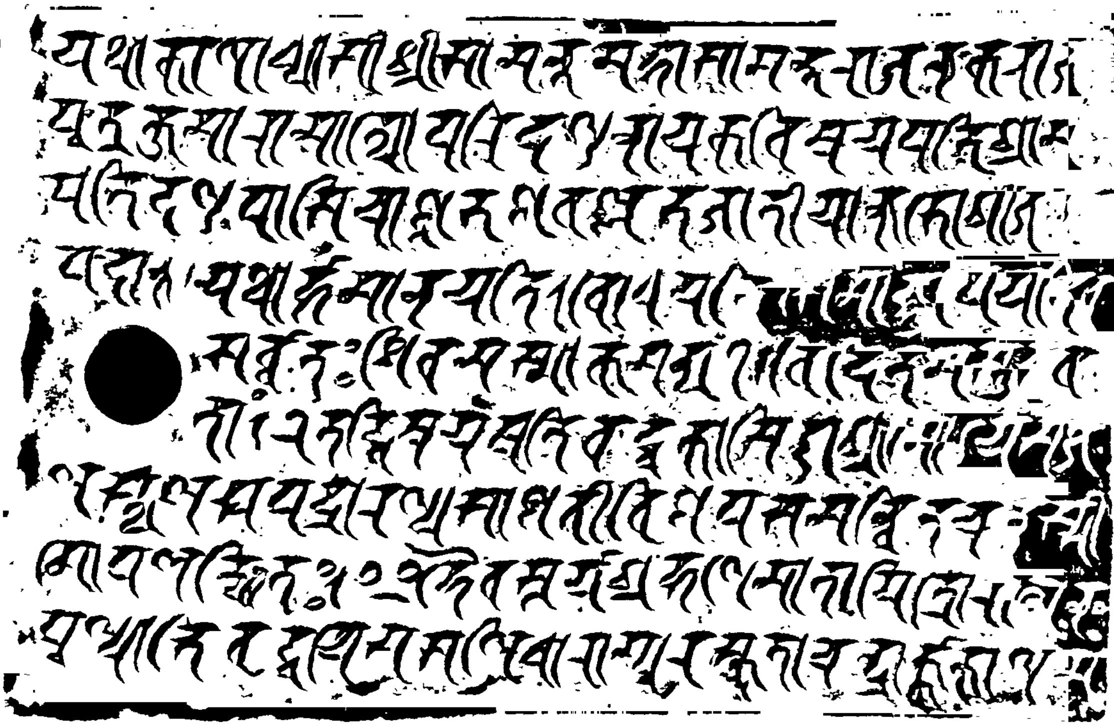
[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 360 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 308. Originally this date was read as 149.
[4] From impressions and the original plates.
[5] Expressed by a symbol.
[6] The conjunct *tpa* appears as *pē*. The left limb of *ta* is elongated downwards, so much so that it looks like the *ē-mātrā*.
[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[8] Note that the *halanta* mark is expressed by the omission of the top line. The right hand short downward stroke with a bend at about the middle is a constituent of the dental *na*.
[9] Read *-pratibaddha-*.
[10] Read *-āraṇyaḥ*.
[11] Read *s-āṭaṅkaḥ*.
[12] Read *=ātmanaś=cha*.
[13] Read *salila-dhārā-puraskṛitam=ā-*.

B.—PLATES OF DANARNAVADEVA.

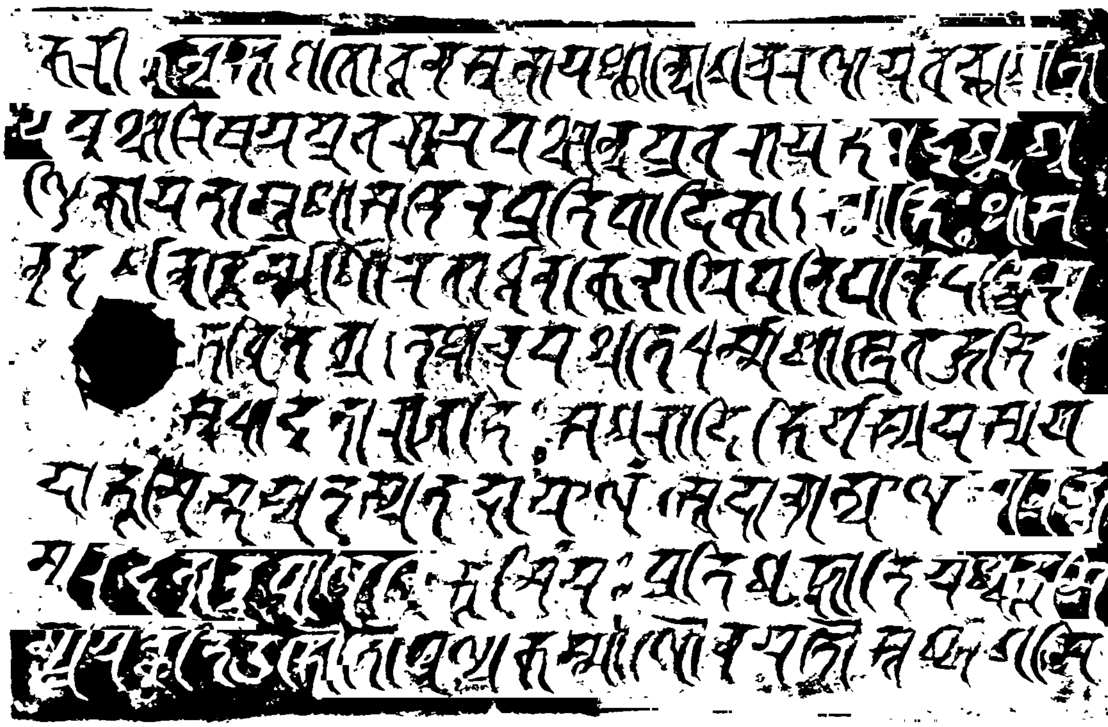
i.



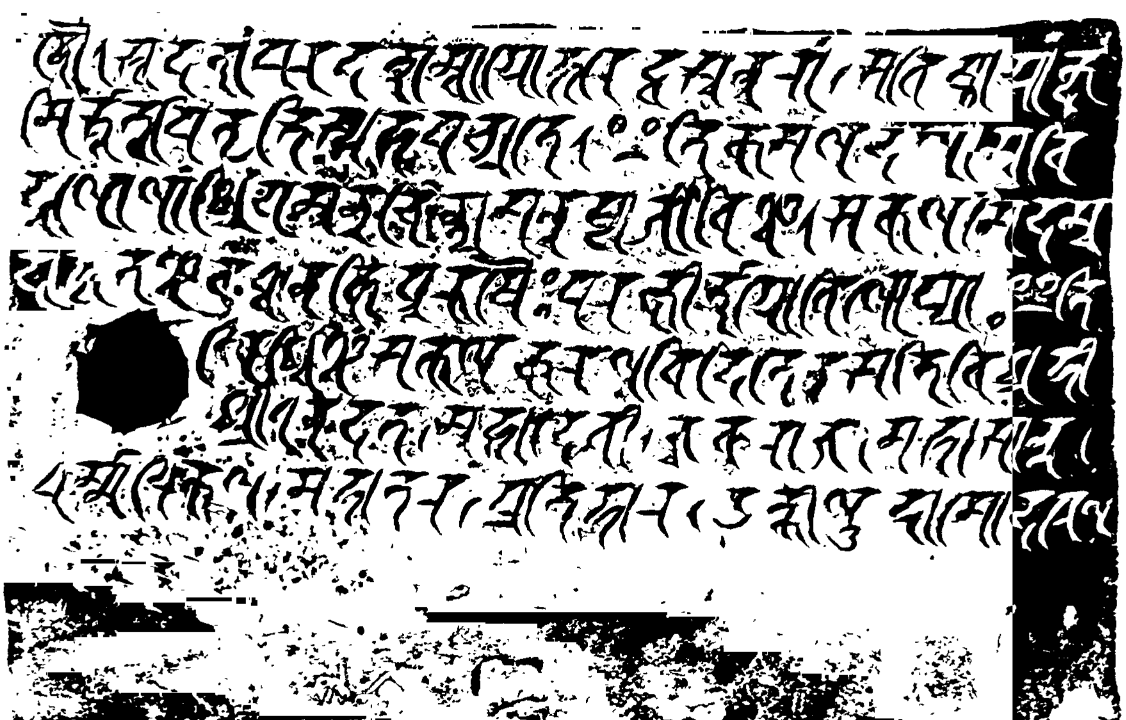
iia.



iib.



iii.



Second Plate; Second Side.

19 karīkṛitya bhāṭṭa-Vōdhūna[1] -sutāya Chchhāndōga-charaṇāya Vachchha[2]-gōtrā-
20 ya pañchārishaya[3]-pravarāya pañch-ānupravarāya bhaṭṭa-**Durggakha-**
21 **ṇḍikāya** tāmvra(mra)-śāsanēna pratipādikā(tō)=’smābhiḥ [‖*] śāsa-
22 na-darśanād=dharmma-gauravāch=cha na kēn=āpi pani[4] paripanthinā
23 bhavitavya(vyam) । Tathā cha pathyatē dharmma-śāstrē [।*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-
24 sudhā datā(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir(bhiḥ) [।*] yasya yasya ya-
25 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [‖*] Sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantya-
26 m=para-datt-ānupālanē[5] [‖*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yāś=cha bhūmi-
27 m=prayachchhati [।*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau na(ni)yatau svargga-ga(gā)mi-

Third Plate.

28 nau [‖*] Sva-datāṁ(ttāṁ) para-dattām=vā yō harēd=vasundharāṁ[6] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛi-
29 mir=bhūtva(tvā) pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē । [।*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-viṁ-
30 du(bindu)-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvi[ta*]ñ=cha sakalam=idam=u-
31 dāhṛitañ=cha vudhvā(buddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [‖*][7] iti [‖*]
32 Likhi[ta*]ñ=cha sakala-karaṇa-viditēna saṁti(dhi)vigrahī(hi)-
33 śrī-Dhanadata(ttēna) mahādēvī । yuchha(yuva)rāja mahā?ā[ma*]nta
34 dharmma(rmmā)dhika[ra*]ṇa । mahā(ha)ta(tta)ra pratihāra । Utkīrṇṇa(rṇṇaṁ) Dāmō-
darēṇa [।*]

C.—Plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva.

The inscription is on **three copper-plates,** each measuring about 5″ in breadth and 2⅞″ in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 2⅞″ in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by an oval **seal,** which contains the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 54 *tolas*. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-six lines of writing, each side having nine lines. The plates have slightly raised rims in order to protect the writing, which is well-preserved.

The **characters** are of what Dr. Burnell named the South Indian Nāgarī type, and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **laguage** is Sanskrit. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 26-34, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : *b* and *v* are not distinguished ; *s* is used for *ś*, as in *-śasāka-* (l. 2), and for *sh*, as in *manusya-* (l. 32) ; *sh* is used for *s*, in *vashuṁdharāṁ* (l. 29) ; the *visarga* has been wrongly dropped in many instances, *e.g.*, *-gurō* (l. 2), *-nivāsina* (l. 4), *-nichaya* (l. 5) ; and the *anusvāra* has been used instead of the class nasal, as in *-Kaliṁga-* (l. 7), *paṁcha* (l. 19), *-sāmaṁta-* (ll. 6, 12).

The inscription is of the time of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, **śrī-Bhūpēndravarmadēva**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-

[1] Read *bhaṭṭa-Bōdhana-*. Note the close-topped *dh*. But the open-topped form of the letter is the commonest.
[2] Read *Vatsa-*.
[3] Read *pañch-arshi-* or *pañch-ārshēya-*.
[4] This *pani* is intended to be *pari* and is superfluous.
[5] The first half of this verse has been omitted, which is *Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ.*
[6] Read *harēta vasundharām.*
[7] **Metre** : *Pushpitāgrā.*

feet of the god, Gōkarṇēśvara (Śiva), situated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain, and who had acquired the overlordship of the entire Kaliṅga country. The grant was issued from the capital city of **Śvētka (Śvētaka)**, and seems to record the donation of a plot of land, the boundaries of which are given in lines 15-19, in the **Vāḍōḍē** village of the **Khalugakhaṇḍa**-*vishaya*, to *bhaṭṭaputra* **Māṇikadēva**, (a Brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa-*gōtra*, who had the fivefold *pravara*, by the *Rāṇaka* Gaṅga-Kavilāsa (Gaṅga-Kailāsa ?)[1]. According to ll. 10-11 the charter seems to have been issued by his son whose name is not given. The inscription was written by the *Saṁdhivigrahin* Aśōkadanta, engraved by the brazier Vimalachandra and registered by the chief queen.

TEXT[2].

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[3] svasti[||*] **Śvētk**-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-
2 gurō[ḥ*] śakala-śasāka(śāṅka)-śēkhara-dharasya sthity-u-
3 tpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr=Mahēndrāścha(r-ācha)la-si(śi)kha-
4 ra-nivāśī(si)na[ḥ*] śrīmad-Gōkarnē(rṇē)sva(śva)ra-bhaṭṭārakasya charaṇa-ka-
5 mal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punyā(ṇya)-nichaya[ḥ*] shatki(śakti)-traya-pra-
6 karsh-ānurāṁji(rañji)t-āsvē(śē)sha-sāmaṁta(manta)chakra[ḥ*] - sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-pa-
7 rākram-ākrānta-śā(sa)kala-Kaliṁg(liṅg)-ādhirājē(jyaḥ) parama-mā-
8 hēsva(śva)rō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Gaṅg-āmala-
9 [ku]la-tilaka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē[ś]vara-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 paramabhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)raka-śrī-**Bhu(Bhū)pēndravarmadēva[ḥ*]** kush(śa)lī [||*] Gaṁga (Gaṅga)-
11 Kavilāsa-śu(su)taḥ **Khalugakhaṇḍa**-vishayē yathā-kāl-ā-
12 dhyāsinō mā(ma)hāsāmaṁta(manta)-śrīsāmaṁta(manta)-grāmapati-vrā(brā)hma-
13 ṇa-pu[rō*]hita-rāshṭhakuṭṭa-kuṭumvina[4] chāṭa-bhāṭṭa(bhaṭa)-vala(lla)bha-jati(jātī)-
14 yā[n*] yath-ārha(rhaṁ) mānayati samādisa(śa)ti [cha*] viditam=a-
15 stu bhava[tāṁ] ēta-vishaya[5]-saṁvaṁdha(baddha)-**Vāḍōḍē**-grāmasya madhē(dhyē)
16 khaṇḍa-kshētra(traṁ) pu(pū)rva-disā(śā)-varē vṛita-maira-ali-shi(sī)mā-sā(sa)-
17 ndhi[ḥ *] [a]g[n*]ēyā[6]-disā(śā)-varē mvāuṁtigāḍa-parichh(chchh)ēda[ḥ*]| pachhi(śchi) ma-di-
18 sā(śā)-varē maira ali [*] uta(tta)ra-disā(śā)-varē tath=aiva cha[|*] Ē-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 ta[ch*]=chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpalakshitaṁ cha | Vachha(Vatsa)-gōtrāya paṁchā-
20 rishaya[7]-pravarāya bhaṭṭaputra-māhātra[8]-Māṇikadēvā-
21 ya iva[9] Gaṅgakavilā[sa*]-rāṇakēna dataṁ(ttaṁ) mātā-pitrō-

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[1] As the expression *Gaṅga-Kavilāsa-sutah* comes after *kuśalī* it does not seem to have any connection with *Bhūpēndravarmadēva*.

[2] From impressions and the original plates.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *rāshṭrakūṭa-kuṭumbinaś=*.

[5] Read °*tāṁ=ētad-vishaya-*.

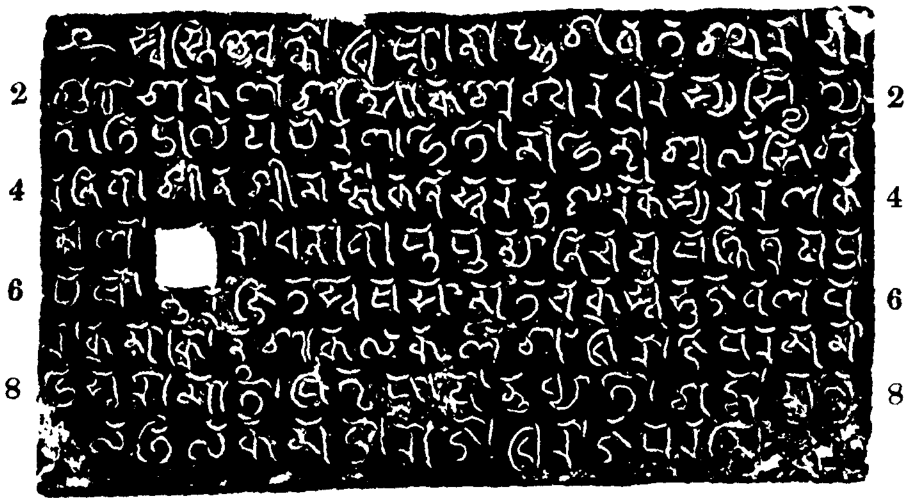
[6] Read *Āgnēya-*. I believe that the word intended is *dakshiṇa*, for the already incomplete *a* in *agnēyā* seems to have been altered into *da*.

[7] Read *pañch-arshi* or *pañch-ārshēya-*.

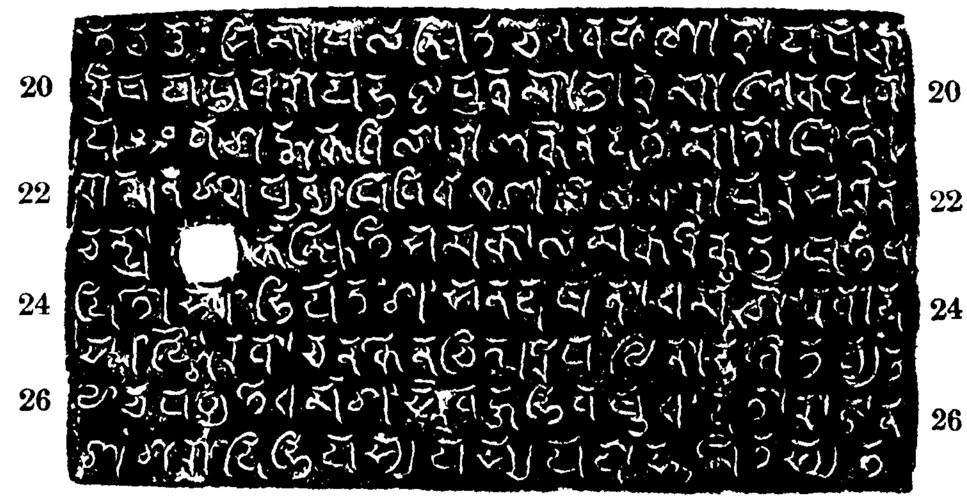
[8] Read *-mahattara-*.

[9] The intended reading seems to be °*dēvāy=aiva*.

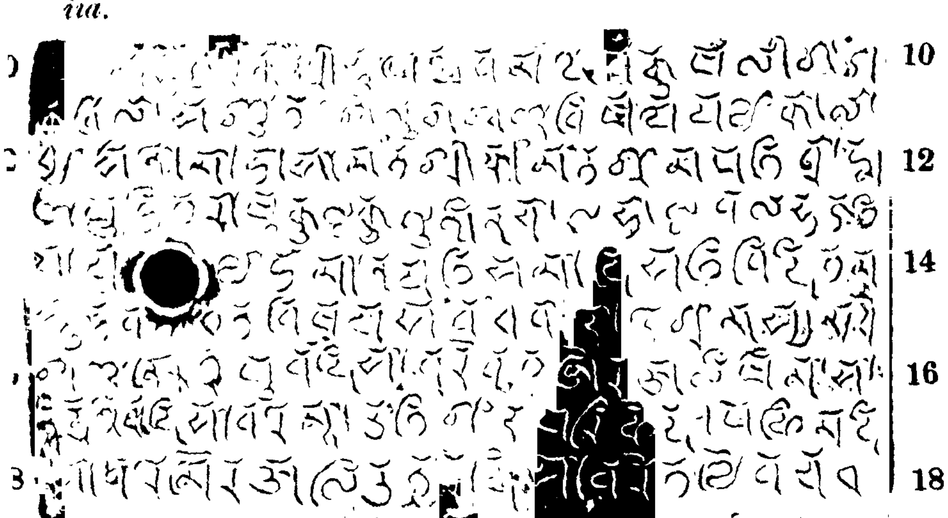
i.



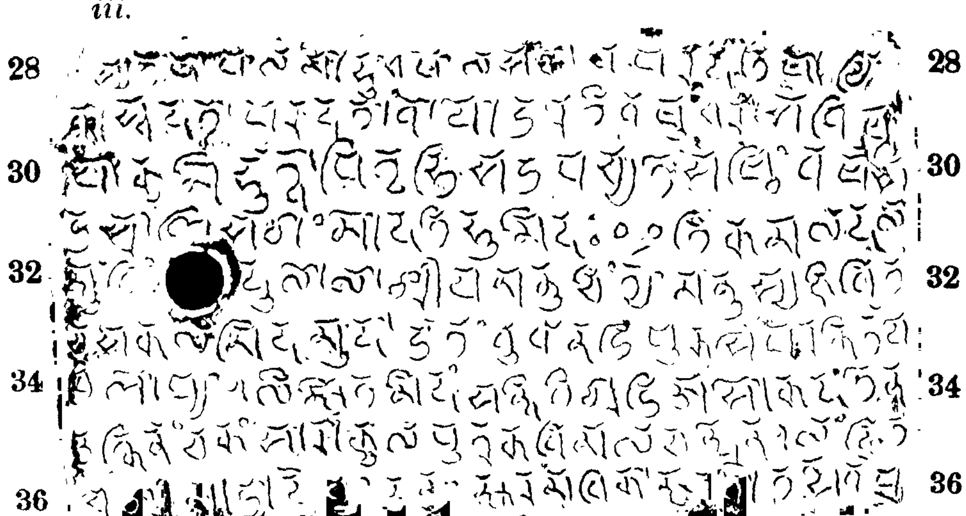
iib.



iia.



iii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1503 E'37—275.

SCALE SEVEN-EIGHTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

22 r=ātmā(tma)naś=cha punyāpivirdhaē[1] śa(sa)lila-dhārā-pura[ḥ*]sarēna(ṇa)
23 chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam=akari(rī)kṛitya pratipā-
24 ditō=[2]smābhir=yataṁ(taḥ) [|*] śāsana-darsha(rśa)nā[d*]=dharma-gauravād=a-
25 smā(sma)d-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachit=paripaṁthi(panthi)nā bhavitavyaṁ [|*] Ta-
26 thā cha paṭhyatē dharma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vashu(su)dhā datā(ttā) rājāna(jabhiḥ)
27 Śa(Sa)gar-ādibhi[ḥ*] yasya yasya yadā bhumi[3] tasya ta-

Third Plate.

28 sya tadā phalaṁ [||*] Mā bhu(bhū)[dha](d=a)phala-sakā(śaṅkā) va[ḥ*] para-da[tt=ē*]ti pārthi-
29 vā[ḥ|*][4] Sva-datāṁ(ttāṁ) para-datāṁ(ttāṁ) vā yō harēti(ta) vashuṁdha(sundha)rā[ṁ [|*] sa vishṭhā-
30 yāṁ kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē [||*] Sashṭhiṁ(Shashṭiṁ) varsha-sa-
31 hasrāṇi sagaṁ(svargē) mōdati bhu(bhū)midaḥ [|*][5] Iti kamala-dal-ā-
32 mvu(mbu)=viṁdu(bindu)-lōlā(lāṁ) śrī(śri)yam=anuchiṁtyā(chintya) manusya(shya)-ji(jī)vitaṁ
33 cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udārha(hṛi)taṁ [cha*] vu(bu)dhā(ddhvā) na hi purusai(shaiḥ) para-ki(kī)rtayō
34 vilōpyā[ḥ*][6]|| Likshi(khi)tam=idaṁ sandhivigrahi-Asō(śō)kadaṁtēna [|*]
35 Utkirnaṁ[7] cha kaṁsārā-kulaputraka-Vimalachandrēna(ṇa) | Laṁchhita[8]
36 cha śrī-Mā(Ma)hādēvyā [|*] Unyā(ūn-ā)ksharam=adhik-āksharaṁ vā tat=sarva(rvaṁ) pra[māṇam=iti [|*]

D.—Plates of Rāṇaka Jayavarmadēva.

The inscription is on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 6⅜″ in breadth and 3″ in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 3½″ in diameter. To this ring is affixed a circular **seal,** about 1″ in diameter. The seal, which is broken on one side, bears the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 104 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only and the second and third plates on both the sides. There are altogether 37 lines of writing, which are distributed as follows : the first plate has 8 lines ; the second, 7 lines on each side ; and the third, 8 lines on the first side and 7 lines on the second side. The plates have rims slightly raised for the protection of writing, which is in a good state of preservation almost throughout.

The **characters** are of the South Indian Nāgarī type and probably are not much later than the 10th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Words like *darashana* (l. 23) and *varisha-* (l. 28), which are found in the text, are evidently due to Prākrit influence. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25-33, the record is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points call for notice : *b* and *v* are not distinguished ; *s* is often used for *ś*

[1] Read *puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē.*
[2] Read *pratipāditam=asmā°.*
[3] Read *bhūmis=tasya.*
[4] The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt=ānupālanē.*
[5] The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt.*
[6] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*
[7] Read *utkīrṇaṁ.*
[8] Read *lāñchhitaṁ.*

and *vice versâ* ; *sh* stands for *ś* in *shatki-traya-* (l. 5) and for *s* in *vashuṁdharā* (l. 27) ; *visarga* has been wrongly used and wrongly dropped in several instances.

The grant was issued by the *Paramamāhēśvara Rāṇaka* śrī-**Jayavarmadēva** of the Gaṅga family from his residence at **Śvēta.** Its **object** is to register the gift of a plot of land in the **Paḍala[śu]ṅga** village situated in the **Khalugakhaṇḍa**-*vishaya* on the occasion of an equinox, to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Padma, (a Brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa-*gōtra*, the Pañcharshi-*pravara*, and the Kāṇva-*śākhā*. Lines 16-19 give in detail the boundaries of the plot of land. The grant was engraved by Vimalachandra, written by Sāmanta, and registered by Tri-Kaliṅga-*mahādevī*.

The inscription is dated in the hundredth year (in words and numerical symbols) apparently of the Gāṅgēya era.

Jayavarman, by whom this charter was issued, is distinct from and later than the *Mahārāja* Jayavarma of grant **A** above[1].

TEXT[2].

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[3] svasti [|*] **Śē(Śvēt)**-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] sa(śa)ka-
2 la-sasā(śaśā)ṅka-śēkhara-dharasyaḥ(sya) thity-utpati[4]-pralaya-kāraṇa-hē-
3 tōr=Mahēndrāścha(cha)la-śikhara-nivāsinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarnēsva(rṇēśva)-
4 ra-bhaṭṭārakasya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punya(ṇya)-ni-
5 chaya[ḥ*] shatki(śakti)-traya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āsē(śē)sha-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*] śva(sva)-
6 bhujā(ja)-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrāntaḥ(nta)-sakala-Kaling-ādhirājyē(jyaḥ) parama-
7 māhēsva(śva)rō mātā-pitṛi-pa(pā)d-ānudhyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka-
8 Rāṇaka-śrī-**Jayavarmadēva[ḥ*]** kusa(śa)lī |[5] **Khalugakhā(kha)ṇḍa**-visha-

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 ē(yē) śrīsāmanta-mā(ma)hāsāmanta-rājānaka-rājā(ja)putra-kumā-
10 rāmāty-utpari[6]-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-grāmapatīn=anyā[ṁ]-
11 ś=cha chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-vāla(valla)bha-jāti(tī)yā[n*]|[5] yath-ārha(rhaṁ) mānaya-
12 ti vō(bō)dhayati samādisa(śa)ti [cha*] viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ] ||[5] ēta-
13 d-vishaya-sama(mba)ndha(ddha)-grāmō=ya(yaṁ) **Paḍala[śu]ṅga**-nāma(mā) tasya madhe-(madhyē)
14 [7]khāṇḍa-kshētra-kariyā chhēdaddataṁ chatu-simā-paryānta-va-
15 śatigrāma-madhē padra-sahitēna dataṁ kshītrasya simā

---

[1] [There is enough room for suspicion about the genuineness of this record. The donor Jayavarmadēva, though only a *Rā aka*, is given such titles as are found in the records of the paramount rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and like many of them he issues the grant from Śvēta. It cannot be argued that he is only a late ruler of the family and has copied portions from earlier grants. The year 100, which is given in decimal figures, is apparently meant to refer to the Ganga era. But the script used in the inscription though containing a mixture of early and late forms as found in many Ganga records must on the whole be placed at a date much later than the 6th century A.D.—Ed.]

[2] From impressions and the original plates.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *sthity-utpatti-*.

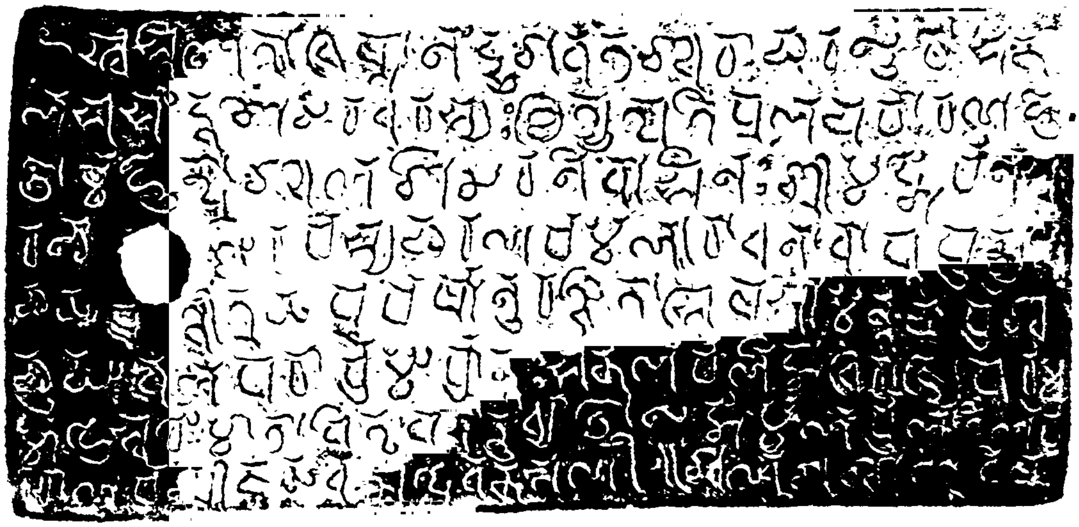
[5] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[6] Read °*ty-ōparika-*.

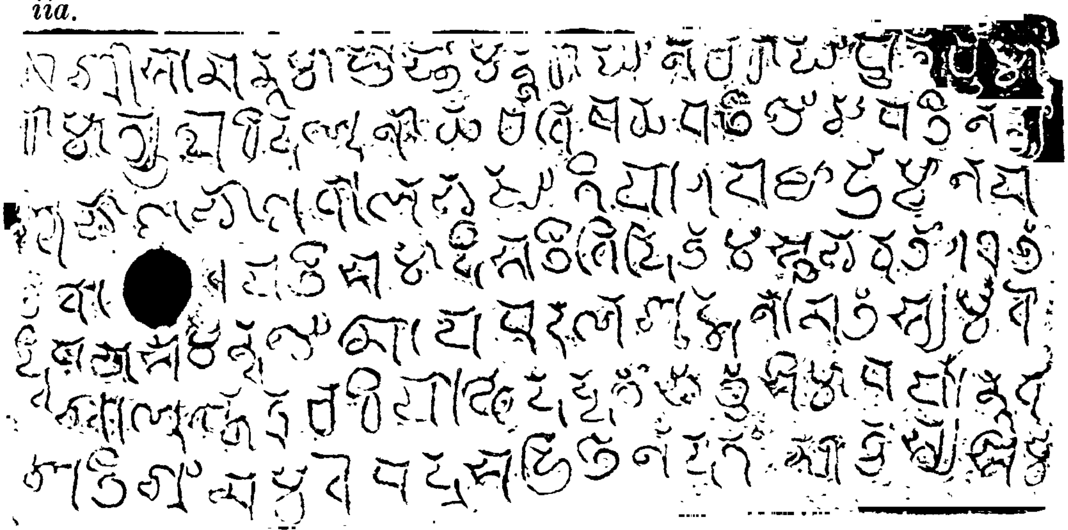
[7] From here onward the text is given uncorrected, as it contains too many mistakes.

D.—PLATES OF RANAKA JAYAVARMADEVA.

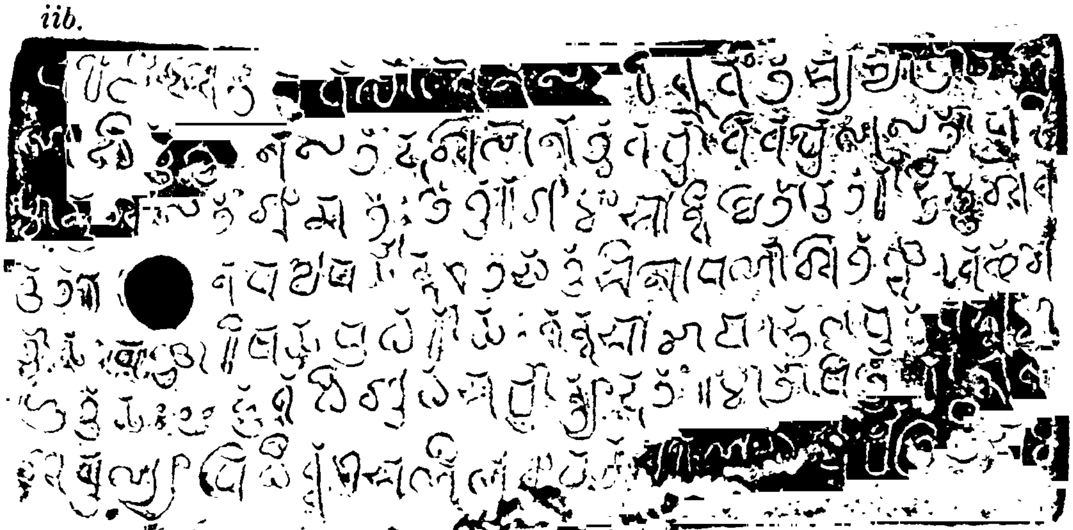
i.



iia.



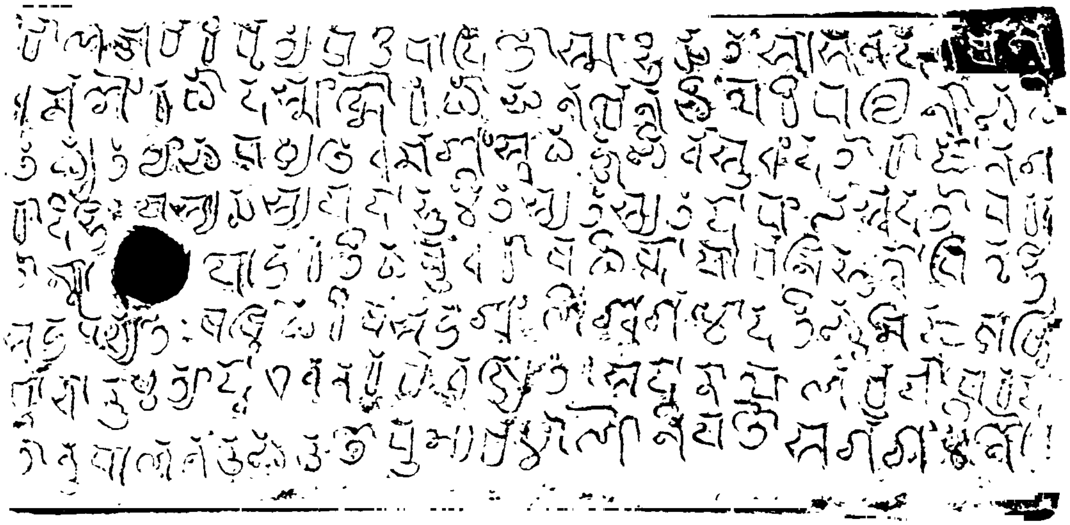
iib.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: SEVEN-EIGHTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

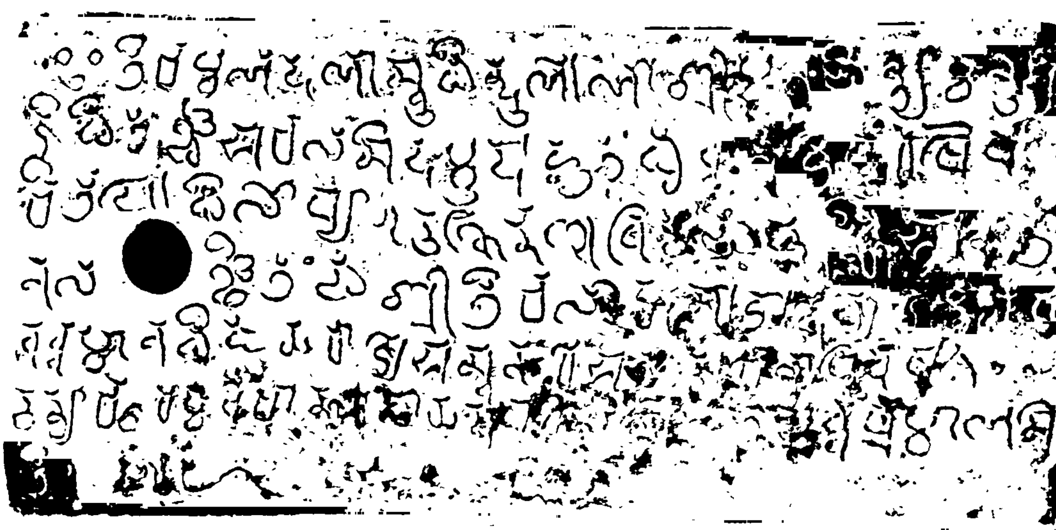
iiia.

24 26 28 30



iiib.

32 34 36



Second Plate ; Second Side.

16 parilikhitaṁ purva-kōṇēna gādari dhruvaṁ tasya thītō dakhi-
17 ṇ-ābhimukhēna gātaṁ dakhiṇēna tu vakrā-vivakrēṇa gāta pachhi-
18 mā mukhaṁ gātaṁ grāmataḥ Tēṁtura-g[r*]āmā-sāndhi thitō utar-ābhimukhē cha
19 utarēna patha-paryānta ēta chatu-sim-ōpalīkhitañ=cha Vachha-gō-
20 trāyaḥ pañch-ārishaya-pravarāyaḥ Kanva-sākhāya bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Padma-mā-
21 hatrayaḥ iha va Viśuva-sakrāntyā dataṁ |, mātā-pitrōr=ātmana-
22 ś=cha puṇy-āpividhdhaē salila-dhā[rā*]-puraḥsarēṇa chandr-ārka-thiti-sama-

Third Plate ; First Side.

23 kāla akarikṛitya pratipāditō=smābhir=yataṁ sāsana-darashana
24 dharma-gauravād=asmād-gauravā cha na kēnachit=paripathinā bhavi-
25 tavya tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-śāstra [,*] Vahubhir=vasudhā datā rājāna [Sa*]ga-
26 r-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya tadā phalam [*] Sva-datā para-da-
27 tām=vā yō harēti vashuṁdharā [*] sha vishṭhāyā kṛimi bhutvā pitṛibhi
28 saha pachyatēḥ [||*] Shasthiṁ varisha-sahaśrāṇi śvarga mōdati bhūmida [*] achhi-
29 ptā ch=ānumatyā dvā ēva naraka vrajyēta |; Sa dānāt=phalaṁ kuryā para-da-
30 t-ānupālanaṁ [|*] ubhau tō puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau sarga-gāminau [*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

31 Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vindu-lōlā śrīm=anuchintya manu[shya]-
32 jivitañ=cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ vu[dhvā] na hi purashai pa[ra]-
33 kitayō vilōpyā | Utkirnañ=cha Vima[la*]chandrē[ṇa*] h Sāma[ntē]-
34 na lañchhitaṁ cha śrī-Tri-Kalī(i)ṅga-mā(ma)hādēvyā.......... pra-
35 vardhdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē samvachharē sa[tē] aṁkēn=āpi varsha 100 [*]
36 Uny-āksharam=adhik-ākshara yā...........tat-sarvvaṁ pramāṇam=i-
37 ti ||

No. 43.—SIX SILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM.

By H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), and S. C. Upadhyaya, M.A., LL.B.

The following **six inscriptions** of the **Śilāhāra dynasty** lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are collectively published here from the stones themselves as well as with the help of the ink-impressions and photographs. Though their contents have been briefly referred to at some places,[1] their regular publication now enables us to correct many conjectural readings of dates and names. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing us to edit these inscriptions and also to Mr. Acharya, Curator of the Archæological Section, for giving considerable help at every stage of the work.

All the inscriptions have been found, as noted in detail under each inscription, in the vicinity of Bombay and they refer to lands donated therein. Hence the epithet "the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan" as applied to the kings of these inscriptions[2] seems to be correct, though it

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, pp. 19-21 ; Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426 ; Vol. XIV, Appendix A, pp. 385, 386 ; also Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 430-31.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, pp. 19-21 and 538 ; also Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

must be noted that the inscriptions give no pedigree; even the dynastic title 'Śilāhāra' is not found except in inscriptions B and C. The relationship of the kings mentioned in these inscriptions, which are arranged below in chronological order, therefore, remains undetermined. These records extend over a period of about 125 years from the time of Aparāditya (I), Śaka 1060 to that of Sōmēśvara, Śaka 1182.

The find-spots of these inscriptions and the places mentioned therein indicate that the sway of the Northern Śilāhāras extended at least over the modern Panvel, Bassein, Bhiwndi, Thāna and perhaps Kalyān Tālukās of the Bombay Presidency.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions may be noted. Below every inscription there is a sculpture of an ass covering a woman, and this is a representation of the curse in old Marāṭhī which can be partly read only in C.[1]

The curse and the sculpture are also found in an inscription, (now in the P. W. M.) of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Śaka 1222 which is published below. We are unable to trace back at present, the existence and use of the curse[2] and its representation, but it seems to have become popular after the 10th century.[3]

The **script** is Dēvanāgarī with a few traces of the earlier Nāgarī letters seen, for example, in *i*, *ja*, and in the use of *mātrās*.

The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit and the text is usually in prose except for ll. 1-2 and 17-18 in F, containing a prayer to Gaṇapati and the usual imprecatory verse about the violation of the grant.

As regards **orthography**, may be noted the use of—(i) the dental *sa* for the palatal *śa* : (ii) the *anusvāra* for the nasal, *e.g.*, *maṁḍala* for *maṇḍala* ; (iii) *ja* for *ya* : *sūrja* for *sūrya* and (iv) *chha* for *stha*.

Prākrit formations are found usually in the names of ministers and other officers, in those of villages and in the grant portion. In the last may be noted the words like *deyāve* (D, l. 11), *bhaṭāveṁ* (E, l. 10), *ṭhākurāchī* (F, l. 11). *Deyāve* seems to be the old Marāṭhī form of *dyāve*; *bhaṭāveṁ*, if the reading is correct, is perhaps a local dialectical formation; and the genitive formation with *chī* in *ṭhākurāchī* is even now common in modern Marāṭhī.[4]

A word may be said about the method of punctuation in these inscriptions. In inscriptions A, B and F either one or two dots (which at first may be mistaken for a *visarga*) are placed as stops instead of *daṇḍas*. Inscription E has no stop at all; whereas in inscriptions C and D the usual *daṇḍas* are found.

A.—Chānje Inscription of Aparādityadēva (I) : Śaka 1060.

This inscription was found from the village **Chānje** near Uran in 1881.[5] The stone on which it is inscribed is 2′ 9½″ × 1′ 2½″ and the inscribed portion which contains 17 lines of writing is 1′ 1½″ × 1′ 2½″. The average size of letters is ¾″. At the top of the stone are

[1] Also in an Inscription of Aparāditya (II), *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

[2] Its echoes are still heard in the language of the masses.

[3] Bhagwanlal Indraji notes (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333) that inscriptions with such sculptures were seen by him in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and at some places on the Coromandal coast. [Such representations are also found outside the Bombay Presidency; *e.g.*, at Gooty fort in the Madras Presidency there is an inscription with similar depiction. See also copper-plate from Rājapura in Bastar State, E. S. A. (Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 179).—Ed.]

[4] I am obliged to Profs. Bhagavat and Shembavnekar, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for this information.—H. D. S.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, n. 2.

figured in low relief, on the left, the Sun, and on the right, the Moon. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a square 9″ × 9″ and this contains a representation of the curse mentioned above.

It is **dated** in **Śaka 1060, Māgha Śuddha 1,** both in words and in numerals. This is equivalent to Thursday, 13th January, A.D. 1138, when the Southern cyclic year (which is not mentioned in the inscription) was Piṅgala.[1]

This inscription **records** the grant of **a mango** (?) **field** in **Nāguma** village to one **Śrīdhara** for the welfare of the king's mother **Līlādēvī** and also the grant of some land[2] in **Chaḍija** village by the King **Aparādityadēva** himself. The latter grant, it appears, was made separately on a solar eclipse.

The King styles himself as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by the *Mahāmātya* śrī-Sōḍha (?) Nāyaku,[3] the *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* śrī-Amuka, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Lakshmaṇaiyaprabhu in charge of the *śrīkaraṇa* and *bhāṇḍāgara*, in the first instance, and in the second, Sēna Amuka, etc.

King Aparādityadēva[4] is to be identified with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Vaḍavali plates[5], (also called Aparājita), as the son of Anantapāla of the Silāra family. According to these plates he was the ruler of the whole of Kōṅkan, though the title he claims there is that of a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* only. Aparāditya of our inscription is further identified with Aparāditya, King of Kuṅkaṇa who sent an ambassador called Tējakaṇṭha[6] to Kashmīr.[7]

However, Aparāditya of this inscription is different from the one mentioned in D, whose minister Lakshmaṇanāyaka gave some land to god Sōmanātha of Surāshṭra. That king, as it has been pointed out below, is Aparāditya II.[8]

This is the first stone inscription of Aparāditya I[9] published so far ; if we include the Vaḍavali plates, it would be his second inscription.

The villages **Nāguma** and **Chaḍija** may be identified, as already suggested,[10] respectively with the modern Nagaon, which is about 2 miles[10] S. W. and Chānje, which is about 2 miles W. of Uran in the Panvel Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

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[1] Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 278.

[2] According to *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2, " of a garden ".

[3] There are stops indicated in the original by a dot placed on the right hand top corner of the letter. That this interpretation is correct is shown by referring to the copper plate of Anantadēva of Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33), where the divisions are clearly indicated by vertical bars. See also *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

[4] Altekar calls him Aparārka (I), *op. cit.*, p. 411, and attributes the Vaḍavali plates to him. These plates, however, mention this ruler as Aparāditya (also Aparājita) and not as Aparārka.

[5] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508, l. 30.

[6] According to Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita, sarga* 25, *ślōkas* 108—111, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, n. 2.

[7] Sōmēśvaradēva had a minister called Taijaprabhu. See E below.

[8] Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 411, who identifies him with Aparāditya I, is wrong. For he bases his argument on an inscription of Aparāditya (in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 169) of (V. S.) 1176. The reading of the date, as has been pointed out below, is wrong for in V. S. 1176 the cyclic year was not Viśvāvasu as mentioned in the inscription. [See below p. 277 n. 2.—Ed.]

[9] Another inscription of Śaka 1051 is cited from *Festgabe der Hermann Jacobi* by Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 333 and by Altekar, *The Śilāhāras of Western India* (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 411, and n. 5). [This stone inscription is now preserved at Cintra, near Lisbon, in Penha Verde (Green Rock) which had been the country seat of Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese Viceroy in India. The date of the record as given by Hultzsch, the editor, is *Śaka-saṁvatu* [1]059 *Piṅgala-saṁvatsarē Chaitra śuddha 12* and not Śaka 1051 as stated by Kane.—Ed.]

[10] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 19, n. 2 and Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426 give 4 miles but referring to the modern Tālukā map (1924) the distance seems to be 2 miles only.

TEXT.

1 [1]स्वस्ति जयस्चा(श्वा)भ्युदयश्च शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्स·

2 [र*]म(श)तेषु दशसु षष्ठि(ष्टी)त्यधिकेषु दत्रांकतोपि शकसंवत १०६०

3 माघ सुध[2] १ पु(पू)र्वसमस्तराजावलीविराजितमहामंडलेस्व(श्व)रा-

4 धिपतिश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रसादा-

5 [त्] समस्तमंडलचिंताभा[रं] समुद्वहति । महामात्यश्रीमोढद[ना*]-

6 यकु°[3]महासांधिविग्रहोक[श्री अ]मुक°[3] श्रीकरणे भांडागा[रे*[4]]

7 प्रथमच्छे(स्थे) पाटी[5] महाप्रधानश्रीलक्ष्मणैयप्रभो°[3] द्वितीयच्छे(स्थे)

8 [पा*]द्य[6] सेन श्रीअमुक°[3] इत्यादि श्रीकरणे सत्येतस्मिं[7] काले प्रव-

9 [र्त*]माने श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन स्वकीयपरिषदे [आत्मश्रेयोर्थं]

10 नागुममध्ये(ध्य)वर्ति आंबक्षेत्रं स्वकीयमातु[:*] श्रीलीलादेव्या[:*] श्रे-

11 [यो*]र्थं श्रीधरक्रमविदारामकरुसिया[ना]दायाकस्य च आराम[क*]-

12 मभ्यंतरीकृत्य सवृक्षमालाकुल[:*] सतृणकाष्ठोदकोपेत[:*] स्व[सी*]·

13 म(मा)पर्यंत । पुव्वत[8] [षंज:][9] दषिणत[10] अंबडा पश्चिम पगारा । उत्तरगी[11]

14 [मा*]र्गं ।:[12] उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्तं । तथा श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेनै(न) सू-

15 र्यपर्व्वणि । [सुरु]क्षेत्रे ॥ वादु — — [13]विधिकेभ्य: चडिजग्रामात्

16 [14]—मक: उदकातिसर्गेण धम(र्म)स्य वृत्या(त्त्या) प्रदत(त्त): [15]इ[त्यस्य यो]-

17 न्यथा करोति तस्य पु(पू)र्व्वपुरुष एक विंशति — — [16]क रौरव मु·[17]

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[1] There might be a symbol for *ōm* before this as found in other Śilāhāra grants.

[2] Read *śuddha*.

[3] The small circle signifies a stop.

[4] A broken letter can be seen on the stone : it has not come out on the impression.

[5] Whether this word should be *pādī* (*pādi*) or *pādhi* cannot be ascertained. In an inscription of the Paramāras of Ābū, V. S. 1394, now in the Vaśishṭha Āśrama at Ābū, I found the words *mahādēvapādhi* in the same context as above.—H. D. S.

[6] Read *pātyāṁ*.

[7] Read °*smin*.

[8] Read *pūrvvataḥ*.

[9] Apparently a place-name.

[10] Read *dakshiṇataḥ*.

[11] Read *uttarataḥ*.

[12] The *visarga* should precede the stop.

[13] Two letters illegible. [Reading seems to be *Vādu-jyōtishikēbhyaḥ Chaḍijā-grāmīna(ṇ-ā)rāmakaḥ*.—Ed.]

[14] This letter is broken.

[15] The initial *i* can be clearly seen on the stone. The rest of the line is illegible.

[16] Letters illegible. [Reading is *saṁshya(khya)kō*.—Ed.]

[17] The following letter and the next line have partly peeled off.

B.—Agāshi Stone Inscription of Haripāladēva : Śaka 1072.

This inscription was found near **Agāshi** in 1881.[1] It is inscribed on a stone which is 2′ 8½″ by 1′ 4½″. The inscribed portion measures 14″×16½″ and contains 16 lines. The last line is not complete and it appears that the inscription contained a line or two more which are now peeled off. The average size of letters is ¾″. Below the inscribed portion is a sculpture similar to that in A, cut in a rectangle 12″ × 3½″. At the top are the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right and between them a *kalaśa*.

It is **dated Śaka 1072 , Pramōda Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśīrsha śuddha 1**, which corresponds to Wednesday, 22nd November, A.D. 1150.[2]

The inscription **records** that in the reign of Śilāhāra **Haripāladēva, Āhavamalladēva,** who was in the enjoyment of the **Vaṭṭāra** village in **Sūrpāraka,** granted something (?)[3] for the (worship of) **Śiva** of **Ānēvaḍi** in charge of **Paṭakīla Rājānaka** to Upādhyāyas : **Brahma-dēva-bhaṭṭa, Divākara-bhaṭṭa** and **Gōvardha[na]bhaṭṭa**[4], on the **Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti day.** The witnesses to the grant were the headmen of the Vaṭṭāra village, to wit, Risi Mahattara and also Nāguji Mahattara, Anaṁtanāyaka and Chāṁgadēva Mahattara. The king styles himself as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by śrī-Vēsupaḍavala, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Lakshmaṇaprabhu, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Padmaśiva Rāuḷa. and the *Pradhāna* Vāsugi Nāyaka.

This is the first inscription of King Haripāladēva so far published. On the strength of his other dated unpublished inscriptions,[5] he may be regarded as the successor of Aparāditya I and the predecessor of Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1155—1170). But it must be noted that he is not mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions of the dynasty. Perhaps his relation with his predecessor is shown by the name of his minister the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakshmaṇaprabhu ; the same name figures among the ministers of Aparāditya I.

Sūrppāraka is the modern Nala Sopara and **Vaṭṭāra** is to be identified with Vatar, a village about 6 miles N. W. of Nala Sopara, and 4 miles S. W. of Agāshi. All the villages are in the Bassein Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

1 थों[6]। स्वस्ति जयश्चाभ्युदय[7] स(श)कनृपकालातीतसंवत्स[र]शतेषु दस(श)सु

2 द्विसप्तसं[8]त्यधिकेषु यत्रांकतोपि संवतु(त्) १०७२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरा-

3 न्तर्गतमार्ग्गसि(शि)र सुध[9] १ पूर्व्वक श्वद्येह समधिगत्ता(ता)शेषपंच[म*]हाश-

ब्द(ब्द)-

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, n. 3; also noticed by Altekar, *Ind. Cul.*, II, p. 431, No. 14.

[2] Cf. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 303.

[3] According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, " the permanent income of Shrinēvadi in charge of a Pattakil (Pātil) named Rāja." *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, n. 3. [In my opinion the sense of the passage is that the *Mahāpradhāna* Āhavamalla granted to Brahmadēva *upādhāya* the fixed income (*siddh-āya*) of (the village) Ānēvaḍi which was probably in charge of the *Paṭṭakila* Rājānaka. According to this interpretation Rājānaka would be a proper name and not a title. See also p. 274, n. 5, below.—Ed.]

[4] Bhagwanlal takes Brahmadēvabhaṭṭa as the son and grandson of the two latter respectively ; he also reads Gōvardhana for Gōvaddha. [See p. 274, n. 3, below.—Ed.]

[5] Of Śaka 1071 and 1075 referred to in *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 3.

[6] Denoted by a symbol.

[7] Should be °*yaś=cha*.

[8] This letter *saṁ* is superfluous.

[9] Read *śuddha*.

4 श्रीसीलाहारनरेंद्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसमस्तराजाव-
5 लीसमलंकृतमहामण्डलेस(श्व)राधिपतिश्रीमद(द्)हरिपालदेव-
6 कल्याणविजयराज्ये ।[1] तत्प्रसादावाप्तसमस्तमंडलचिन्ताभा-
7 (रं) समुद्वहति श्रीवेसुपडवल ।[1] तथा महाप्रधान श्रीलष(क्ष्म)ण-
8 प्रभो ।[1] तथा महाप्रधान श्रीपद्मसि(शि)व राउल ।[1] तथा प्रधान वासु-
9 गिनायक ।[1] सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने ।[1] श्रीसू(शू)र्प्पारक-[2]
10 तवट्टारग्रामप्रभू(भु)ज्यमान्(न)महा[प्र]धा[न]श्रीषाहवमल्लदेवेन ।[1]
11 श्रीगोवड्ड[3]भटउपाध्याय च दिवाकरभट उपाध्यासुत ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव-
12 भट उपाध्ये ।[1] महापर्व्वणि उतराण[4] संक्रांतिसमये धर्मेण उदकपू-
13 र्व्वंक(कं)।[1] पटकील राजानक आनेवडिसि(शि)वाय[5] प्रदत्त[:*]।[1] आचंद्रार्क-
14 तारक जावतु[6] तिष्ठति मेदिनी केनापि — —[7] वा(बा)धा न करणीया ।[1]
15 अत्रार्थे साचि वट्टारग्रामप्रमुख[8] रिसिम्हतारा ।[9] तथा साचि[10] नागुजिम्ह-
16 तारा ।[9] तथा साचि[10] अनंतनायक ।[9] साचि[10] चांगदेव म्हत(ता)र — — — —[11]

C.—Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna : Śaka 1083.

This inscription is reported to have been brought from **Bassein**, and it is briefly noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.[12] The stone measures 3′ 5½″ by 1′ 6½″ and the inscribed portion 14″ by 14″. It contained 18 lines, but, now, the last line is almost illegible. Below the inscribed portion, in a rectangle there is a representation of the ass-curse similar to that noticed before, though it is much worn out. At the top, between the inscribed portion and the figures of the Sun and the Moon, in a rectangle there are two figures and between them are two—one big and the other

[1] Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign.

[2] The last syllable of this line and the first of the next are not clear. [Reading may be *Sū(Śū)rppāraka(k-ā)-ntarggata*.—Ed.]

[3] May stand for *Gōvardhana* as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, n. 3). [To me the reading appears to be *Gōvanna-bhaṭa-upādhyā[ya]-suta-Divākara*, etc. In this case the donee would be only Brahmadēva.—Ed.]

[4] Read *Uttarāyaṇa*.

[5] [Reading seems to be *Ānēvaḍi-sidh(ddh)-āya*. See p. 273, n. 3, above.—Ed.]

[6] Read *-tārakaṁ yāvat*.

[7] These two letters are not clear.

[8] The last syllable is not clear; it looks like *ksha*.

[9] Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign.

[10] Read *sākshī*.

[11] This portion of the line is not clear.

[12] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426, n. 4; Vol. XIV, p. 386 and Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 1; see also above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, n. 4. Altekar, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 415) calls this the Chiplūṇ stone inscription. But this inscription is dated, according to Kielhorn, in *Śaka* 1078 (?), *Dhātrī Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Śuddha 3, Tuesday*. See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, No. 311, and *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19, and Vol. XIV, p. 386. So the inscription that Altekar seems to have "traced" in the P. W. M. is the Bassein stone inscription and not the one from Chiplūṇ.

small—Śiva-*liṅgas*. The figure on the right, probably a woman with peculiar head-dress is seated facing the full front and its left hand is held over the big *liṅga*. The figure on the left is seated similarly, with its right hand supported by the left resting on the small *liṅga*. The big *liṅga* is placed on a very high *yōnipaṭṭa*.

It is dated **Śaka 1083,**[1] **Vṛisha**[2] **Saṁvatsara, Pushya (Pausha) Vadi 15, Sōma-dinē** which would correspond to January 17, A.D. 1162, when there was a solar eclipse. This seems to be the intended date in our inscription though the week-day would be Wednesday.

It **records** that in the reign of **Silāhāra** king **Mallikārjunadēva,** lord of **Tagarapura,** something was repaired and a garden called **Lōna**[3] in **Paḍhālasaka** in **Kaṭashaḍī**[4] **Vishaya** was granted to a teacher (*vajha* = Skt. *upādhyāya*). The name of the donor cannot be read with certainty.[5] The ministers mentioned are the *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* Prabhākara Nāyaka, and the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Aṇata(Ananta)paiprabhu.[6]

There is no evidence at present to connect Mallikārjuna with other kings of the dynasty of the Northern Śilāhāras. But he seems to be identical with Mallikārjuna mentioned in the *Kumārapālacharita*[7] and hence a contemporary of the Gujarāt Chaulukya king Kumārpāla (c. 1145-1171 A.D.). The other known date of Mallikārjuna is Śaka 1078.[8]

Mallikārjuna is called '*Tagarapura-paramēśvara*, the Lord of the city of Tagara'.[9] As the title is also assumed by the kings of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, it only implies, as has been suggested,[10] that the original home of the Śilāhāras was Tagara.

Among the **place-names, Lōna** may be identified with Lonad, a village 6 miles E. of Bhiwndi[11] in Bhiwndi Tālukā. **Paḍhālasaka,** though it cannot be identified now, must be a

[1] It is neither 1082 (as read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426) nor 107(9) but is 1083 as once read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386, for the last digit is definitely 3 on the stone, though on the impression the lower half of 3 seems to form a circle. The numeral before it is 8. For an identical form of it see the date portions, lines 5 and 9 in the two inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva below, where no doubt exists as to the numerical value of that sign. Moreover, on going through the *Ephemeris* it will be found that it is only in Śaka 1083 that Vrisha Saṁvatsara occurs and in no other. [It appears to me that the last digit was first written as 9 and then corrected into 3. The penultimate digit is different from the symbol for 8 in E and F below and looks more like 7. But as 1073 would be too early for Mallikārjuna and neither this date nor 1079 would admit of verification, it may be that the intended date is 1083 and the engraver wrote the figure of 7 instead of that of 8 by mistake.—Ed.]

[2] The reading in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426, n. 4, is " Vishva ", whereas in Vol. XIV, p. 386, it is " Vrisha ".

[3] Perhaps identical with the modern Lonad. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 212.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. XIV, p. 386 reads " Shilārvāvak " and " Kaṭakhaḍi " instead of " °shaḍī ".

[5] It is definitely not the king. Perhaps the grantors are Rājaguru Vēdaśiva and the Bhōpaka (temple priest ?) Vyōmaśiva as suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386.

[6] Ministers with the same names are mentioned in the Parel Inscription of Aparādityadēva Śaka 1109, *J.B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

[7] See canto VI, verses 65 to 70. The relation was first pointed out in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 1. For details regarding the relation see *ibid.* As *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, another work by Hēmachandra, does not mention it, it appears that the war with Mallikārjuna took place after the events described in that work.

[8] According to a stone from Chiplūṇ, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19.

[9] Exact identity of this city is not yet established. Fleet identified it with Ter, 95 miles S. E. of Paithan (*J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 537—52). For other suggestions and references see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 3, n. 6; p. 16, n. 4, etc.

[10] *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 536; subsequently Altekar, *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 396, following Jain, who cites relevant extracts from *Karakaṇḍa-C(ch)ariu*. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11.

[11] This is as it is spelt in the modern Tālukā map. It should be Bhiwandi.

bigger village comprising Lōna **Kaṭashaḍī Vishaya** cannot be located with any certainty at present.

TEXT.

1 श्रीं[1] स्वस्ति सकु[2]संवत् १०८३ [वृ][3]षस[म्व]स(त्स)रांतर्गत-
2 पुष्ये[4] मासि वदि १५ सोमदिने ॥ सूर्ज(र्य)पर्व्वणि ।
3 अद्येह स[मधि]गताशेषपंचम[हा]स(श)ब्दमहासामंता-
4 धिपतितगरपुरपरमेश्वर ।[5] श्रीसिलाहार नरेंद्र
5 इत्यादि समस्त(स्त)रा[जा*]वलीविराजितश्रीमल्लिकार्जुनदेव-
6 राज्ये । महासांधिविग्रहिकप्रभाकरनायको(क:) श्रीक-
7 रणे प्रथमस्थपाटि महाप्रधानश्रीअणत(नन्त)पैप्रभो द्विती-
8 य[स्थ]पाटि अमुक । सत्ये[तस्मिन्] काले प्रवर्तमाने सति ।
9 राजगुरु श्रीवेदमि[6](शि)व । भोपदे[व*] [7]व्यमसि(श)व विवेक — —[8]
10 गुणपल[9][निधि:] ॥ संपतिसाप:[10] । सत्कीर्ति पुष्प: स्रे(श्रे)य: फले
11 ज(या)चकक[ल्प]वृक्ष: । श्रीभोपकव्यमसिवो विभाति ॥
12 — — — स जीर्णोधारो[11] कारित(त:) । महदुगिवल्लासुत: । लाष-
13 ण वझ्हक[12]तकृत: — — — — — प्रसादेन । ताभ्यं गुरुकुले
14 — — — — — कटषडीविषयांतपाती । पढालसकस । लो
15 न वाटकें[13]॥ लाषण उवाइहाय दत:(त्त) । [तथा] — — — — — — प: सो— —
16 म प्रदत(त्त:) । जयच — — ष अष्टान्नृपाल्यमेन वाप: तपि सधणल
17 — — — — न केना ।— प्रति: विजातीय य[सु] परिप(पं)थी — — —
18 तस्य माता गदभेन . . . . . .

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[1] Indicated by a symbol.

[2] Read *Śaka*.

[3] The reading in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 1 and in Vol. XIII, Pt. ii, p. 426, n. 4, is *Vishva* but in Vol. XIV, p. 386 it is *Vrisha*. As pointed out above the correct reading is *Vrisha*.

[4] Read *Paushē*.

[5] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[6] Apparently the two letters *va* and *da* look similar, so *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386 reads as *Dēva°*.

[7] *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, reads as *Dharmaśiva*.

[8] Not clear. [This is a verse in *Upajāti* metre and the correct reading seems to be *Vivēka-mūlē(lō) guṇa-pala(lla)v-aughaḥ sampati(tti)-sāpaḥ(śākhaḥ) sa cha kīrtti-pushpaḥ* [|] *srē(śrē)yah-phalē(lō) ja(yā)chaka-kalpa-vrikshaḥ śrī-Bhōpaka-Vya(Vyō)masi(śi)vō vibhāti*[*].—Ed.]

[9] Might be *vipula*.

[10] Should be *sampratī prāptaḥ*.

[11] Read *jīrṇōddhāraḥ*.

[12] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386, reads *lākhanak āvajha*. Probably we have to read *vajhakēna kritaḥ*. As the language of the rest of the inscription is very corrupt the text is left uncorrected.

[13] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386 seems to have read *katakhaḍi . . . . shilārvavak . . .* [Reading seems to be *vāvīkā*=Skt. *vāpikā* (?).—Ed.]

D.—Inscription of Aparādityadēva : [Śaka] 1107.

This inscription was formerly in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.[1] However, it seems to be different from another inscription of this king which is dated in (Vikrama) Saṁvat. 1176, Sunday the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra.[2] The stone measures 1′ 11″ by 1′ 5″, and the inscribed portion 1′ 4″ by 12½″. At the top, the stone is in the shape of a triangle, within which is carved a *kalaśa*, resting on a *liṅga*.

The inscription is dated [**Śaka**] **1107**[3] **Viśvāvasu Saṁvatsara, Chaitra Śuddha 15, Sunday.** This is equivalent to Sunday, 17th March, A.D. 1185.

The inscription **records** that in the reign of **Aparādityadēva**[4] the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakshmaṇa Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka, after having bathed in a *tīrtha* (probably Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwār) near the sea gave away something in a *vāṭikā* in **Sthāna** (modern Thāna) and a sum of money for the worship, etc., of the god **Sōmanātha in Saurāshṭra.** The grant closes with the words " hail to the illustrious Chāhaḍadēva "[5].

This inscription resembles in some respects[6] an inscription of Aparādityadēva of Śaka 1049[7] and to A above belonging to Śaka 1060. Our attention is drawn to the names of the king and the minister Lakṣmaṇaiya Prabhu, but it is otherwise different from the latter inscriptions. The present record is dated about sixty years later and we have dated records of two other rulers, *viz.*, Haripāladēva and Mallikārjuna in between.

The inscription therefore belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II and not Aparāditya I as mentioned by Altekar.[8]

The inscription shows that even in the last quarter of the 12th century,[9] the temple of Sōmanātha in Saurāshṭra, though once destroyed by the Muhammadans, was still a popular shrine and that among its property could be counted some land in Kōṅkan.

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[1] Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 2. The date here mentioned is Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Chaitra, while the grant under question is dated on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As there cannot be two Sundays within 9 days, and as 15 can clearly be read in the inscription, the reading of the *Gazetteer* seems to be incorrect. [The date is wrongly given in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 40, n. 62. The correct date has been noticed by Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 56, No 312.—Ed.]

[2] *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 170. Even if they were identical, as they are in their contents, the reading of the year and date seems to be wrong, for in Vikrama 1176 the Northern cyclic year was Śubhakrit, and the Southern Vikārin. The Viśvāvasu samvatsara occurs in Vikrama 1179 ; see Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, pp. 240 and 247. [An examination of the text will show that this inscription is identical with the record under consideration. Mr. Diskalkar is apparently wrong in the reading of the date and referring it to the Vikrama era.—Ed.]

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 2, reads 1109 and mentions the *tithi* as the sixth. This is wrong because the Southern cyclic year in 1109 was Plavanga and not Viśvāvasu : also the *tithi* Chaitra *śuddha* 6 would fall on Saturday, whereas the day mentioned in the inscription is Sunday.

[4] Neither any title of the ruler, nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned, though in his other inscription of Śaka 1109 he is called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Kōṅkaṇachakravartin* ; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 333. [This inscription is dated Śaka 1108 and not Śaka 1109 as given in the Journal and read by Kielhorn (*List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 313). The Southern cyclic year in Śaka 1109 was Plavaṅga, not Parābhava.—Ed.]

[5] Rather an unusual ending in a Śilāhāra inscription.

[6] Cf. specially ll. 4-7 and ll. 57-59 of the inscription of Śaka 1049.

[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 411, though the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20 had already credited it to Aparāditya II.

[9] At this time Kāthiāwār still formed part of Gujarāt, and the king of the latter was Chaulukya Bhīma II.

TEXT.

1 श्रीम्[1] संवत् ११०१ विश्वा(श्वा)वसुसंवच्छ(त्स)रे चैत्रशुद्ध १५ रवो(वौ) दिने
2 अद्येह श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवराज्ये : सौराष्ट्रीयश्रीसो-
3 मनाथदेवाय पूजासत्कारार्थं[2] महामात्यश्रीलक्ष्मण-
4 नायकेन प्रसो[3]दधो सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडा-
5 मणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविध-
6 कुसुमश्लाघ्यमर्घ्यं दत्वा(त्त्वा) सकलसुरासुरगुरुत्रैलोक्यस्वा-
7 मिनं भगवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य: ॥[4] भास्करनायकपुत्रेण श्री-
8 लक्ष्मणनायकेन त्वात्मस्त्रेया(श्रेयो)र्थं[2] श्रीदेवाधिदेवस्य श्री-
9 स्थानकीयपा[ट्ट]नवाटिकामध्ये [दानवि]धौ दातव्यभा[ग]
10 द्रम ४ द[स्यावधोउप(त्प)त्तिसमग्रस्य] — — — — — — द्राम २४
11 देयावे । शुभगे पूजापंचपर्वणि — — — — — — — — शि-
12 वरात्रिदक्षिणायण(न)उत्तरायण स्वस्ति श्रीचाहडदे[वा]य [॥*]

E.—Inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva : Śaka 1181.

This inscription was found in **Ranvad** near Uran.[5] The stone measures 3′ by 1′ 6″. The inscribed portion is 1′ by 1′ 5″ and contains 11 lines of writing, the average size of letters being ¾″ Below this is an ass-sculpture differing slightly in position of the woman from those noticed before, carved in low relief in a rectangle (18″ × 11″). At the top, above the inscription, are the Sun and the Moon and between them a double *kalaśa*.[6]

The inscription is dated **Śaka 1181 Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara Chaitra Vadi 15** (?) **Monday,** and reference is made in l. 9 to a *sūryaparvan* but it is not clear whether it implies a solar eclipse, and whether the grant was made on that occasion.

The reading of the date however remains uncertain, for though according to Pillai[7] in Śaka 1181 the Southern cyclic year was Siddhārthin, Chaitra *vadi* 15 fell on a Thurdsay and *vadi* 13 on Tuesday, while Monday, the day mentioned in the inscription, was a *kshaya tithi* and no solar eclipse occurred in that year. Under the circumstances we may read the *tithi* as 13, the date corresponding to 21st April, A.D. 1259, Monday.

It records that **Sōmēśvaradēva,** the paramount Lord of Kōṅkaṇa, granted some land (?)[8] in the village of **Paḍivasa** in **Urana** to **Dāmōdarabhaṭṭa** on the occasion of *sūrya-parvan* (solar eclipse ?) for (the worship, etc.,) of Śaṁbhu.

The ministers of Sōmēśvara were the *Mahāmātya* Jhaṁpaḍaprabhu, the *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* [Tai]japrabhu and Chandraprabhu in charge of the *śrīkaraṇa*.

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] This *anusvāra* is placed on the left of the letter.

[3] Should be *param-ōdadhau.*

[4] Both the *visarga* and the *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 21, n. 1 : also noticed by Altekar, *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 431, No. 27.

[6] For a similar sculpture from Borivli see p. 279 below.

[7] *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

[8] Details are not clear to us.

The inscriptions do not give any important information about Sōmēśvara. He is merely called *Kōṅkaṇachakravartin* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, titles which are mentioned in connection with Aparādityadēva II also. Neither is there any hint as to his relationship with his predecessor Kēśirāja whose two unpublished inscriptions are referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.[1] Probably he was a son of the latter as suggested by Altekar.[2]

According to our present knowledge of the history of this family, Sōmēśvara seems to be the last king of the Northern Śilāhāra dynasty. He was defeated and perhaps killed and the country conquered by Mahādēva[3] of the (Dēvagiri) Yādava dynasty. Cousens thinks that the scene of the battle between Sōmēśvara and Mahādēva is sculptured on some stones lying about Borivli.[4] In this connection it may be noted that the *kalaśa*-like sculpture which appears on the middle stone, figured by Cousens, very much resembles in ornamentation the *kalaśa*-like figure on the stone F described below.

Among the **place-names Uraṇa** is the modern Uran, and **Paḍivasa** may be identified either with Phunda about 2 miles north-east of Uran or with Panja, another village about 3 miles to the north of Uran, in the Panvel Talukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

1 श्रीं[5] । स्वस्ति श्रीः [॥*] अद्येह समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधि-

2 राज कोंक[ण*]चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद(त्)सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये

3 तथैतप्र(त्प्र)सादाव्या(वा)प्तसमस्तमंडलचिंत्ता(ता)भारं समुद्वहति महामात्यश्री-

4 झंपडप्रभु महासांधिविग्रहो[तै]जप्रभु श्रीकरणी चंद(द्र)प्रभु इत्यादि श्री-

5 करणभांडागारे सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमा[ने] सति शकसंवतु(त्) ११८१ सि-

6 ध(द्धा)र्थसंवछ(त्स)रे चैत्रवदि १[३] सामाइ(सोमे) श्रीदामोदरभट्ट तथा भ्रातर वासु-

7 दे[व*]भट्ट लेऊन २ नारियले पावें निमित्तें श्रीशभुथें दामोदरभट्टां विघा

8 उरणें पडिवसें[ग्राम]प्रतिबद्धां खंडपल्लास्थानि चा भाग १ देउलेखंड

9 समग्रह्मिमाह्त्ती ३ — — — — — — — निमित्तें सूर्यपर्वे हस्तोदकपू-

10 र्वक दामोदर भटावें — — — — — — — — — — —करतिदोइ

11 लो—मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

F.—Inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva : Śaka 1182.

This inscription was found from **Chanje** near Uran.[6] The stone measures 3′ 5″ by 1′ 7″ and the inscribed portion is 1′ 6″ by 1′ 5″ and contains 18 lines ; the average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$″. Below this, in a rectangle (16″ × 11″) was an ass-sculpture as in B, but now it is completely worn out. Above the inscription, between the Sun and the Moon, on a pedestal is a *pūrṇa-kalaśa* ; on its

[1] Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 20, n. 3.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

[3] This is according to Hēmādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 246 ; then Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 417 ; Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 21 ; *Chālukyan Architecture*, p. 143, pls. CLIII—IV.

[4] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 21, pl. XV.

[5] Denoted by a symbol.

[6] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 21.

bulging part is a band and leaves on either side. The *kalaśa* is crowned with what looks like a smaller *kalaśa* and may be a cocoanut.

It is dated in **Śaka 1182, Raudra Saṁvatsara Chaitra vadi 15, Monday** on a solar eclipse. The date thus corresponds to Monday, April 12, A.D. 1260, when there was a solar eclipse.[1]

It **records** that **Sōmēśvaradēva,** lord of Kōṅkaṇa, granted land[2] (whose limits are mentioned) in **Kōṁthala vāṭikā** in the village of **Chāṁḍije** in **Uraṇa**[3] and **162** *Pōruttha*[4] (?) *drammas*[5] to god **Uttarēśvara** of **Śrī-sthāna** on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The king is the same as in E but the names of the ministers are different, except that of the *Mahāmātya* who is, as before, Jhāṁpaḍaprabhu. Other ministers are the *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* Māināku, Bēbalaprabhu, Pōmadēpaṇḍita, and Gōvēnāku.

The **places** mentioned in the inscription, **Uraṇa** and **Chāṁḍijē**[6] are the modern Uran and Chanja respectively, while Kōntha(dha)lasthāna may be the same as Kaladhonda, a place a little north of Uran.

TEXT.

1 ओं[7] नमो विनायकाय ।[8] लंबो(बो)दर नमस्तुभ्यं सततं मोदकप्रयं ।[9]

2 अविघ्नं कुरु मे देव सर्वकार्येषु सर्वदा [।*]। अद्येह समस्तरा-

3 जावलीसमलंकृतमा(म)हाराजाधिराज°[10] कोंकणचक्रव-

4 र्त्तिश्रीसोमेस्व(श्व)रदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रमादा-

5 व्या(वा)समस्तमंडलचिंताभारं समुद्वहति महामात्यश्रीझांपडप्रभु

6 मा(म)हासांधिविग्रही माइनाकु° बेबलप्रभु° पोमदेपंडित° श्रीकरणभां-

7 डागारे प्रथमच्छे[11] पाटी गोविंनाकु° इत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने सति श-

8 कनृपकालातीतसंवच्छ(त्स)रेसष्वे[12]कादशसु°[13] द्वासीत्यधीकेषु[14] अत्रांकतोपि

9 सकसंवतु[15] ११८२ रौद्रसंवच्छरेसु(त्सरे) चैत्रवदि १५ सोमेदिने°[13] सुर्योपरागे°[13]उ-

10 रु(र)ण[ग्रामस्थभूव][16] चांडिजें ग्रामा(म)प्रतिब[द्ध]°[13] कोंथले स्थानवाटिकाभू° अस्य चा-

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[1] Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

[2] In the inscription the word for this is *bhū*.

[3] [The inscription seems to record the gift of some building-site at Uraṇa and some garden-land at Kōṁthala in the Chāṁḍijē village.—Ed.]

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 21, n. 1, suggests that this might stand for Parthian *drammas*.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1, takes the *drammas* " as a fixed income of a garden in . . . . . " which does not seem to be correct, for if no land were granted it would not be necessary to mention its boundaries. [Apparently the money was granted in addition to the land.—Ed.]

[6] This name occurs also in inscription A, see p. 272, Text, l. 15, above.

[7] Denoted by a symbol.

[8] The stop is indicated by two dots.

[9] Read *-priya*.

[10] This stop is superfluous.

[11] Read *°sthē*.

[12] Read *śatēshv-ē°*.

[13] This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

[14] Read *dvāśīty-adhikēshu*.

[15] Read *Śaka-saṁvat*.

[16] [Reading seems to be *Uraṇa āgarā(gāra)-bhū°*.—Ed.]

11 घाटनानि°[1] पूर्वें°[1] सानुठाकुराचो वृति(त्ति)° दच्चिणें विष्णुन्हाचो वृति(त्ति)° पश्चिमें
12 राजमार्गु°[2] उतरें° विरा°[1] एवं चें(च)तुराघाटनानि°[1] सु(स्व)सीमापर्यंतं मतृणकाष्ठो-
13 दकोपेतं कृणदायाद्यदि[3]संबंधविवर्जितं°[1] सर्वोत्पति(त्ति)सहितं सिधां—पोकत्यद्र-
14 माणां दशविसो च द्विषष्ठो द्रमात्यधीकमेकशतांनि°[4] अंकतोपि द्र १६२ ॥
15 श्रीस्थानकीय श्रीउत्तरेस्व(श्व)रदेवाय°[1] शासनप्रतिबधं(द्धं) कृत्वा°[1] महाराजश्री-
16 सोमेस्व(श्व)रदेवेन°[1] उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्तं ॥ वर्तमानस्यास्य धर्मस्य परिपं-
17 थना न के(के)नापि कार्या°[1] स्वदतां(त्तां) परदतां(त्तां) वा यो हरंत्(त) वसुंधरा(रां) । षष्ठि(ष्टि)वर्षसह-
18 स्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमि(मिः) ॥ मंगलं मा(म)हाश्री[ः] सु[शु]भं भवतु ॥

No. 44.—A STONE INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA RAMACHANDRA; SAKA 1222.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (LOND.) AND S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B.

This inscription is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is not known whence it came. The trustees of the Museum and the Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, have been good enough to allow us to edit it.

The stone on which it is inscribed measures 2′ 8″ by 1′ 3″, and the inscribed portion, which contains 17 lines of writing, is 1′ 4″ in length. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$″. Above the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle 13″ by 3½″. In this are carved in low relief, on the left the Sun and on the right the Moon. Above this on the apex is a *kalaśa*. Below the inscribed portion also there is a rectangle, now half broken off, which contains the figure of an ass facing right as found in many other Śilāhāra and Dēvagiri Yādava inscriptions.[5]

The record is **dated in Śaka 1222 Śārvarī Saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa Vadi 7, Monday** and regularly corresponds to Monday 8th August, A.D. 1300.

The inscription is of **Jāidēva**, a governor appointed by **Rāmadēva,** to rule over Kōṅkaṇ. Rāmadēva himself was a commander-in-chief, and lord of the Western coast under **Rāmachandra-dēva,** who bore the *biruda Prauḍhapratāpachakravartin.*

From the date and the *biruda* it is evident that the inscription belongs to the reign of Rāmadēva or Rāmachandradēva the last king of the Dēvagiri Yādavas. Though many copper plates and stone inscriptions of his or his reign are noted and a few published,[6] this would be the first stone inscription from Kōṅkaṇ (?) published so far.[7] However, so far as the date is concerned,

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[1] This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

[2] Read *-mārgah.*

[3] Read *rin-ādāy-ādi.*

[4] Read *dvi-shashṭi-dramm-ādhikaṁ śatam = ēkam.*

[5] Cf. above pp. 270ff. and Vol. VII, Appendix, pp. 66 and 68, Nos. 372 and 381.

[6] See Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, and Graham, *Kolhapoor*, extracts from these are noted above, Vol. VII, Appendix, pp. 66-68 (Nos. 368-382).

[7] Even the copper plate is only one, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

we learn nothing new, as one more inscription of this year and one of a later date are already known.[1]

The names of the governor and the viceroy, Jāidēva and Rāmadēva respectively, are not found in earlier inscriptions. But Jāidēva seems to have succeeded Krishṇadēva, who is mentioned in an earlier grant as the governor of Kōṅkaṇ.[2] Rāmadēva, however, may be identified with the person called Śrī-Rāma mentioned in the Ṭhāṇā plates of the reign of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Ś. 1212,[3] according to which Krishṇadēva was ruling over Kauṅkaṇa under the orders of Śrī-Rāma, provided that Śrī-Rāma, whose *birudas*, etc., are not given, is regarded as a different person, as suggested by the context, from the Yādava king, who in the two cases in which he is mentioned in the plates, is called Śrī Rāmachandradēva.

The **object** of the grant is to record the donation of a village, the name of which seems to be **Supalī**. To the east of it was a village called Ghāravalī, and on the other three sides a river.

The inscription is in prose and the **language** incorrect Sanskrit and old Marāṭhī. As regards **orthography** there is nothing particularly to note but the frequent use of dental sibilant for the palatal.

TEXT.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति श्री सकु(शक)संवत् १२२२ सा(शा)र्वरीसंवक्र(त्स)रे । स्रा(श्रा)-
2 वणवदि ७ सोमे । अद्येह श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापचक्रव-
3 र्तिश्रीरामचंद्रदेवविजयोदयो तत्पादपद्मोपजीवो(वि)-
4 महामंडलेस्व(श्व)रसकलसैन्याधिपतिपश्चिमस-
5 मुद्राधिपतिश्री — —।[5]रामदेवेनं(न) निरोपितकोंकण
6 [अ]धिकारी(रि)श्रीजाइदेव — —।[5]न श्रीरामदेवा(व)रा-
7 ज्ये [6]जंवलें वीनवुनिकोंकणसंबंधठाणा चादठ
8 [7]— आ पै[8]स्रावहि° घाराचे आक्रपाकरंनिप्रसा-
9 दिदॆत्त निकलुकें संबंध । अलग वाहेग्रामसुप-
10 ली । तस्य आघाटनान् । पूर्वें घारवलोग्रामु(म) । प
11 श्चिमें नदो । उत्तरें नदो । दक्षिणें नदो । एवं चतुरा-
12 घि आघाटनान् । स(स्व)सीमापर्यंत तृणकाष्टोद-
13 कोपेत सवृक्षमालानिधिनिक्षेपसहित महा-
14 दोषविवर्जित करुनिं चंद्रसूर्युतपेतं घरैसब-
15 न्हिं वाहरेनपुत्रपौत्रीं भोगावा हागांडं । पालि-
16 तापुठोन् । जो लोपी तेहाची माय गाढउ झवें । मं-
17 गलं माहाश्री सुभं भवतु ॥

[1] See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 68 (Nos. 381 and 382).

[2] Thāṇā plates of Ś. 1212, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

[3] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] [The reading, according to me, is *Rāṇa* in l. 5 and *Rāṇēna* in l. 6. This title is also found in the unpublished Velāpur inscription of the year Śaka 1227, belonging to the same ruler.—Ed.]

[6] The language is so corrupt from here that the text has mostly been left uncorrected.

[7] This letter cannot be made out for certain; it may be *ri*.

[8] This letter may also be read as *rai*.

No. 45.—FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

The subjoined Pāṇḍya records[1] come from Ukkiraṇkōṭṭai, a village in the Tinnevelly taluk of the Tinnevelly District. Three of them are in the **Tamiḻ** language and are engraved in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in **Sanskrit** is in **Grantha** characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record **A** is dated in the **13th year opposite to the 2nd year** of reign of the Pāṇḍya king **Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ** and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named **Tuḍarūri,** wife of **Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ** *alias* **Māṟañ[2]-Śūraṉ** for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god Āditya-Bhaṭāra[3] at the eastern entrance of **Karavandapuram** in **Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu**. Record B is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by Tuḍarūri, here called the wife of **Śrīkaṇṭha-Śūra** to the temple of god Vikarttana at Karavandapura, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record **C** was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate-posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, *viz.*, 2+9, as well as the fact that the same Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ *alias* Kaṇḍaṉ (Śrīkaṇṭha)-Śūraṉ is herein mentioned as being in charge of Kaḷakkuḍi (*Kaḷakkuḍi mahārāyakam seyyaperra*) help us to attribute this inscription also to the Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ of record **A**. Further, as it is stated that this Pallavadiāraiyaṉ erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nagarattāṉ' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattār*) of the colony called Rājasiṅga-ppēraṅgāḍi, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the **Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ** of these records can be identified with **Rājasiṁha III,** who is already well-known from the Siṉṉamaṉūr plates[4] issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record **D**, though it does not mention any king's name, can, palæographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkiraṇkōṭṭai has been called **Karavandapuram** in **Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu** in A, while in D it is simply called Kaḷakkuḍi. Karavandapuram *alias* Kaḷakkuḍi[5] (and Kaḷandai) has been mentioned as the birth-place of Māṟaṉ-Kāri, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of Narasiṁha at Āṉaimalai in the Madura District, and of his brother Māṟaṉ-Eyinaṉ, both of whom successively held the office of *Uttaramantri* under the Pāṇḍya ruler Māṟañ-Śaḍaiyaṉ, and also that of Śāttaṉ-Gaṇavadi, the king's *Mahāsāmanta*[6], and it was

[1] Nos. 194, 195 196 and 199 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] The first part of the name 'Māṟañ' is based on the name of the reigning Pāṇḍya king.

[3] The temple in which this record is found is now called the Chokkalinga temple and a *linga* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to Sūrya in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining fields, it is also possible that the temple of Āditya-Bhaṭāra may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that inside a fort, a Śiva temple should be constructed in the north-east, and that of Sūrya in the east. (Gopinath Rao, *El. of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 22.)

[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 444.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 303. The name Kalandai mentioned as the native place of Mūrti-Eyinan, appears to be only a poetic form of the word Kaḷakkuḍi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71 and above, Vol. XVII, p. 296).

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 67, wherein is quoted No. 37 of 1908.

considered that this Kaḷakkuḍi might be Kaḷakkāḍ[1] in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevelly District. But from the present inscriptions this identification has to be given up and **Karavandapurm** *alias* Kaḷakkuḍi to be **identified with Ukkiraṉkōṭṭai** in the Tinnevelly taluk.

Karavandapuram must have been a place of sufficient strategic importance in early Pāṇḍya days as to necessitate the building of a fort here by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, who in the Madras Museum Plates dated in the 17th year of his reign, claims to have 'built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture (*caused by*) the sky coming in contact (*with it*), and the clouds resting (*on it*), so that (*the town of*) Karavandapuram might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets, (*where even*) warriors are afraid of the arrow (*-like*) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces '[2]. This Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ has been identified with the king figuring in the Ānaimalai inscriptions (*c.* A.D. 770) and the Vēḷvikuḍi copper-plates.[3] Though in the latter record several *birudas* are applied to him, he is not known to have had the surname of 'Ukkiraṉ' or 'Ugra'; and it is therefore not clear why and when Karavandapuram came to acquire its present name of Ukkiraṉkōṭṭai, or 'Ukkiraṉ's fort'. Its origin cannot be connected with the name of the early king Ugrapperuvaḻudi, for he is believed to have flourished long anterior to Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ's time.[4] In the Sanskrit portion of the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates[5], it is stated that Parāntaka Vīranārayaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ (*c.* A.D. 900) fought a battle at Kharagiri and captured a certain Ugra, who, it has been surmised, was probably a scion of the Pāṇḍya family. In that case, it may perhaps be hazarded that Karavandapuram which was fortified by Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ (Jaṭila Parāntaka) before about A.D. 785, was temporarily in the possession of this Ugra-Pāṇḍya a century later, and thus got the name which has survived to the present day, though it has also to be pointed out that the place was known only as Karavandapuram in the time of Śōlaṉralaikoṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*c.* A.D. 970), as evidenced by a record copied from the Chokkanāyaki shrine in the same village.[6]

Vestiges of a fort and a moat are even now pointed out at some spots in the village as evidence of its former greatness, but the villagers have no information of value to offer regarding its ancient history. That the fortification may have been of fairly extensive dimensions can, however, be surmised from the fact that the temple of Āditya-Bhaṭāra which is described in record A as being situated in the *kīḻaivāyil* or eastern gate, apparently of the fortified village, is nearly half a mile distant from the Chokkanāyaki shrine which, as implied by the name of the goddess 'Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai' must have been located at the northern gateway. It is interesting to note in this connection that the shrines of Āditya and Chokkanāyaki were located in the appropriate directions of the east and the north, in conformity with the rule mentioned in Kauṭilya[7] and the Āgamas[8] that the shrines of guardian deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From other inscriptions copied at the place, it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikēsarīśvaram and Rājasiṅgīśvaram in the vicinity of the village, though possibly not inside the fort itself and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikēsari and Rājasiṁha.

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[1] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 298.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 74.

[3] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 295.

[4] Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 30.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 457.

[6] No. 197 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This fragmentary record reads as follows: *Śōlaṉralai-koṇḍa śrī-Vīrapāṇḍyadēvarku yāṇḍu padiṉ=añju ivrāṇḍu Kārttiyai-tingaḷ mudal-pakkam āṟām-pakkam mudalāga Pāṇḍimāttāṇḍa-vaḷanāttu-kKaravandapurattu Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai.....*

[7] Shamasastri's Translation, p. 62.

[8] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 22. Chokkanāyaki was probably one of the *Saptamātṛi* group, several archaic statues of which are found strewn about in the temple compound.

In the Larger Śinnamanūr plates, an earlier Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha[1] is stated to have fought a battle at Kunnūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kunnūr to Śiṅgaḷam. If this Kunnūr is identical with the native place of the donatrix Tuḍarūri mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu is of some interest. The same village Kunnūr is stated to be located in Nīlakkuḍi-nāḍu (probably a shortened form of Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu) in an epigraph from Paḷḷimaḍam[2] in the Aruppukkōṭṭai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan founded in front of the *koṟṟavāyil* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājasiṅga-ppēraṅgāḍi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record D Inban Dēvanaśeṭṭi, a member of the **Ayyapoḻil-500** guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchuṟṟālai*) called 'Nagarattān' round the temple of Vaḍavāyil-naṅgai, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattār*. **Ayyapoḻil** which is the Tamil-ised form of the word Ayyavoḷe (*i.e.*, Aihoḷe in the Hungund tālukā of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts.[3] Several trading centres were called 'Ayyavoḷes of the South', apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavoḷe guild proper. The elaborate *praśasti* of the Ayyavoḷe guild found in an inscription[3] in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *svāmis*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Aiññūṟṟuvan' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant-guild of the place, but that the *madiḷ-chēragar* or 'the soldiers on guard at the ramparts'[4] were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1225) to the temple at Peruṅguḷam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevelly District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvālīśvaram[5] in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram-Uḍaiyār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōḷa garrison called 'Mūnṟukai-Mahāsēnai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record[6] copied at Saṅgrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōpura*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT.

A

1 Śrī [|*] [**Kō**]**-chChaḍaiya-Māṟaṟku** yāṇḍu **iraṇḍu idan=edir padinmūnṟu** ivv=[āṇḍu] **Kaḷakkuḍi-nāṭṭu-kKaravandapurattu** kīḻaivāil śrīkōi-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 461.

[2] No. 430 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118.

[4] The term *madiṭchchēvagar* (*madiḷ*=rampart+*chēvagar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the rampart' in the fort at the place. Compare *uḷviṭṭuchchēvagar* and *Malayān-oṟṟaichchēvagar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 159 and f. n. 8).

[5] No. 120 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[6] No. 167 of 1909 of the same collection.

2 lil [1]Ādityabaṭārarku **Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ=āṉa Mā[ṟa]ñ-Śūṟaṉ** maṇavā[ṭṭi]ēṉ **Karunīlakkuḍi-nāṭṭu-kKuṉṉūr Tuḍarūri** iṭṭa ti-

3 runundāviḷakku oṉṟiṉukku aḍutta āḍu añbadu [*] ivv=āḍu [ai]ñbadum ivv=ūr .... [śi]ṅga-Īśvarattu veṭṭikkuḍi Pūdi-Pōrāṉ niśadippa-

4 ḍi uḷakku ney Śōḻiyattāl aṭṭuvadāga koṇḍa śāvā-mūvā-ppērā[ḍu] aimbadu [*] avichcharu . . kal[2] iraṇḍum iṭṭuṉ nagarattār rakshai [*] madiṭ-chchēvagar kāval [||*]

B

1 [3]**Śrīkaṇṭhaḥ(Śrīkaṇṭha)-Śūra-** dayitā **Tuḍarūri**-nāmnī Vaikarttanāya **Kara[va]nta-pur-ālayāya** [*] prādā[d=dhi]

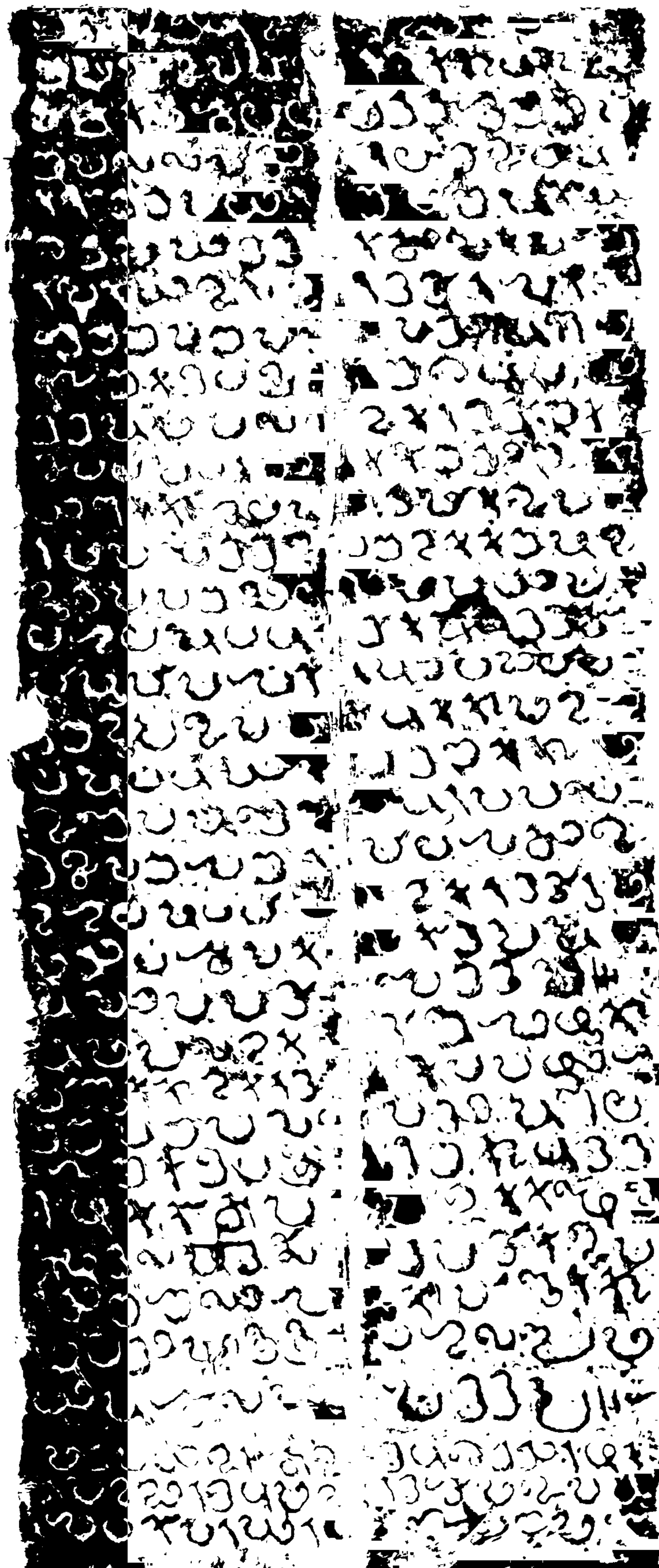
2 dīpam-amalīkriyamāṇa-lōkaṁ yan=tishṭhatāt=sa bhuvi yāvad=aśēsha-lōkaṁ [||*]

C

1 . . . .
2 ṟku yāṇḍu iraṇḍu i[dan=edir o]-
3 ṉbadu ivv-ā[ṇḍu] **Kaḷakkuḍi** mahā
4 [4]nāśakañ=śeyyapeṟṟa **Teṉṉava-**
5 **ṉ Pallavadi[ā]raiyaṉ** ivv=ūr-
6 kkoṟṟavāyiliṉ muṉbu kuḍi
7 ēṟṟuvitta [Irā]jaśiṅgappē-
8 raṅgāḍiïl na[ga]rattār pērāl
9 Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiya-
10 ṉ=āṉa **Kaṇḍañ=Śūṟaṉ** eḍuppi-
11 tta ambalam Nagarattāṉukku
12 iṭṭa tuḍarviḷakk=oṉṟiṉukku
13 viḷakku-neyppuṟamāga ivv=ū-
14 r=ppaḍaittalaivaṉ **Nakkaṉ-Muṉ-**
15 **nūṟṟuvaṉ** niyadippaḍi uri-
16 y ney aṭṭu[va]dāga aḍutta śā-
17 vā mūvā-ppērāḍu mūṉṟu niyāyat-
18 [tā]ṉ nūṟu [*] ivv=āṭṭukkum(n)-ne-
19 y aṭṭuvippadaṉukkum
20 iṟaippuṇai ivv=ūr=ppaḍait-
21 talaivaṉ **Veṉṟavāypēśi** [*] i-
22 nney muṭṭāmal nagarattārum
23 madiṭ-chchēvagarum kāttu aṭ-
24 ṭuvippadāga vaittadu
25 Ambala[m*] Nagara[t]tāṉ meḻugu-
26 v=āḷukku nagarat[tā]r kaivvaḻi Te-
27 ṉṉavaṉ-pPallavadiāraiya-
28 n=āṉa Kaṇḍañ=Śūṟaṉ kuḍutta
29 Īḻakkāśu pattu [*] i-kkaḻaiñ-

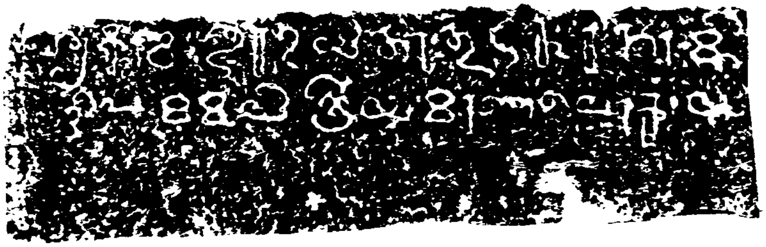
[1] 'Āditya' is engraved in Grantha letters.
[2] This is not understood.
[3] The metre is *Vasantatilakā*.
[4] *Mahānāśakam* is properly *Mahānāyakam*.

C-1

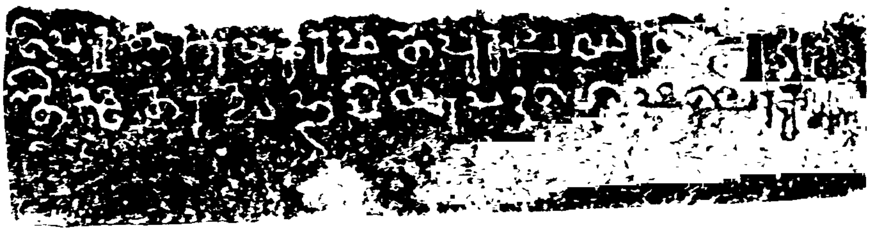


B.

Left half



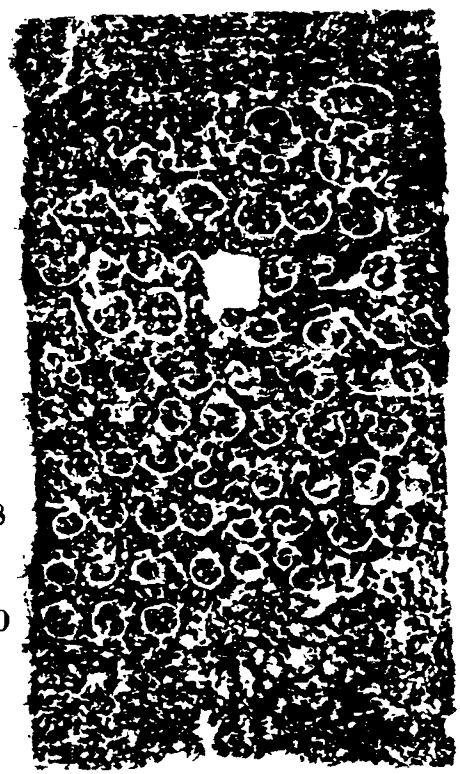
Right half



C-2



D.



30 ju-mudal mudalai [n]irpadāga iva-
31 ṟṟiṉ poli meḻuguv=āḻukku
32 niyadi aiññāḻi nellum=a-
33 ḻivu śelavum vaittadu ||
34 mēṟpaḍi i[k]kāśu iraṇḍu ēṟṟi Īḻakkā-
35 śu paṉṉiraṇḍum na[ga]rattōm ivv=ū-
36 r vēṭkōvar Vīra . . . nāyaṉum kō-
37 ṉ Śāttaṉum
38 kō[ṉ*] Ṉagarattā-
39 ṉum Tattañ-
40 Śendilu-
41 m oruvar-k-
42 koru[var] tuḍa-
43 rvi . . āka i-
44 [va]ḻi . . [1] chela-
45 vum ka-chi-
46 . . vu meḻuga-
47 vum ivagaḷ
48 vaḻi vaḻi śe-
49 yvadāga ku-
50 ḍuttaṉa |
51 Teṉṉava-
52 ṉ Palla-
53 vadiärai-
54 yaṉ=ēva A-
55 raiyamāṇi-
56 kkaṉ [ku]ḍu-
57 ppitta-
58 du ||-

D

1 Svasti Śrī [|*]
2 **Kaḷakkuḍi** Va-
3 ḍavāyil=amaṇḍā-
4 ḷ[2] tiruchchuṟṟā-
5 lai **Ayyapoḻi-**
6 **l Aiññūṟṟuva-**
7 [ṉ]=**Iṉban-Dēvaṉach-**
8 **cheṭṭi** śeyvi-
9 ch[cha] śuṟṟālai Nagara-
10 ttāṉ [||*]

[1] At this place a rectangular hole has been cut into the slab damaging some letters.
[2] The more correct form is *amarndāḷ*.

TRANSLATION.

A

Prosperity !

The **thirteenth year opposite the second** year of king **Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ**—in this year, **Tuḍarūri** of **Kuṉṉūr** in **Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu**, wife of **Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ** *alias* **Māṟañ-Śūraṉ**, gave fifty sheep for (*maintaining*) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āditya-Bhaṭāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of **Karavandapuram** in **Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu**. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pūdi-Pōrāṉ a *veṭṭikkuḍi* of the . . . . singa-Īśvaram (*temple*) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one *uḻakku* of ghee by the (*measure called*) Śōḻiyam. . . . .

This shall be under the protection of the *Nagarattār* and of the *Madiḻ-chēvagar* (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of **Śrīkaṇṭha-Śūra**, named **Tuḍarūri**, gave to the temple of (*god*) Vikarttana at **Karavantapura**, a lamp which has brightened the world ; may it last as long as all the worlds (*exist*).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The **ninth year opposite the second year** of . . . . . .—in this year, the (*number* of) sheep which the *Paḍaittalaivaṉ* **Nakkaṉ-Muṉṉūṟṟuvaṉ** of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one *uri* of ghee for a chain-lamp which had been presented to the *ambalam* (*called*) Nagarattāṉ erected in the name of the *Nagarattār* by **Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadi-āraiyaṉ** *alias* **Kaṇḍañ-Śūraṉ** who was the *Mahānāyaka* of Kaḷakkuḍi in Rājaśiṅgappēraṅgāḍi, (*a settlement*) which had been formed by him in front of the *koṟṟavāyil* of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll. 18-21) For these sheep and for the (*proper*) supply of ghee, the surety is the *Paḍaitta-laivaṉ* **Veṉṟavāypēśi** of this village.

(Ll. 22-24) This was left under the care of the *Nagarattār* and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll. 25-33) The amount which Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ *alias* Kaṇḍañ-Śūraṉ deposited with the *Nagarattār* for the maintenance of the sweeper[1] of the *ambalam* called Nagarattāṉ is ten *Īḻakkāśu*. This *kaḷañju* amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five *nāḻi* of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll. 34-50) Two *kāśu* together with this, (*i.e.*) twelve *Īḻakkāśu* (*in all*), the *Nagarattār* gave to the Vēṭkōvar Vīra . . .nāyaṉ, Kōṉ Śāttaṉ, Kōṉ Nagarattāṉ, Tattañ-Śendil, so that the work of . . . .[2] and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll. 51-58) By order of Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavadiāraiyaṉ, Araiyamāṇikkaṉ gave this (*edict*).

D

Hail ! Prosperity !

Nagarattāṉ, the circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchuṟṟālai*) of (*the shrine of*) the goddess Vaḍavāyil-amandāḷ at Kaḷakkuḍi was erected by Iṉbaṉ-Dēvaṉachcheṭṭi, a (*member of the*) Ayyapoḻil-Aiññūṟṟuvaṉ (*-guild*).

[1] The service expected of the *meluguvāḷ* was smearing the floor with cow-dung and sweeping.

[2] The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.

UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.



A. From impression; (LETTERS ACTUAL SIZE). B. C. D. from Photographs.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

SURVEY OF [illegible]TTA.

No. 46.—UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Ootacamund.

This inscribed stone lamp comes from **Utmānzai**, Tahsil Charsadda, District Peshawar. Mr. Gobind Ram Joneja, a druggist of that village, in whose possession the object is and who has kindly lent it to me for studying the inscription on it, informs me that he acquired it from a Pathān boy of a place near Dargai in the Malakand Agency. Its exact find-spot is not known, but from what Mr. Joneja wrote to me it appears that in the neighbourhood of Dargai there are ruins of an ancient *stūpa*.[1] Possibly the same site is the provenance of our piece.

The lamp is made of sandstone of dark grey colour. It weighs 32½ *tolas*, stands 1·6″ high and measures 4″ at its broadest. One line of inscription, which is in Kharōshṭhī **characters**, appears on its outer side, running the whole length. The size of letters varies between ¼″ and 1⅛″. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *mu* in *danamukhe* where the *u*-stroke is not clear. Similar raised *mu* is found in Yākubi Image Inscription.[2] Other forms are quite regular. The **language** is the same northern Prākrit as is found in most of the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions from the N.-W. Frontier Province.

It may be observed that the words *thuvami danamukhe* in the beginning are redundant[3], as the purport of the inscription is fully expressed by the remaining portion which states that the lamp was a gift of **Saṁgharakshita**[4] to the Grāma-*stūpa*. The name of the donor shows that he was probably a monk (*bhikshu*).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that are often the objects of donations[5]. One such inscribed lamp was discovered at Taxila[6]. A fragment of a stone lamp, also inscribed, was unearthed at Jamālgaṛhī.[7]

I read the inscription from the original.

TEXT.

Thuvami danamukhe Grama-thuvami Sagarak[8]shidasa danamukhe.

TRANSLATION.

Gift in the *Stūpa*. Gift of Saṁgharakshita, in the Grāma[9]-*stūpa*.

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[1] It may be pointed out that the region north of Peshawar abounds in Buddhistic relics. Remains of *stūpas* and *saṁghārāmas* are met with at short intervals. See *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* by A. Foucher, translated into English by H. Hargreaves.

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, *Kharōshṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 133, pl. XXIV, 4.

[3] The donor may have wished to have the whole of the available space inscribed, hence the repitition of the words in question.

[4] In the Bedadi Copper Ladle Inscription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 89), the donor of the ladle is an individual of the same name, but, I think, he is not identical with Saṁgharakshita of the present record.

[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. *cxvi*.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 89, pl. XVII, 5, 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 116, pl. XXII, 7.

[8] In transliterating this letter as *ksh* I have followed Sten Konow (above, Vol. XIX, p. 2, n. 2). The same sign has generally been taken for *chh*.

[9] It is not certain whether this is the proper name of the *Stūpa* or whether this simply means 'village *stūpa*.'

No. 47.—NALANDA PLATE OF DHARMAPALADEVA.

BY P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in course of excavations in 1927-28 by Mr. J. A. Page of the Archæological Survey of India at **Nālandā,** Patna District.[1] It was lying among burnt debris in the north verandah of Monastery No. 1, at the same level where the grant[2] of Dēvapāladēva was found. The plate has already been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1927-28, p. 138.

This is a **single plate** of copper, measuring about 7¼" broad and 10¾" high, having the usual highly wrought seal soldered on the top. The **seal** bears the legend *Śrīmān=Dharmapāladēvaḥ* in raised letters in one line below the emblem of the *dharmachakra*. The emblem consists of a wheel flanked on each side by a deer, indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sārnāth.

The plate is inscribed on both sides. The obverse contains 24 lines[3] of writing. On the reverse, which is very much defaced, some 12 lines can be clearly recognized. Of the rest of the writing it is not possible to offer even a tentative reading. The destruction of the monastery by fire was no doubt the cause of the defacement of the copper-plate.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets resembling those of the Khalimpur plate.[4] The following peculiarities may, however, be noted. The left limb of the letter *ṇ* is not so elongated as in the Khalimpur, Mungir[5] and Nālandā[6] plates. The forms of the letters *kta* (l. 12) and *ku* (ll. 5, 10, 14) are almost identical. Separate signs have been used for final *t* (e.g., *skandhāvārāt*, l. 2) and *n* (e.g., *akīrttitān*, l. 15). The medial *ā* is expressed in some cases by full strokes and in others by half strokes (cf. °*rājaḥ*, l. 4; *mahā*, l. 8, etc.). It is worthy of notice, however, that not a single instance of half stroke is found in the Khalimpur, Nālandā and Mungir plates. Similarly the medial *i* is also expressed both by full and half strokes. The latter form appears in *vishaya*, l. 10; *kulika*, l. 14; *kīrtti* and *jīvinaḥ*, l. 15; and *likhita*, l. 17. The medial *ē* has been expressed by a short curve in continuation of the *mātrā* on the left side. The medial *ō* has been expressed in two different ways, sometimes with the half stroke of *ē* together with the vertical stroke for medial *ā* on the right side (cf. *purōga*, l. 16; *varjjitō*, l. 22) and sometimes with a curved line above the consonant together with the right vertical stroke (cf. *pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ*, l. 15; *yath-ōparilikhita*, l. 17) as in the Khalimpur and Nālandā plates.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being wholly in prose. As regards **orthography** the only point to be noted is that *b* is throughout expressed by the sign for *v*. After the opening words, *Ōṁ svasti*, the inscription proceeds to record the subject matter of the plate, namely a grant by the *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dharmapāladēva,** the son and successor of the devout worshipper of Sugata (*i.e.*, Buddha) the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Gōpāladēva.** It was issued from the royal camp of victory at **Kapilā** (?). The **object** of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Uttarāma** near the village of **Nigūha** in the **Gayā** *vishaya* of the **Nagara** *bhukti* (ll. 5-7) and belonging to **Jambūnadī** *vīthī*.[7] The purpose of this grant cannot be made out owing to the damaged condition of the

[1] *A. S. I., Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 159.

[2] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.

[3] [See below p. 292, n. 1.—Ed.]

[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, pl. III.

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, l. 39.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320, l. 9.

[7] *Vīthī* is found here to denote a small sub-division of the *vishaya*. This term occurs also in the Nālandā plate of Dēvapāla in connection with the village granted in the Gayā *vishaya*. From the Naihāti grant (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74) of Vallālasēna it is found that *vīthī* formed a part of a *maṇḍala*. See also above, p. 159.

last line on the obverse and the top lines on the reverse, which portion must have contained this information.

An account of the exploits of the king which are so elaborately described in the Khalimpur plate is absent in the present record. The designations of the officials and the order in which they have been mentioned in it tally more with those of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla than with those of the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla. No new designations, however, occur here. Like the Mungir plate this charter mentions *Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulika-Hūṇa,* but not *Karṇāṭa* and *Lāṭa*. *Mahāsēnāpati* mentioned in line 5 (reverse) was probably the *dūtaka* of this grant. Line 7 on the same side gives the name of the writer as Kuladatta, son of Dharmadatta. The words *kasakārasya* in line 11 and *(u)tkīrṇa* in line 12 show that the grant contained the name of the engraver which is now lost. From what remains on the reverse it can be safely asserted that no imprecatory verses, which are usually found at the end of land grants, have been added in the present record.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in this record **Nagara-bhukti** has been identified with modern Patna, which as a division includes the district of Gayā even now. Nagara-bhukti is also found on the seals[1] discovered at Nālandā, and in the inscription of Jīvitagupta II found at Deo-Baranark in the Shāhābād District. From the Nālandā inscription of Dēvapāla we learn that Nagara-bhukti included the *vishayas* of Rājagṛiha (Rājgīr) and Gayā. The Krimila district which is mentioned as included in this *bhukti* in the Mungir plate has not been identified. From epigraphic documents we can assume that the Nagara-bhukti included the districts of Patna, Gayā and Shāhābād. The other places mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti | mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampat(tt)y-upātta-jaya-śavdā(bdā)-
2 [t **Kapilā** ?]-vāsakāt śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt [3] parama-
3 saugatō-mahārājādhirāja śrī-**Gōpāladēva**-pādānudhyā-
4 taḥ |[4] paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-
5 mān **Dharmmapāladēvaḥ** kuśalī **Nagara-bhuktau** [4] **Gayā-vish-**
6 **y**-āntaḥpāti- **Jamvū (mbū)-nadī**-vīthī-prativa(ba)ddha- **Nigūha**-grām-āsanna **U-**
7 **ttarāma**-grāmakē|[4] samupagatān sarvvān=ēva rāja-rājana-
8 ka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahākārttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍanāya-
9 ka-mahāpratīhāra-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-dauḥsādhasādhanika-
10 pramātṛi-sarabhaṅga-kumārāmātya-rājasthānīy-ōparika-vishaya-
11 pati-dāśāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-ksha(khē)-
12 [trapa-prā]ntapāla-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-va(ba)la-vyā-
13 [pṛitaka]-kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-adhikṛita-dūta-prē(prai)shaṇika-gamā-
14 [gami]k-ābhitvaramāṇaka-Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulika-Hūṇa-bhaṭa-
15 [chāṭa]-sēvak-ādin=anyāṅ(ṁ)ś=ch=ākīrttitān=[sva]-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ pra-
16 [tivāsinaś=cha] vrā(brā)hmaṇ=ōttarān=mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-āndhra-chaṇḍā-
17 [la]-[paryantān=sa*]mājñāpayaty=astu [vaḥ] samvi[di*]taṁ yath=ōparilikhita **Utta-**

[1] *P. R. A. S., E. C.*, 1916-17, p. 43.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] For analogous passages see Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 73) and Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II (Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 213).
[4] *Danda* unnecessary.

18 [**rāma-**grāmakaḥ*] [sva-sīmā-tṛiṇa-yūti]-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōparikara[ḥ*]
19 . . . . [sa-chau]rōddharaṇaḥ sarvva-pīḍā-parihṛiti-
20 . . . . [r=a*]chāṭa-bhaṭa-pra[vēśō=kiñchi]t-pragrāhyō rāja-bhāvya sarvva-pra-
21 [tyāya-samētō bhūmichchhidra-nyāyē]n=ā-chā(cha)ndr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālī-
22 [naḥ pū*]rva-bhuktaka-bhujya[māna]-dēva-vrā(bra)hma-dēya-varjjitō mayā
23 [mātā-pitrōr*]=ātmanaś=cha pu[ṇya-yaśō]-bhivṛiddhayē vandya-āchārya-**Dharmma-**
24 . . . . . [bhaṭṭa]kē ārya-Tārā-bhaṭṭāri[1][kā*]

Second Side.

1 . . . . [prativā*]sibhiś=ch=ājñā-śravaṇa-vi-[2]
2 [dhēyair=bhūtvā*] samuchita-dēya-bhā[ga-bhōga]-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-
3 . . . .
4 . . . .
5 . . . . [ma]hāsēnāpati-śrī . . . . datt[a] . . . .
6 . . . [likhi*]tam=ida[ṁ] śāsana[ṁ] mahākshapaṭali[ka] . . . .
7 . . . . . . [**Ku**]**la**[**da**]**ttē**[**na**] **Dharmmadatta**-putrēṇ=ēti . . . . . .
8 . . . . chatuḥshashṭika datti[ḥ*] . . . .
9 . . . . pratipāditā . . . .
10 tathā . . . . tasya mūlaṁ [chatuḥsha]shṭikaḥ . . . .
11 ka[ṁ*]sakārasya. . . . .
12 [u]tkīrṇa[ṁ] s[ū]ttradhāra . . . . .[3]

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[1] [This line ends with *ri*. Traces of another half line are visible below it.—Ed.]

[2] [There seem to have been six lines of inscription before this line which are completely destroyed.—Ed.]

[3] [Reading seems to be *Gōvindēn=ēti*—Ed.]

No. 48.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA RANA-VALOKA.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.Litt., BENARES.

The question of the genuineness and the date of issue of the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha Raṇāvalōka[1] has been recently raised in the pages of this journal (see above pp. 215-217) by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, while editing the 'Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Berar'. Prof. Mirashi concludes that the plates are genuine, that they were really issued in the Śaka year 724, and that all the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem therefore to have been made before the date of this charter, i.e. during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

I propose to show in this note that though the Maṇṇe plates are genuine, they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Paushа in the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been issued. They were issued a few years later, probably in Śaka 730 or 731, when the permission of Gōvinda III was received for making the contemplated grant in favour of the Jain *basadi* at Maṇṇe.

Prof. Mirashi has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits, which has been used in as many as ten grants made during his reign, has been used for the first time in the Maṇṇe plates. It cannot be however conceded that it was prepared at the order of Stambha, who has issued the Maṇṇe plates, or that he was the first to use it. We must in this connection note that Stambha had rebelled against Gōvinda in the beginning of his reign, forming a formidable confederacy of 12 kings for this purpose. Gōvinda was successful in crushing this rebellion. The two brothers were however reconciled afterwards, and Gōvinda showed the magnanimity of reappointing his brother to the governorship of Gaṅgavāḍī. Human nature, however, being what it is, it is not likely that a court poet of Stambha would prepare a draft of Gōvinda's exploits, which would specifically refer to the defeat of his patron's rebellion. The Maṇṇe plates however mention its defeat in v. 13. It is therefore clear that the draft of the Maṇṇe plates was prepared by a court poet of Gōvinda III, and was primarily intended for his charters. As a matter of fact it cannot suit a charter issued by any ruler, other than Gōvinda himself. For, after describing Gōvinda's exploits, the charter says :—

तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारम् ।
क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्तितं देवभोगाय ॥

Obviously this verse is out of place in a charter intended to be issued by Gōvinda's brother Stambha.

The Maṇṇe plates state later on that Stambha had asked for the permission of Gōvinda for granting the village concerned to the Jain *basadi* at Maṇṇe.[2] It would appear that when the imperial government granted the necessary permission, it forwarded a draft approved by the emperor with orders that it should be incorporated in the charter. Stambha carried out the order rather too literally ; he did not omit even the verse beginning with *tēn=ēdam=* , which was quite out of place in his own charter.

The draft that was sent to Stambha seems to have been prepared under the special instructions of Gōvinda by one of his favourite court poets. The emperor had liked it so much that he is seen to be using it throughout his reign after this period in as many as eight other charters.

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, pp. 51-3.

[2] तेन श्रीचकंभदेवेन रणावलोकापरनाम्ना राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप्रभूतवर्षानुज्ञानुमतेन . . . . जिनभवनाय . . ग्राम(मो) . . . दत्तः.—*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala 61.

It is unlikely that a draft, which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his elder brother, who was erstwhile a rebel. We may therefore presume that it was first used by Gōvinda himself. This he does for the first time in the Nēsarī plates[1] issued in the Śaka year 727. As far as our present knowledge goes, the draft seems to have been prepared just about this time.

How then is it used in the Maṇṇe plates issued in the Śaka year 724 ? It would appear that Stambha had no doubt promised to grant a village to the Jain establishment at Maṇṇe in that year, but he could not immediately issue a charter. He had to wait till the permission of the imperial government was received. This seems to have required a fairly long time, because Gōvinda himself was engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *praśasti* was not yet ready. By the time this permission came, the exact date and month of the first promise was forgotten. The plates purport to be issued in the Śaka year 724 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Pushya *nakshatra*, i.e. in the month of Pausha. But there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha in that year, as would appear from a reference to *The Indian Ephemeris* of Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. The same work shows that a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha occurred in the Śaka years 730 and 731. It would appear that Stambha got the necessary permission at the end of one of these two years. At the time when the supplementary portion of the charter of Stambha, containing the date, was being drafted, this lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha was fresh in the mind of the donor, the donee and the drafter. They further had a dim idea that the original promise was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the winter. They therefore transferred the lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha from the Śaka year 730 or 731 to the Śaka year 724, when the original promise was made. This has given rise to the irregularity of the date of the Maṇṇe plates. We need not therefore suppose that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits was really ready in the Śaka year 724, when the Maṇṇe plates purport to have been issued. The earliest undoubted year in which it is known to be definitely used is the Śaka year 727, when the Nēsarī plates were issued. Gōvinda's exploits mentioned in this stereotyped draft have therefore to be placed not before the Śaka year 724 but before the Śaka year 727. The various exploits mentioned in this draft were therefore achieved not within the first seven or eight years of his reign, but may have required as many as 11 or 12 years. Seven or eight years is too short a period for them, when we remember the conditions of the roads and the means of transport of the period.

A reconsideration of the whole problem has now led me to the conclusion that the sensational victories of Gōvinda III in his north Indian campaign, during which he humbled down Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla and his armies penetrated right up to the vicinity of the Himalayas,—as maintained in the Sanjan plates of his son Amōghavarsha I,—are not mentioned or described in this stereotyped draft. The verse mentioning the defeat of the Gurjara king merely refers to a raid of Nāgabhata being repulsed. The poet, who drafted this charter, was well acquainted with the complications of the northern Indian politics, as is clear from his specific reference to the exploits of Gōvinda's father Dhruva in snatching away the white umbrella from Vatsarāja, which he had carried as a trophy from the king of the Gauḍas. A poet, who mentions the submission of a third rate Vindhyan chief like Mārāśarva, would certainly have grown eloquent over the discomfiture of such celebrated rulers as Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. Nor would Gōvinda have approved a draft, which did not refer to the feat of his forces in approaching the Himalayas after penetrating into the Doab. This famous northern expedition of Gōvinda has therefore to be placed at a date later than the issue of this stereotyped charter. We cannot however discuss the complicated question of its approximate date in the present note.

[1] Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

No. 49.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to state my views on the points raised in Dr. Altekar's note on the date of the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha Raṇāvalōka. This date[1] is admittedly imperfect, as the name of the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is not mentioned in it. The mere mention of a *nakshatra* in connection with a lunar eclipse is not sufficient to specify the exact month in which it occurred, as the *paurṇimā* of a month is not invariably associated with the *nakshatra* after which the month is named. In my article[2] on the Lōhārā grant I have suggested that some words like *Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the date of the Maṇṇe plates, as the only lunar eclipse[3] which could have been intended is that in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. Even then the date does not become quite regular; for the asterism on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha in Śaka 724 was Rōhiṇī, not Pushya. But we can easily explain this irregularity by supposing that though the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th November A.D. 802, the plates were actually issued four days later, on the 17th November, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Those who are familiar with the dates of our ancient records know that copper-plates were sometimes issued a few days after the particular grants recorded in them were made and that such irregularities in their dates are by no means rare. In my article I have cited the date of the second set of Maṇṇe plates, which belongs to the same period, as another instance of the same irregularity. These latter plates purport to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, the full-moon day of Pausha, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya, in the Śaka year 732. A reference to Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* will show that the lunar eclipse did, indeed, occur on the full-moon day of Pausha in A.D. 810 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 732), but the week-day was Saturday and the asterism at the time of the eclipse was Punarvasu, not Pushya. It seems plain therefore that though the grant was made on Saturday, the 14th December A.D. 810, the plates were actually issued two days later on Monday, the 16th December, when the moon was in conjunction with Pushya. The irregularity in the date of the Maṇṇe plates (first set) is exactly of the same type as that in the date of this grant.

Dr. Altekar prefers to account for the irregularity in the date of the Maṇṇe plates (first set) in a different manner. He concedes that the grant was made in Śaka 724, but he supposes that the plates were actually issued six or seven years later in Śaka 730 or 731, when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha. The reason for this unusual delay in the issue of the plates, according to Dr. Altekar, is that Stambha did not receive the permission of the imperial government earlier, as Gōvinda was himself engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *praśasti* was not yet ready. Dr. Altekar further supposes that the drafter, the donor and the donee had no accurate information about the occasion of the original grant, but only remembered that it had been made at a lunar eclipse in winter in Śaka 724. They therefore mentioned, as the occasion of the grant, the lunar eclipse which had occurred recently in the month of Pausha in Śaka 730 or 731. Hence the date is found to be irregular.

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[1] The wording of the date is *chatur-viṁśaty-uttarēshu sapta-śatēshu Śaka-varshēshu samatītēshu........ Sōma-grahaṇē Pushya-nakshatrē....Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala 61.

[2] Above, p. 217.

[3] There was another lunar eclipse in this year, but it occurred much earlier, on Jyēshṭha-*paurṇimā*, the 21st May A.D. 802.

This explanation of the irregularity of the date is, I submit, too farfetched. It is incredible that it took Stambha six or seven years to obtain the imperial sanction to his grant. Even granting that Gōvinda could not give the required sanction in Śaka 724 because he was then constantly engaged in fighting, one fails to understand why the sanction was not forthcoming in Śaka 727 at least, by which time Gōvinda had finished all his important campaigns both in the north and in the south and the draft of the *praśasti* was also ready for use, as we find it actually used in the Nēsarī plates[1] of that year. The *praśasti* was of course composed by a court-poet of Gōvinda III, not by that of Stambha. Gōvinda must have used it in his own grants made before Śaka 727, though they have not been discovered so far.

Let us next examine the reason which has led Dr. Altekar to offer the foregoing farfetched explanation. He thinks that the various exploits mentioned in the stereotyped *praśasti* could not have been achieved during seven or eight years (A.D. 794-802). But are there not instances, in our ancient history, of equally remarkable victories being achieved by great military commanders in the same or even smaller periods of time ? I will mention here only one or two cases of this type. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj, the imperial capital, which he conquered and devastated. As Dr. Altekar himself has shown,[2] Indra came to the throne in A.D. 915 and died in A.D. 917. So this brilliant achievement of his could not have taken more than two years. Is it then impossible that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in Northern and Central India within a period of four or five years (Śaka 717-21) as suggested in my article[3] ? Another instance is that of the Kalachuri Karṇa. We know from his Benares plates[4] that he succeeded his father in the Kalachuri year 792 (A.D. 1040). The Rewah stone inscription, which I have recently edited in this Journal,[5] describes his victories over a king, probably of the Chandra dynasty, in the East, the Pallavas, Chōlas and Chālukyas in the South and the Gurjaras in the West. As this inscription is dated in the Kalachuri year 800 (A.D. 1048-49), it is plain that these victories of Karṇa must have been attained within a period of only seven years. The adversaries of Karṇa were surely not less powerful than those of Gōvinda III and the means of transport had not probably improved much during the period of about two centuries and a half that separated these two kings.

Dr. Altekar thinks that Gōvinda's sensational victories in North India, during which he humbled Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, were attained after the stereotyped draft was prepared, as they are not mentioned in it. This is at best an *argumentum ex silentio* and should be used with caution ; for we know of several cases[6] in which conclusions based on such absence of mention have been disproved by fresh discoveries. Besides, we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was first prepared. Though it has been used in as many as eleven charters,[7] it is well-known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases. The longest form of it known so far is that noticed in the Nēsarī plates in which the eulogistic portion consists of 24 verses.[8] In other charters the draft is shorter by from 5 to 10 verses.[9] We

[1] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

[2] See his *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 100 and 105.

[3] Above, p. 217.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

[5] Below, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

[6] See *e.g.* above, Vol. XIX, p. 63.

[7] Ten of these have been mentioned above, p. 216. Since then I have noticed one more charter of the same type, see *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. III, pp. 187-89.

[8] These do not include the opening *mangala-ślōka* and the concluding verse *tēn=ēdam=anila*. etc.

[9] The Rādhanpur plates, for instance, have 19, the Lohārā grant 16 and the Bahulāwāḍ plates only 14 verses.

cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and others,—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared.

Besides, the Sanjān plates[1] show that these sensational victories of Gōvinda III in Northern and Central India were achieved before his encampment at the capital of *Mahārāja* Śarva. Verse 23 of this grant describes the march of Gōvinda's army to the Himālayas, during the course of which Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to him. The next verse (24) tells us that returning from there (*tataḥ pratinivṛitya*) he came down to the bank of the Narmadā and conquered the Mālava, Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Vēṅgī, Ḍāhala and Ōḍraka countries which he placed in charge of his feudatories. He then returned (*pratyāvṛittaḥ*) again to the Narmadā and encamped at the capital of *Mahārāja* Śarva at the foot of the Vindhya, where his son Amōghavarsha was born (vv. 25-6). The wording of the verses 23-26 makes it plain that these events occurred in the chronological order stated therein. The existing versions of the stereotyped draft do not, of course, refer to Gōvinda's victorious campaigns in Northern and Central India (except that in which he defeated a Gurjara king) and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, but they almost invariably mention his encampment during the rainy season at Śrībhavana, the capital of Mārāśarva. Scholars[2] are now agreed that this Mārāśarva is none other than the *Mahārāja* Śarva mentioned in the Sanjān plates. It is plain, therefore, that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha must have submitted to Gōvinda long before the stereotyped draft of the latter's grants was prepared; for the draft describes also Gōvinda's expeditions against the southern kings of Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Kērala, Vēṅgī, etc., which followed his campaigns in Northern and Central India.

If the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha were, therefore, issued, as I have tried to show, in Śaka 724, all the important victories of Gōvinda III—including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha—must have been attained before Śaka 724 or A.D. 802 *i.e.*, during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

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[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[2] Dr. Altekar also has accepted the identification, see his *Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., p. 68, n. 55 (iv).

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[The figures refer to pages ; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*=composer ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet ; *f.*=female ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality ; *l. m.*=land measure ; *m.*=male ; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*=mythic or mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N.*=Northern ; *off.*=office ; *q.*=queen ; *ri.*=river ; *S.*=Southern ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *t. d.*=territorial division ; *te.*=temple ; *tit.*=title ; *vi.*=village ; *W.*=Western.]

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